

"EARLY DAYS OF THE MARITIME FUR TRADE, 1785-1794"

By

Margaret E. Little.

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By

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts.
In the Department
of
HISTORY.

accepted

The University of British Columbia

April, 1934.

April 27. 1934.

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NOTE.

A slight variation from the footnote method advised by Third Year Historical Methods Seminar has been practised in the following pages. The full title of every work is cited on each quotation, instead of the usual "op.cit." abbreviation, following the first reference. The transient nature of the fur traders' visits lends itself to much confusion, and the complete title of each authority is given on all occasions for the sake of clarity. Hence the reader may see at a glance whether the information originates from the traders themselves, with reference to the exact expedition, or whether it is merely the statement or generalization of a secondary source.

"EARLY DAYS OF THE MARITIME FUR TRADE, 1785-1794."

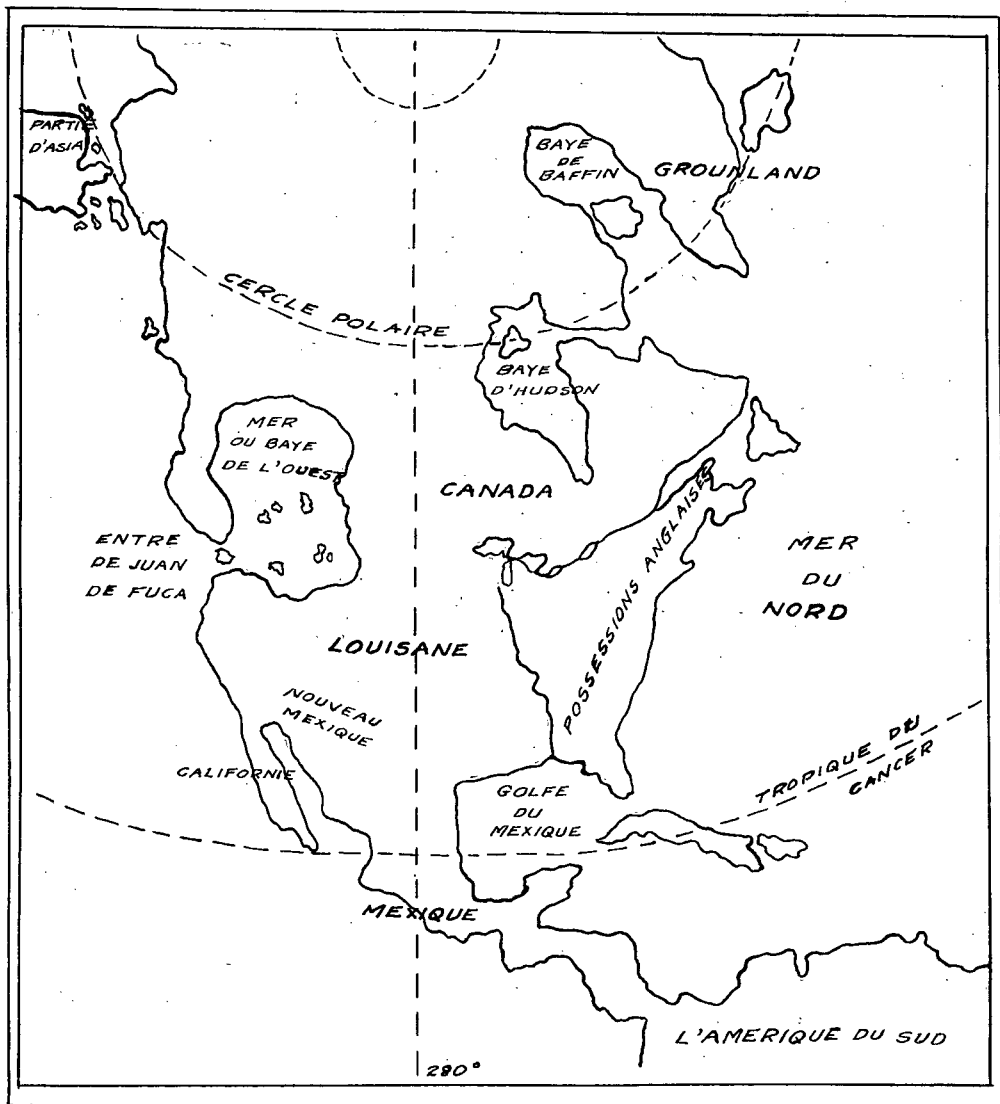
Chapter 1. "THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH WEST COAST".

The north west coast of America found no place in the world maps of a hundred and sixty years ago. It was unknown and unexplored, merely the "backside of America", and a subject of unlimited scope for the imaginations of cartographers. The early maps of North America were strongly coloured by the hopes of an existing western passage to the Orient. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the German geographer Schoner published a map showing the continent as a series of islands, separated by easily navigable passages leading to the South Seas. Considerable advances had been made by the middle of the eighteenth century, and now fairly accurate maps existed of the east coast of the North American continent, from Hudson's Bay south to Central America, and on the west side, from Central America north to California. Here Spanish explorations ended, and her monopoly of the Pacific prevented other ships from penetrating, and continuing the work where she had left off. Spain considered the Pacific Ocean more or less as a "Spanish Lake" to which the entrance of any other nation was regarded as intrusion. Her claim was based on the Papal Bull of 1493, issued by Pope Alexander VI, which divided the new world of North and South America between Spain and Portugal, assigning spheres of exploration to each. The Treaty of Tordesillas, June 1494, set

a line three hundred and seventy leagues west of Cape Verde as the boundary, to the apparent satisfaction of both nations, although the division was immeasurably in Spain's favour. Spain had explored and colonized on the Pacific seaboard in Mexico and California, but, resting on her laurels, had made no further attempt at northern exploration until alarmed by rumors of Russian activities in Alaska, beginning in 1741. Sir Francis Drake, in the famous voyage of the "Golden Hind" round the world, visited the Californian coast in 1577-9. He wintered in Drake's Bay, and sailed north to 48°, taking possession of the land for England under the title of New Albion. The English Government, however, made no effort to follow up his explorations, and the claims of discovery lapsed.

The accounts which reached Europe of the Russian voyages to the new lands were of the vaguest nature, and added nothing to geographical knowledge. Bellin's chart of 1748 shows the northwest corner of the map inscribed "The Russians have come as far as this in 1741, but they have been shipwrecked in the shoals and drowned". The blank in the coast line is filled in by a dotted line, running from north, south to the Bay of Aguilar in California, with the inscription "Probably America goes as far as this", while north of California is added the observation "Here the sea begins to be very boistrous".(1) So it came about that in 1775, the year of Captain Cook's eventful visit to these unknown regions, a French map of North America was published, showing the north west coast as a gigantic peninsula, enclosing the "Sea or Bay of the West", a body of water which occupied more than half of the present provinces of British Columbia and

(1) F.W.Howay and E.O.S.Scholefield "British Columbia" vol. 1. S.J.Clarke Publishing Co. Vancouver, 1914. Page 11.



FRENCH MAP OF NORTH AMERICA.

CIRCA 1775

Alberta. Yet in fifteen years' time the ownership of this nebulous territory was to be a major diplomatic question, and an issue which narrowly avoided plunging Europe in war.

The north west coast escaped European notice so long because of its distance from Europe and its inaccessibility. It was literally the other side of the world, separated, either by direct western or eastern route, by a continent and an ocean. At this period no direct route was possible, and to reach its shores ships had ~~either~~ to sail west, circumnavigate the continent of South America, and make their way north, past Central America, and the south western coast of North America. Land explorations westward from the existing settlements in North America was also checked by a double barrier of mountains, first the snow-capped and seemingly impassable Rockies, and at the seaboard, the Coastal Range. The eastern sea route was even longer. Ships must sail around the South African continent, cross the Indian Ocean, thread their way east to the Pacific, at which point they were still separated from their goal by a voyage which varied from six weeks to two months. There was no extra spur to search for a field of raw materials --there were richer and more accessible sources nearer home-- the vast stretch of eastern North America and the West Indies offered more than could be expected from the western coast, and the raw material for which the north west coast was almost the unique source --the sea otter pelt-- was as yet unsuspected.

There was only one real incentive towards exploration --the belief in the North West Passage. The desire of the west for easy access to the east was of long standing, and hope

still flourished that somewhere a navigable waterway to India must exist. This mythical passage became known as the Straits of Anian, and in 1745 England passed an Act of Parliament offering the sum of twenty thousand pounds for its discovery, but made only owners of private ships eligible for the reward. Such a passage was desired, both to furnish a shorter route to the Orient, and as a means of avoiding the Spanish monopoly. The acquisition of Canada in 1763 made it of increasing importance to England, and roused her to investigate the legend. The monopolies of the great joint stock companies, the East India Company, and the South Sea Company made it almost impossible for private enterprise to carry on such a search, it was too severely handicapped. The East India Company was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading in the East Indies" in 1599-1600. It had a charter of monopolies which conferred the sole right of trading with the East Indies, --that is, with all countries lying beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or the Straits of Magellan. The original grant was for a period of fifteen years, but renewed in 1609, under James I. "for ever", with the sole restriction that it might be revoked on three years notice if the trade should not prove profitable to the realm. Unauthorized interlopers were liable to forfeit of ships and cargo, and by 1700 the company had a practical monopoly of the Indian trade. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century the famous "East Indiamen" were preeminent among mercantile shipping. The South Sea Company was of a later origin. Formed in 1711, its promoters were chiefly wealthy merchants, who were granted a monopoly of trade with the west coast of America, from Cape Horn

to the frozen north, and three hundred leagues into the ocean, including the islands of the Pacific. After the bursting of the South Sea Bubble in 1720, the company continued to exist although in a moribund condition, and kept its exclusive privileges till 1807. Between them they closed the sea to British enterprise and hindered exploration.

The earliest visitors to the north west coast belong to the realm of legend. First, and perhaps the most probable, is the expedition of the Chinese to North America, or Fusang as they called it, in 500 A.D. Chinese state papers of the period have lately been brought to light which lend weight to the account of the expedition. An ancient Chinese medallion, dating from about this century, has recently been discovered among a tribe of Northern British Columbia Indians, but with lettering so worn and old that it cannot be properly deciphered. This curio is at present in Victoria, B.C., and is believed by some to be a relic of the Chinese visit. The other apocryphal voyages are less convincing. The Portuguese, Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, claimed that in 1588 he crossed the North Atlantic to Davis Strait, and sailed on through the Strait of Anian until he reached the Pacific. His story was widely believed at the time. The account of Juan de Fuca was published by Samuel Purchas in "His Pilgrimes" in 1625, although the actual journey was supposed to have been made in 1592, --the length of the interval was suspicious in itself. De Fuca, a Greek pilot, said he was sent by the Viceroy of New Spain to seek for the Strait of Anian, and held that he sailed up the coast until he finally came to the Strait, which was thirty to forty leagues wide at its opening. Neither the Spanish Archives,

nor the Archives of New Spain, show any record of his having been dispatched, a matter which could hardly have been overlooked, had he sailed under such authority. The story of De Fonte was not published until 1708, although his fabulous voyage was placed in 1640. De Fonte claimed nothing less than that he had penetrated the north American continent from east to west by means of a chain of rivers and lakes.

The first scientific explorations in the north west were made by Vitus Bering, a Dane in Russian service. Russia was the pioneer both in the discovery and the fur trade of the coast. Early in the eighteenth century, Bering, while officially mapping and determining the bounds of north eastern Asia and the Kamchatka peninsula, penetrated the strait named after him, but caught no glimpse of the continent to the east. Rumours of its existence were abroad, and in consequence a second and mammoth expedition was planned in 1733. Due to the interference of the Empress Anne Ivanovna, it aimed to serve such diversified interests that from the beginning it was overwhelmingly handicapped. Preparations took eight years to complete, and it was the fourth of June, 1741, before the ill-fated party sailed from the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in Avatcha Bay, Kamchatka. It consisted of two ships, the "St. Peter" with a crew of seventy seven, commanded by Bering, and the "St. Paul" with seventy six, under Alexei Chirikoff. The ships had been newly built for the expedition, and were both brig-rigged, carried fourteen guns, and measured eighty by twenty by nine feet. (1) Almost immediately they were caught in a storm and permanently separated. Bering continued alone, and sighted land in Alaska, in the region of Kadiak island on the 16 th. of

(1) F.A.Golder "Bering's Voyages"

Published by American Geographical Society, New York, 1925.
vol. 1. Page 34.

July. Scurvy early made its appearance among the crew.

After charting part of the coast Bering wished to return, as winter was approaching and the health of the men seriously impaired. The sea council agreed to return to Avatcha, but wished to do so by way of the American coast. Bering thought more favourable winds might be obtainable in latitude 49° or 50°, but allowed his opinions to be rejected without contradiction. (1) The "St. Peter" continued north and north west, following the coast until it became entangled in the chain of the Aleutian Islands, where terrific storms were encountered, and the ship narrowly escaped being wrecked. Scurvy raged unchecked, and the misery and privations of the sailors were by this time terrible. Finally only eight men were capable of dragging themselves about, while the rest were "sick unto death". Water and provisions were almost exhausted, and no alternative offered to the fate of wintering in these inhospitable parts to replenish them and give the sick a chance of life. The island nearest them at this time --later known as Bering's Island, the farthest west of the Aleutian chain, was approached, and a camp prepared on its shores. The sick were landed with the greatest difficulty, and amid the most gruesome scenes. Foxes mangled the dead before they could be buried, and sniffed at the living and helpless. Some of the men complained of cold, others of hunger and thirst, for the scurvy had so affected their mouths that their gums grew over their teeth like sponges. They were finally lodged in roofed sandpits, and for a time the log of the "St. Peter" seems nothing but a record of deaths. Misfortunes increased. The "St. Peter" was wrecked because there were not sufficient able-

(1) F.A.Golder "Bering's Voyages"
vol. 11. Page 68.

bodied men left to haul her on shore, and on the 8th of December Bering died of scurvy. Slowly others began to recover their health, and by Christmas Day a few were able to hunt. Stellar remarks on the number and fearlessness of the fur bearing animals of the vicinity, sea-lions, sea-cows, fur seals and sea otters abounded, several species of which were unknown to him. The survivors built a hooker from the wreck, which they called the "St. Peter" after their original ship, and in it managed to escape from the island. They started for Avatcha on August 13th 1742, with forty six on board, only one of whom died on the way. Lieutenant Sven Waxel in his report of the expedition, says they wished to name the coast of America "New Russia", like other European powers, but did not like to do so without orders from the Admiralty College. (1)

The "St. Paul" fared better. After separation Chirikoff continued east, arriving by the twenty sixth of June in latitude 48° , where he just missed Bering, who was in the same vicinity four days later. The continent was sighted on July 15th in latitude $55^{\circ} 21'$ on the west coast of the Archipelago Alexandria. A landing was made two days later in the region of Sitka Sound, about lat. 57° , when a party of ten were sent ashore for water. Nothing was heard of them again, or of a second boat dispatched in search of them. Doubtless they were massacred by natives. The losses were serious, for Chirikoff had no more boats, and his crew was now reduced to a point of danger, others being incapacitated by scurvy. It made further geographic discoveries impossible, and the "St. Paul" was obliged to return to Kamchatka, having lost in all twenty two of her crew.

Chirikoff, when he had recovered from his own attack of scurvy, made an attempt to find Bering, but without success. The expedition of Bering and Chirikoff had revealed the fur possibilities of the new continent, and although the Russian government made no effort to follow up their explorations, enterprising individuals did, in search of the sea otter. The Aleutian Islands were mapped and thoroughly exploited, and as the sea otter decreased the fur seal rose in commercial value. Soon new lands were opened in the Pribyloff Islands and in Alaska. In 1799 the former ventures of Gregory Skelikoff and other Siberian merchants were organized as the Russian American Company, under a grant from the Emperor Paul, which gave it control of the fur trade of America and the Aleutian Islands. The Russian American Company, in its organization, was rather like the Hudson's Bay Company, and established its own posts and districts in the new territories, responsible only to the chief director. Unfortunately the regulations governing it were not always well applied, and the rule of the Company was, on the whole, sordid.

Shortly before 1799, a Russian fort was built at Sitka Sound, under Baranoff, called Archangel Gabriel. It quickly became a centre of the new industry, in spite of the opposition of the natives, the warlike Tlinkáts, who resented Russian intrusion. Baranoff entered the Russian American Company, and became its greatest governor. At a much later date he began to foster schemes for acquiring California and the Sandwich Islands for Russia.

Spain, although controlling the sea routes to the north west, made no effort to continue her discoveries, until

aroused in the latter part of the eighteenth century by rumours of Russian activities in the north. The exact extent of these could not be ascertained, as Russia kept silent on the subject of her discoveries, and perhaps for this reason Spain was all the more alarmed for the safety of her territories. She claimed sole ownership of everything bordered by the North Pacific Ocean, and felt that unless a vigorous policy of exploration and settlement on the north west coast was adopted, her position was precarious.

Bucareli, the viceroy of New Spain was ordered to investigate by Madrid. He sent an expedition in charge of Juan Perez to spy out the threatened regions in 1774. The purpose of the voyage was to be kept secret, since it was merely a reconnaissance, not a military expedition, and Perez was to make no settlement. The most minute instructions were prepared. Perez was to reach the coast in lat. 60 °, and sail southward down it, observing any foreign settlements, noting the best situations for future Spanish ones, and taking formal possession in the name of Carlos III. Friendly relations were to be established with the natives, whose favour was to be won with the help of four chests of glass beads, and four hundred and sixty eight strings. Perez was to report on the resources of the country, plant wooden crosses in stone bases as visible signs of ownership, and seal it by reading a legal and pious formula.

The corvette "Santiago", one of the best ships of the California service, was chosen for the expedition, and left San Blas, January 25th 1774., with a crew of eighty eight, including officers, regular crew, surgeon and chaplain. At Monteray

Fathers Crespi and Tomas de la Pena joined the expedition as chaplains, and the diaries kept by them are valuable records of events. Estevan Martinez went as navigating officer. Heavy storms, hardship and sickness delayed the ship, so that by the 15th of July the "Santiago" was only in latitude 51° . Contrary winds made it doubtful if 60° could be reached with safety, while the low water supply made it imperative to land at an early date. Perez held a council, and began preparations for landing. The carpenters made a wooden cross, inscribed "I N R I" Caròlus 111 Hispaniarum Rex -- Ano de 1774". (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, Carlos 111. King of the Spains --the year 1774) Land was sighted on the 18th of July off the north end of the Queen Charlotte Islands. The Spaniards named the spot Santa Margarita Point, but were prevented by swift currents from making a landing although they tried for several days. The Indians, who belonged to the Haida nation, soon appeared and quickly conquered their first shyness, receiving presents, and beginning to trade in fish and furs. Some of the sailors bought cutsarks, but later repented of their bargain, being much troubled with the vermin imported at the same time. It is the first record of fur trade with the Indians of the north west coast.

The weather did not improve, so Perez sailed southward, anchoring on August 8th in San Lorenzo Harbour, a "C shaped roadstead", near Nootka Sound. He could not have entered the Sound, for if he had he would have been safe in all weathers. (1) As it was he was again unable to land, and was driven out to sea by a storm, being obliged to sacrifice his anchor. Perez made no further effort at exploration, but with a crew weak from scurvy

sailed south along the coast to Monteray, which he reached on the 27th of August, and proceeded from there to San Blas by the 2nd. of November. He had not planted a single cross, but had made a daring voyage. Perez was the first to visit the present coast of British Columbia, and ascertain its general trend, although missing the Strait of Juan de Fuca, as no mention is made of it in the journals. Possession had not been taken, but Spain could claim the right of prior discovery.

The following year Bucareli sent another expedition, consisting of two ships and a despatch boat, the "San Carlos". The "Santiago" was refitted under naval lieutenant Don Bruno Heceta, with Juan Perez as quartermaster. She was accompanied by the little schooner "Sonora", who shortly after the start of the voyage came under the command of lieutenant Juan Francisco de Y Quadra. Quadra had joined the expedition because "even the lightest undertaking would be noteworthy, both on account of its small size, scanty crew, evident lack of necessaries, accumulation of risks, and entire want of suitable qualities for such routes". (1) It was an accurate summary of the situation, as subsequent events proved. A deeply religious atmosphere pervaded the port at their departure, March 16th 1775. Before embarking all attended mass in San Blas, and walked in procession to the shore bearing the image of our Lady Maria Santisima, and chanting the Litany. The padres Benito de la Sierra and Miguel de la Campa accompanied the voyage.

The religious details had been better considered than the practical ones. The ships proved difficult to steer, and little care had been given to their outfitting. On the 8th

(1) Bodega Y Quadra "Expeditions in the Years 1775, 1779, Towards the West Coast of North America"
Translation in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. Page 2.

of April the bowsprit was found to be sprung in the "Santiago" ---"we were told that the condition of the spar was duly reported when in port --heaven knows if it be true". (1) A cloud soon marked the start of the expedition. Don Miguel Marique, captain of the despatch boat, went insane, and became obsessed by the idea that someone wanted to kill him. He stalked the decks armed with six loaded pistols, gave orders highly coloured by his mental condition, and prepared to shoot anyone who did not carry them out. With considerable difficulty he was conveyed ashore. Quadra, much to his own satisfaction, was appointed captain of the "Sonora", with Maurelle second in command, while his senior officer was transferred to the "San Carlos".

^{Hecate} Hecate's instructions were to reach 65° latitude, and survey and take possession of the coast. Adverse winds delayed progress, but a landing was made on the 14th of July at Point Grenville, in lat. $47^{\circ} 20'$, when Hecate and three others erected a cross and took possession of the country. They were the first Europeans on the north west coast. The ships' visit had a tragic ending, for the same day a party of seven going ashore for water in the "Sonora"'s only boat, were ambushed and killed within full view of the "Sonora" which was powerless to help them. Quadra was left with a crew of five able-bodied men and a boy, besides four stricken with scurvy. The Indians tried to attack the ship in canoes, but were driven off. After the disaster Hecate wished to turn back, but was over ruled by the wishes of Quadra and Maurelle. Soon afterwards the vessels were separated by a storm. Hecate reached the neighbourhood of Nootka Sound in lat. $49^{\circ} 30'$, where he sighted land and turned

(1) Diary of Padre Benito de la Sierra : Made on board the Frigate "Santiago" 1775. Translated by A.J.Baker, Mexico City, 1929. Copy in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.

south, discovering the mouth of the Columbia River on his return voyage. Perez died in the Santa Barbara Channel before reaching Mexico. Quadra and Maurelle went on, valiantly trying to carry out their instructions. The attempt was "both heroic and foolhardy". Seas swept in soaking food and sleeping quarters, and scurvy increased. The "Sonora" continued north, until Mount Edgumbe was sighted on the Alaska coast. A landing was attempted in the vicinity, but difficulties arose with the natives who wanted payment for the drinking water. Quadra fought his way to lat. 58° before deciding to sail for San Blas, having reached a further point than any other explorer. Port Bucareli was named in lat. $55^{\circ} 17'$ and fresh supplies of wood and water obtained. Quadra charted the coast from 58° south to Monteray. The return voyage was one of terrible hardship. The crew were so badly scurvy stricken that Quadra himself had to go aloft to manage the sails. The trials show his strength and endurance at their best. Cheering the sick, encouraging the convalescing to help with navigating, Quadra finally brought the completely scurvy stricken ship to Monteray, almost by personal will power, on October 6th. San Blas was reached on the 20th of November, after eight months' absence.

A third expedition was made in 1779, under Ignacio Arteaga in the "Princesa", assisted by Bodega Y Quadra in the "Favorita", with Maurelle second in command. The "Favorita" was twice the size of the "Sonora", and Quadra made every effort to safeguard the health of the crew and prevent them from being unnecessarily exposed. The ships left San Blas 17th of February and reached Port Bucareli on May 4th, where they made an extended

stay. Maurelle was commissioned to chart its ports and bays, while close examination was made of the natural resources, native customs, flora and fauna. From here Arteaga and Quadra sailed North and explored for nearly a month, sighted Mount St. Elias, so named by Bering in 1741, and searched carefully for a passage to the Arctic. Their labours were unrewarded. Lieutenant Quiros took possession of Regla Island, and by August 7th they were forced by sickness and failing provisions to turn back. They arrived at San Blas November 21, taking with them some Indian children who had been obtained with other things in barter with the natives of Port Bucareli. The ships were met by the news that war had been declared between England and Spain, and that Spain was now a participant in the American Revolutionary War. The Spanish voyages had shown the northern coastline and helped to disprove the legend of the Straits of Anian, but left the deeply indented shore and maze of islands uncharted and unexplored. War now forced Spain to abandon her newly awakened interests, and by the time she was again free to turn her attentions to the northwest, Captain Cook and the fur traders who followed him had greatly complicated her task of annexation.

In 1776 the British Admiralty sent a scientific expedition to the north west coast of America under Captain James Cook, to verify or disprove the existence of the north west passage, whose rumoured existence had given rise to so much controversy. The search was to be made from the Pacific, seeking a way to the Atlantic, instead of the usual method of working east to west from the Atlantic coast. As a further stimulus the Act of Parliament of 1745, offering twenty thousand pounds for the discovery of the

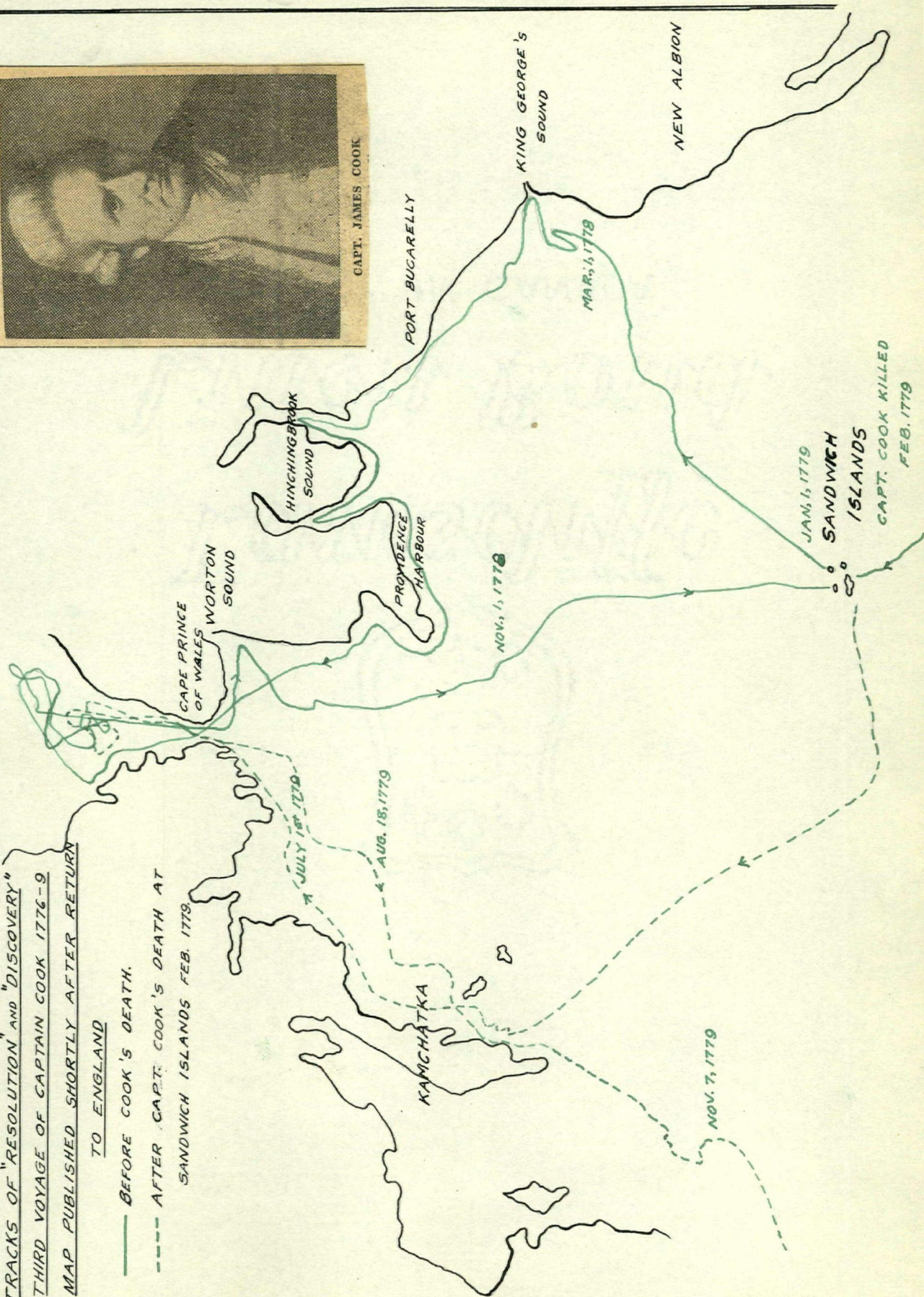
TRACKS OF "RESOLUTION" AND "DISCOVERY"
THIRD VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN COOK 1776-9
MAP PUBLISHED SHORTLY AFTER RETURN
TO ENGLAND

— BEFORE COOK'S DEATH.

--- AFTER CAPT. COOK'S DEATH AT
 SANDWICH ISLANDS FEB. 1779



CAPT. JAMES COOK



North west passage, claimable only by owners of private ships who had discovered a passage opening into Hudson's Bay, was amended and widened. The passage might be sought in any direction or parallel above the 52° of north latitude, and ships of the Royal Navy were included among those eligible. A further reward of five thousand pounds was offered for any ship reaching within one degree of the North Pole.

Captain Cook was a man eminently fitted to take charge of such a venture, having brought two previous exploring expeditions to a satisfactory conclusion, and ^{having} received the Gold Medal of the Royal Society for his paper on the prevention of scurvy. When the voyage was first suggested Cook was on the point of retirement, having been made Captain of Greenwich Hospital, but he eagerly accepted the chance of prolonging a sea-faring life. Two ships were commissioned for the voyage, "H.M.S. Resolution", and a smaller vessel of three hundred tons, "H.M.S. Discovery", under Captain Clerke, Cook's former second lieutenant. Secret instructions were issued by the Admiralty. Cook was to make the coast in latitude 45°, go north to latitude 65° or further if conditions permitted, and search and explore any rivers and inlets which might conceivably lead towards Hudson's or Baffin Bays. If the passage were discovered, or even if a possibility developed, it was to be followed to the bitter end, even though it necessitated dividing the expedition, and sending one of the smaller ships. Should investigations prove fruitless, Cook was to winter in Kamchatka, possibly at the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, and continue the search next year, going north as far as possible, charting, mapping, and taking possession of all

(I) James Cook and James King, "Voyage Round the World", Nicol, London, 1784, Pages 374-377.

unknown lands. Peaceful relations were to be maintained with any European settlements encountered.

The expedition left Plymouth Sound on the 12th. of July, 1776, with a number of domestic animals, --cows and sheep,-- and a variety of European garden seeds for the purpose of stocking new islands, either for their own convenience, or the use of the inhabitants. The ships also carried an extensive assortment of iron tools and trinkets for presents and trade in the new countries. During the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope the equatorial heat opened the badly calked seams of the "Resolution" so that large quantities of water entered, completely ruining some of the spare sails, but otherwise no casualties occurred. At the Cape the livestock was considerably supplemented, until as Lieutenant Rickman observed, "stored with these, the "Resolution" resembled the Ark, in which all the animals that were to stock the earth collected, and with their provender, they occupied no small part of the ship's storage. " (1) During the progress of the voyage a new group of islands were discovered in the Pacific, considerably north of New Zealand and the Friendly Islands, in latitude 20° north longitude 155° 30' west, which Cook named the Sandwich Islands after the Earl of Sandwich. The Spaniards had probably discovered the Islands already, but knowledge of them had evidently been lost. Much valuable information concerning these and the southern islands was collected. While in these parts great care was taken to supply the crew daily with plenty of scurvy grass and wild celery to boil with their soup. Fish was substituted for salt meat when it could be obtained, and spruce beer was brewed in large quantities as "the liquor was found

(1) John Rickman "Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage" Newberry, London, 1781. Page 21.

so satisfactory that it seemed to strike at the very root of the scurvy, and left not the least symptom of it remaining about any man in the ship". (1)

The journey from the Sandwich Islands was cold and stormy, with showers of hail and displays of aurora borealis. The coast of Oregon was sighted on March 7 1778 , in lat. $44^{\circ} 36' N.$, Cape Blanco bearing about eight or nine leagues north north east. It was a change from the hospitable islands of the South Seas. "The land near shore was of moderate height, the hills were covered with straight tall trees of the fir kind, and where they were but thinly scattered the ground was covered with snow.".(2) The arrival was celebrated on the "Discovery" where "the gentlemen of the gunroom dined on a fricassee of rats, which they accounted a venison feast, and it was a high treat to the sailors, whenever they could be lucky enough to catch a number sufficient to make a meal". (3) The weather did not improve, snow and hail fell during the night, while heavy squalls and fog made it impossible to follow the coast closely. Captain Cook began the northward journey, naming Cape Foulweather, Cape Gregory and Cape Perpetua. Before he had gone far, a storm drove him back to lat. 42° , and it was the 22nd of March before he again sighted land in lat. $47^{\circ} 5'$ and named Cape Flattery in lat. $48^{\circ} 22\frac{1}{2}'$, having missed the mouth of the Columbia River. Search was made for the Strait of Fuca, but "stormy weather like some diabolical deamon" snatched the discovery from him, forcing him to seek safety in open sea, and land was next seen at Breakers Point, Vancouver Island, in

(1) John Rickman "Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage"
Page 59.

(2) W.Ellis "Cook's Voyage"
G.Robinson, London, 1784. Page 184.

(3) John Rickman "Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage "
Page 232.

latitude 49° 15'. The "Resolution" anchored in an arm of the sea very near shore, and next morning with the help of the "Discovery" sought suitable anchorage. Captain Cook discovered nearby "a convenient, snug cove, well suited to our purpose", and Lieutenant King after reconnoitering reported it to be an excellent harbour. The ships moored in what became later famous as Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, the trading centre of the north-west coast. It was their first anchorage on the north American shore.

A little later the Indians made a ceremonious appearance. Three laden canoes approached, directed by a fur clad orator with a rattle in each hand which he used to some effect. The natives sang melodiously and flung handfuls of red dust or powder into the sea. The orator harangued and threw white feathers on the water. Then they withdrew to return later with more oratory and singing and largely increased numbers. The word "Haela" was repeated frequently as the burden of the song. One of the chiefs attracted notice for his remarkable head dress of feathers and the extraordinary manner in which he was painted. In his hand he carried a large wooden rattle carved like a bird, and his canoe was decorated by a bird's eye, and a bill of colossal size. (1) According to Nootka legend, the natives thought Cook's ships were salmon turned into a boat, and sent a woman doctor named Hahtsaik, who had power over all kinds of salmon, out to meet them in a canoe with three strong young men. She wore a red cedar bark cap and apron, and carried a whalebone rattle in each hand. As they approached she sang, and then hailed the ship calling "Hello you, you spring salmon, hello you dog salmon, (1) Cook and King "Voyage Round the World"

Page 635-7.

hello coho salmon". Another canoe followed, with a second doctor, Wiwai, who spoke in the same manner. Wiwai soon returned to the village

Nanaimis of the Muchalats then put two beaver skins in his canoe and set off with ten men to visit the ship. Cook wanted him to come on board, offered him two black blankets and tried to shake hands. Nanaimis, although declining the invitation, realized Cook was not an enchanted salmon, and taking the blankets gave him the beaver skins in return. Maquinna, not to be outdone, also paid a visit and exchanged presents. He received a fine gold braid hat and gave a sea otter skin. The natives then performed a wolf dance on the beach in honour of the strangers. (1)

Cook first named the place "King George's Sound", but soon changed it to "Nootka" believing it to be the native name. A lengthy stay was made to make astronomical observations, secure fresh supplies of wood and water, and repair ships and rigging. Trade or rude form of barter developed with the Indians, who in return for oddments, such as knives, nails, chisels, pieces of copper and tin, hatchets, red cloth, brass buttons, pewter, and mirrors gave skins and robes of sea otter. Glass beads and linen had no value in their eyes. They preferred iron to any other commodity, and appeared to be perfectly familiar with it, using it for arrow heads, although they had no means of procuring it for themselves. Cook concluded that the metal had originated in the Russian traders of Kamschatka, and satisfied himself by careful examination that direct trade had not taken place at the Sound. Other furs were offered, bear, wolf and lynx, as well as food supplies, game, fish, mussels, spring onions, large quantities of whale blubber, nearly twenty gallons of train oil, and several

(1) F.W.Howay and E.O.S.Scholefield "British Columbia" vol. 1. loc.cit. Pages 81-83.

bales of fish dried in smoke, which tasted much like red herrings. In some cases the Indians tried to cheat them by filling the bladders with water instead of oil. The men eagerly brought the oil to make sauce for their salt fish, "and no butter in England was ever thought half so good". The Indians also exhibited human skulls and hands still partly covered with flesh, the first evidences of the cannibalism practised by the Kwakiwutl and Tsimshian tribes.(1)

Cook commented on the Indians' habits of trade, saying that in general practise they were fair enough, and showed their chief propensity to thieve as the English were preparing to depart, when they became so covetous of the goods that they could not resist the temptation to carry off all that came in their way. The Nootka Indians never stole anything for which they had no immediate use. They were content to procure articles which they knew they wanted, and Cook remarked that it was fortunate for his expedition that they were attracted by "the single articles of our metals". Linen and such objects could be left hanging ashore in perfect safety.

Preparations on the ships took four weeks to complete, during which time Indians collected from all over the Sound to see the phenomena. They announced their arrivals by paddling three times round the ships, while a chief or person of note stood up and spoke in a loud voice. New masts were set up with native assistance, and large quantities of spruce beer brewed. The English left the coast with fifteen hundred beaver and sea otter pelts, obtained for a mere song, according to Miss Agnes C. Laut (2) Lieutenant Rickman observes that they had more than three hundred sea otter skins on board, besides others less valuable,

(1) Diamond Jenness "Indians of Canada"
F.A.Acland, Ottawa, 1932. P.338.

(2) Agnes C. Laut "Pioneers of the Pacific Coast" (Chronicles of Canada Series)
Glasgow, Brook and Co. Toronto 1922. Page 47.

foxes, racoons, wolves, bears, deer and several other wild animals, but gives no indication whether he refers to the "Discovery" alone, or to the entire expedition.(1) The ships finally left on April 26, 1778, and continued up the coast in search of the northwest passage.

Land was not sighted again till latitude 54°44', where Mount Edgecumbe, a large peak to the northward, received its name. Cook passed and named Cross Sound and Mount Fairweather, but did not land until he reached Kaye Island in latitude 59°49'. Here he left a bottle with a paper bearing the names of the ships and date of discovery, and two silver coins dated 1772. Comptroller Bay was named on the mainland. The Indians, who soon appeared, seemed of a more savage disposition, and nearly succeeded in cutting off two of the ships'boats. With great difficulty the natives were frightened off, but they soon returned displaying a white cloak as a symbol of peace, and trade in furs was resumed. They were a different type from the people of Nootka, and wore lip ornaments and paddled in skin canoes.

After two days the ships went on to Prince William's Sound, where they were much disappointed to find no passage to any other sea, although eight days were spent in searching. At first the Indians visited them in small numbers, strewing white feathers on the water and holding up a white garment. The chief was dressed in sea otter robes, and wore a cap like those seen at Nootka, decorated with blue beads. For trade any kind of beads were highly esteemed, and were readily exchanged, even

(1) Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Thought to be written by Lieutenant John Rickman. Page 246.

for their fine sea otter skins. Pieces of iron were also much in demand, but small pieces, less than nine or ten inches long were rejected. Soon the Indians grew bolder, and even tried to plunder the "Resolution". One night they boarded her, and drawing their knives made signs to the officer of the watch to keep off, while they began to search for plunder. When the rest of the crew appeared with drawn cutlasses they slipped off to their canoes with every appearance of indifference.

From here the expedition went west, and explored Cook's River. The Indians were not seen for a considerable time, but proved to be very similar to those of Prince William Sound. The botanists made observations at every port of call, and collected large quantities of wild celery and vetch for the use of the ships' company. Great care was also taken regarding the cleanliness and vantilation of the ships. Twice a week they were aired between decks with fires, and fires were made in iron pots at the bottom of the well, to ensure a pure atmosphere in the lower parts of the ship. Strict attention was given to the ships' coppers, while care was taken to expose the crew as little as possible to wet weather, and keep their hammocks and bedding clean and dry. The ships left Cook's River on the 6th. of June 1778, passed the Shumagin Islands, where an Indian messenger brought them a Russian note which no one on board could decipher, and sailed on to Oonalashka. They gained latitude steadily, and the weather grew piercingly cold. In 66° the frost set in so that the running rigging was loaded with ice, and the ice even formed at the men's finger tips if they

exposed them for five or six minutes. At 69°46' N. "hot victuals froze while we were at table." The state of the provisions now made it necessary to substitute sea lion meat for other food, but the move was not popular. Icebergs became common, and the "Discovery" was nearly wrecked. Bad weather and heavy seas increased the difficulties, and in 70°9' N. it was decided to leave the coast for the season and winter at the Sandwich Isles. On their return they met a Russian barge of twelve oars, and were invited to visit the Russian factory and fort. They did so, and were well entertained by the governor, who it later transpired had sent them the mysterious message. The Russians eagerly bought any furs which the crews were willing to part with, paying £5.6 to £7.9 a skin. (1)

The course was now steered south west for the Sandwich Islands, and the vessels anchored in Kalekakooa Bay, where disaster overtook them a few months later. On February 14 th. 1779 Captain Cook lost his life in a skirmish with the natives, and the expedition had to continue without the great commander, north to the Bering Sea in a final search for the northwest passage. The route lay past the Kamchatkan coast. The ships anchored in Avatcha Bay and were kindly received by the Russians. From here they made their way laboriously to 69°34' north, where further passage was blocked by solid ice fields, and showed that no northwest passage to Europe could exist. Captain Clerke decided to abandon the fruitless search, and sail for England, calling at Avatcha Bay first for repairs. Neither of the great leaders survived the voyage. Captain Clerke's

Third

- (1) Journal of Cook's Voyage, by George Gilbert (one of crew of H.M.S. Resolution). Original in British Museum. Written copy in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. Page 166.

health finally broke down, and on August 22 nd. 1779 he succumbed to consumption in latitude 53° 7' north. Captain Gore assumed command, and put Lieutenant King in charge of the "Discovery". The course was set down the coast of Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands, along the eastern coast of Japan, and from thence to the Chinese coast and the port of Macao. At Macao the officers and men were required to give up their diaries, so that no information regarding the ships might be published until the wishes of the Admiralty were known.

The Chinese merchants amazed the sailors by offering large sums of money for the furs collected on the American coast. The men had had no idea of their value, and doing little to preserve them, used the skins for clothes and bedding. Now one seaman sold his stock for eight hundred dollars, and a few prime skins which happened to be clean and well preserved, for a hundred and twenty dollars each. Only a third of the original supply of furs were now surviving, but these realized two thousand pounds sterling. Great excitement prevailed among the crew in consequence, and they were eager, almost to the point of mutiny, to return to Cook's River for more furs and make their fortunes. This was not possible, but Lieutenant King fully sympathized with the scheme, and drew public attention to its practicability in his official account of the voyage. Several of the men who had sailed with Cook's expedition later played a considerable part in the affairs of the northwest coast. Among them, Vancouver, Roberts, Colnett, and Hergest were midshipmen, Portlock was a master's mate, and

Dixon an armourer.

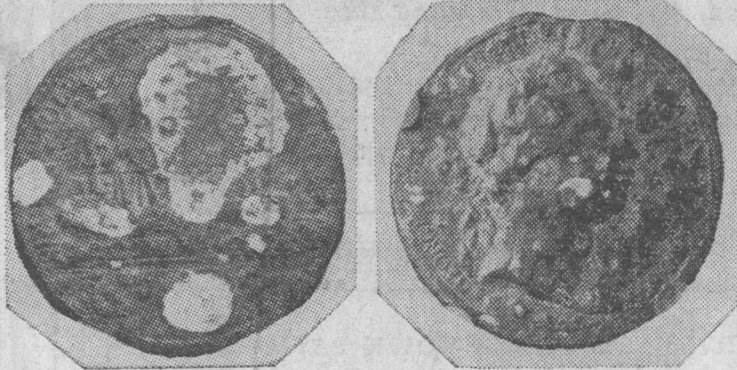
The voyage had not been successful in its main objective, but geographical knowledge had been greatly extended. During the whole four years the "Resolution" had only lost five men by sickness, three of whom were in a precarious state of health when they left England. The "Discovery" had not lost a man. (1) At a time when scurvy was the terror of the ocean, it was a tremendous achievement, due to the strict observation of Captain Cook's regulations. The chief preventatives used were sauerkraut and portable soup, and these were so successful that no occasion arose for testing the antiscorbutics with which they were supplied. The baneful effects of salt provisions were avoided by varying them with every possible substitute - fish, white bear, sea horse, and the like. Captain Cook's contribution to the discovery of the north west is ably summarized by Lieutenant King. " Captain Cook explored the western coast of America from 43° - 70° north, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles, ascertaining the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America: passed the Straits between them, and surveyed the coast, on each side, to such a height of northern latitude as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, either by an Eastern or Western course." (2)

An interesting bronze medallion was found during the summer of 1933, by an Indian youth on Village Island, at the entrance to Kyuquot Sounds, which has been identified as one of

(1) Cook and King, "Voyage Round the World", III, 488.

(2) Ibid, Page 50.

Is Record of Discovery



—Photo by H. Whittlesey, Victoria Studio.

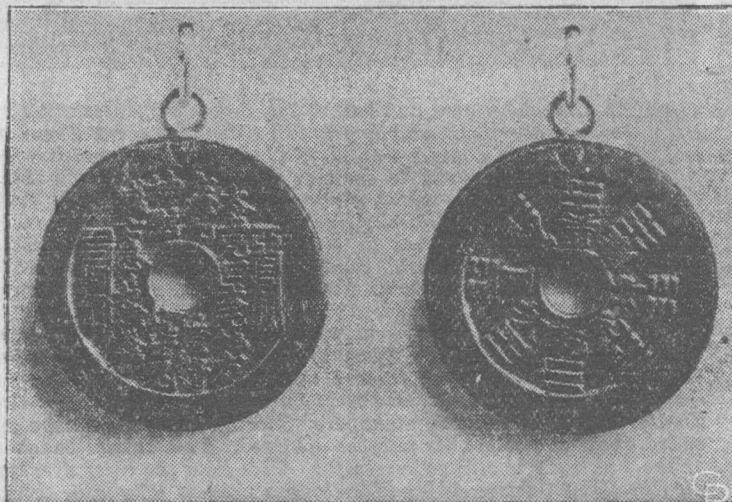
ABOVE are depicted the reverse and obverse sides of the medallion found at Kyuquot by Arthur Nicolaye, an Indian youth, and which has been identified as having been brought by Captain Cook, in 1778, when he discovered this country. It is regarded as the most valuable relic of our history.

"Victoria Daily Colonist"

Victoria, British Columbia.

Sunday, January 21st 1934.

Chinese In Old B.C.



This Oriental talisman, with other Buddhist relics, was found in a jar round which the roots of a centuries-old fallen tree had entwined in Northern B. C. This gives added color to the theory that Chinese, ages ago, paid long visits to Western America.

"Vancouver Daily Province"

Vancouver, British Columbia.

Saturday, March 10th 1934.

those struck to commemorate Cook's second voyage of 1772-5. On one side the likeness of George III can easily be seen, with the engravers' initials "B.F.", representing Boulton and Fothergill of Birmingham, the designers of the medallion. The reverse shows two ships and a portion of the legend, leaving no question of its identity. The medallions were struck when Cook left for his second voyage of discovery to the Pacific, in gold, silver, bronze and brass. They were left with the natives as testimonials that the English were the first discoverers of the new lands. There is no record that any such tokens were struck when Cook started on his third and last venture with the "Resolution" and "Discovery". "It is possible then that a few of the medallions previously struck were brought along by Captain Cook, and that at Nootka he sparingly gave one or two to important native chiefs, with the intention of carrying out the purpose for which he had them on his previous adventure into the uncharted seas of the Pacific." (1) The relic is the first of its kind to be discovered on the north west coast.

- (1) The "Victoria Daily Colonist", January 21, 1934.
Published by the "Colonist" Office, Victoria, British
Columbia. Pages 1-2.

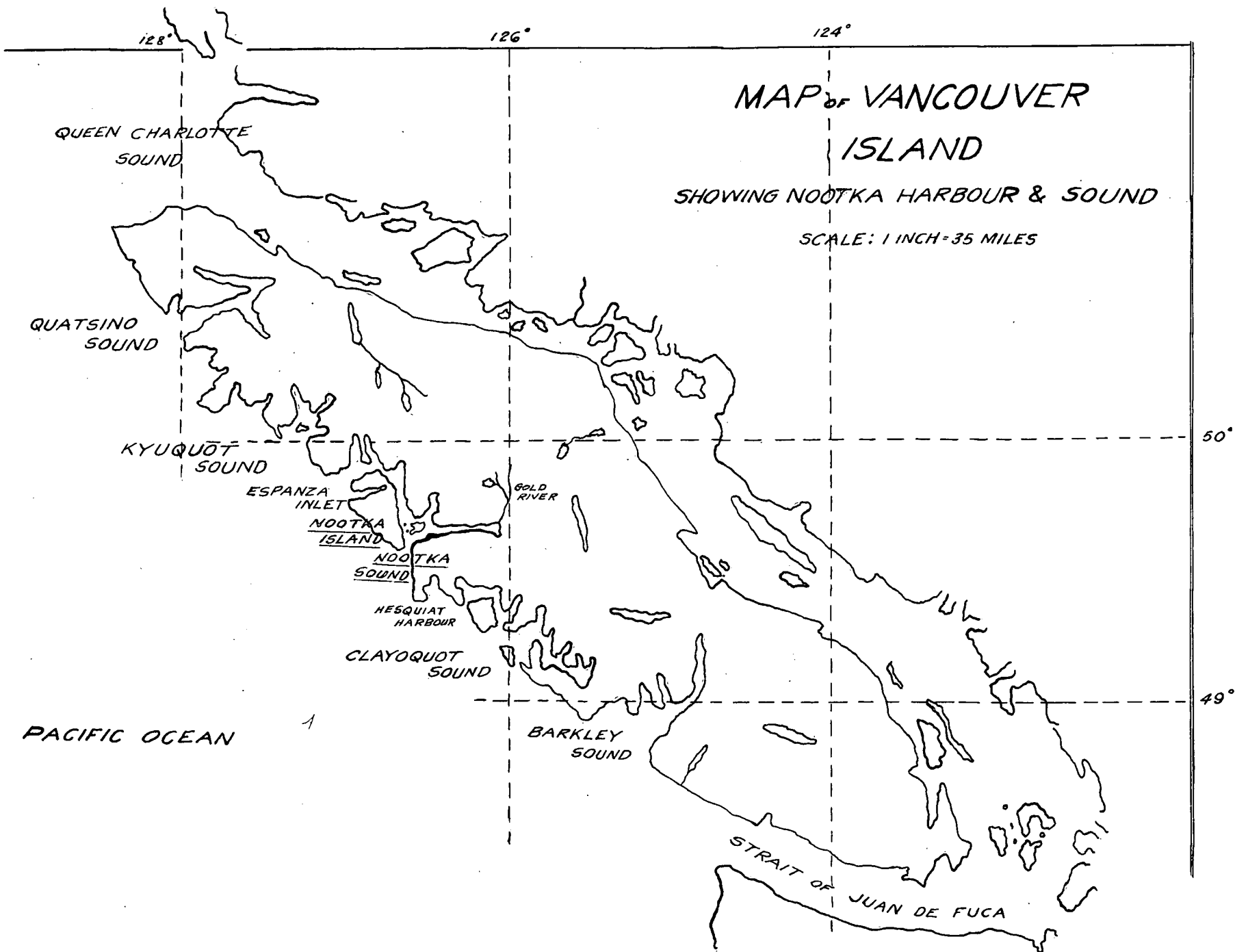
Chapter II. "THE OPENING OF THE FUR TRADE".

Captain Cook made the first extended survey of the north west coast, and gave the world definite information about the region. The war between England, and France and Spain, delayed the publication of the voyage until after the Treaty of Versailles. Its appearance in the following year, 1784, marked the beginning of a new era, that of the western maritime fur trade. The expedition had been undertaken with the most disinterested views, and its results were now freely offered to the world, giving every nation equal chances to profit by the advance in science and knowledge. The fur market was discovered by Cook's men, and Lieutenant King gave an enthusiastic account of its possibilities. Valuable furs could be obtained on the American coast for trifles - beads, cloth, pieces of iron and copper - and skins which sometimes did not cost the purchaser sixpence sold in China for a hundred dollars. Under such circumstances voyages undertaken for purely commercial purposes would pay handsomely. The idea appealed strongly both to King and the crews of the "Resolution" and "Discovery", and they were only too eager to engage in such an enterprise. Circumstances made it impossible at the time, but King recommended that the East India Company should enter the fur trade, combining exploration with it. From his experiences, he suggested that ships be sent in pairs, of a certain tonnage,

one of two hundred, and the other of a hundred and fifty tons. These could easily be acquired at Canton, and might be outfitted including provisions, a year's pay, and the original price of the ships for six thousand pounds.

Articles of trade were not expensive. Each ship was advised to take five tons of unwrought iron, a forge, and an expert smith and his assistants capable of making the articles most desired by the Indians at the time. Iron was the only staple commodity of barter - the Indians were noted for their capriciousness - but King recommended including in the cargo a few gross of large-pointed case knives, some bales of coarse woollen cloth, (linen was formerly refused, but no reason was given), and a barrel or two of copper and glass trinkets. The vessels would sail with the first south westerly monsoon, about the beginning of April, and make the Shumagen Islands and Cook's River near the end of June, collecting skins as they went. Two hundred and fifty pelts, worth a hundred dollars each, should be obtained without much difficulty. The ships were then to explore the region from latitude 50° - 56° N., which Cook was prevented from visiting by contrary winds, and after spending three months on the coast, return to China early in October.

The East India Company played but a small part in the development of the north west coast. In 1786 they granted James Strange leave of absence to investigate the possibilities of the fur trade at his own expense. If the voyage was financially successful, they were willing to consider participation in the sea otter industry, but when it failed their



interest flagged. In July of the same year 1786, the "Lark", a ship owned by the East India Company, left for the north west coast, but was wrecked on the voyage. Strange's expedition had not returned at this time, and the purpose of the East India Company in sending a second ship so soon is not known. The owners of Barkley's "Imperial Eagle" were mostly officials of the East India Company, but shareholders in an unofficial capacity. When their participation in this nefarious venture was discovered they were obliged to disclaim Barkley and sell the "Imperial Eagle" to save their positions. There is no other record of the East India Company or its active employees taking any interest in the affairs of the Pacific north west.

The coast was soon crowded by ships of private enterprise, eager to exploit this new and seemingly inexhaustible mine of wealth. The influence of the 1784 edition of Cook's Voyages was far reaching both in Europe and America. It was directly responsible for the early English traders such as Strange, Meares, and the Etches firm. It stimulated the Russians to greater activity in Alaska, and inspired the French government to send a similar exploring and scientific expedition to the South Pacific and the north west coast to collect data on the fur possibilities. In the United States the report was read with interest, and the Boston merchants lost no time in entering the field.

A further plan for promoting the fur trade and securing it for England was made in 1789, by the Cartographer Alexander Dalrymple, who wished to unite the operations of the

East India Company with those of the Hudson's Bay Company. Dalrymple still believed that some water communication must exist between the western and eastern coasts, either by sounds or rivers. He made much of the discoveries of Cook, Dixon and Barkley which seemed to favor such a theory, for were it correct the companies might derive large profits from combining. He thought China would make an excellent market for the inland furs collected by the Hudson's Bay Company, and wanted the maritime traders to include seal skins as well as sea otter in their cargoes, as they were valued by the Chinese. It seemed possible that the Hudson's Bay Company would get their furs cheaper by doing away with trader middlemen, and could supply the Indians with more staple goods, coarse woollens and iron ware, instead of ammunition and spirits "to their destruction". Incidentally, while the Hudson's Bay Company controlled the trade, connection with the Mother Country was assured. Otherwise it was quite possible that the traders might settle, become independent, and break away. Dalrymple suggested that a "coppered ship" be sent from China to the north west coast about July 1, possibly to Port Bucarelli (which he believed to be in latitude 55°) to collect the furs received by the Hudson's Bay Company's agents. He broached the subject to Portlock, but continues, "Captain Portlock is inclined to prefer some port to the northward, in the sounds from Mount Edgecumbe to Cross Sound or between 57° and 58° north, from the abundance of sea-otter skins." (1) Apparently he made little impression, for here the matter ended, and

(1) Alexander Dalrymple, "Plan for Promoting the Fur Trade", Pub. 1789. Printed in T. Long, "Voyages and Travels", Pub., Robinson, London, 1791. Page 30.

Portlock makes no reference to the scheme either in the introduction or journal of his voyage.

The sea otter is one of the tragedies of the fur world. The history of the north west coast is that of its pursuit and extermination. To the early navigators it seemed that as great wealth was to be found in furs as in the silver mines of Mexico and Peru, and consequently the sea otter, which abounded in hundreds of thousands a century ago is now practically extinct. Had an independent state arisen in these early times in the northwest, it might fittingly have chosen the sea otter as its emblem."

The sea otter or Kalan, called "sea beaver" by the Russians, is a species of otter, but much larger than the fresh water variety, weighing from sixty to eighty pounds. In its habits it bears more resemblance to the fur seal. When fully grown it measures from three and a half to four feet in length, and has a stumpy tail seven inches long. The pelt alone often gives the erroneous impression of coming from an animal at least six feet in length. When it is removed in skinning it is cut only at the posteriors, and the body is drawn forth, turning the skin inside out. In this shape it is slightly stretched and air dried, and lengthens considerably during the process. The sea otter frequents the sea washed rocks of bays and estuaries, but being very timid, really prefers the neighbourhood of islands, where it can get both food and shelter. It lives on fish, crustacea and mollusks, and sleeps on the forests of kelp and seaweed. It is not very

prolific, having but one pup at a time. Although a marine animal, the sea otter cannot breathe under water, and must come up every few minutes for air. Even if it attempts to stay down, gases form in its body bringing it to the surface, a serious disadvantage when trying to escape from hunters. Fierce storms drive it on shore to escape being smothered. The fur is very beautiful and of great value. The colour varies, but it is generally a rich ebony, showing silver when blown open, and slightly tinged with brown on the upper parts of the body. The head is occasionally marked with silver. It was a favorite fur both with the Chinese mandarins and the Russian nobility.

There were three different methods of hunting the sea otter - storm hunting when the animals were driven on shore, still hunting in fine weather, and later long distance rifle shooting taught the Aleuts by the Russians. Storm hunting was wild work, like the very incarnation of the storm spirit itself. At great risk of life the hunters reached the rocks and heaving kelp beds, and leaped ashore club in hand, slaying the sleeping animals left and right in hundreds. In the Russian territories of the Aleutian Islands, and the northern coast, two types of hunting boats were used, - big "bid^{bid} barkies", holding between twenty and thirty men, and little "kayaks" carrying two or three, mere cockle shells, made of oiled walrus skin stretched over a frame. Only kayaks or canoes were used for still hunting on a calm sea, and equipment consisted of bows, arrows and a small harpoon.

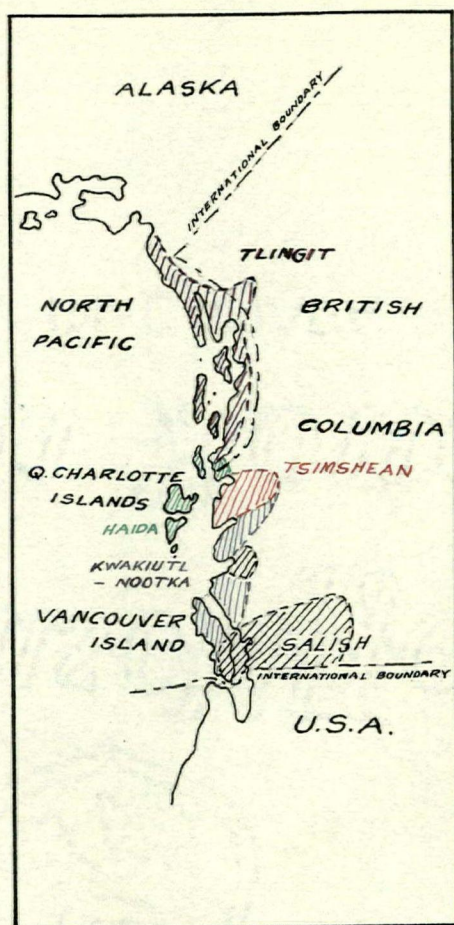
The latter had several fathoms of strong line attached, and its head was so notched and barbed that once it had entered the flesh it was almost impossible to extract it. The arrows were bone pointed and small, with a single barb. The hunters formed a circle as soon as a round head appeared at the surface, or a bubble indicated it was somewhere in the vicinity. As soon as the sea otter bobbed up, it was greeted by shouts and weapons, and even if the harpoons missed, was forced to dive again before gaining its breath. The animal had to come to the surface for oxygen every fifteen or twenty minutes, and each time was forced down with a scant supply of air until finally it became so full of gases from suppressed breathing that it cannot sink, and the hunters made their capture. The skill in the chase consisted in following in the same line as the sea otter took under water and keeping up with his high speed. The animal frequently escaped, but if cornered, especially with young, male and female fought with ferocious courage, tearing out harpoons and arrows with their teeth, and even attacked the canoes. The long distance rifles of the Russians were a later and deadlier development which sealed the fate of the sea otter. The Indians shot seals and sea otter on shore with bows and arrows. They hid themselves on land wearing masks resembling the desired animal to serve as decoys, covering their bodies with branches of trees. The masks were such excellent likenesses that the victims were frequently deceived, and came within reach of the arrows. At one time the sea otter existed from Lower California to the

Bering Sea. Today it is practically wiped out. Only native Aleuts are allowed to hunt it, and a white man may not kill one under penalty of five hundred dollars. Unfortunately remedies have come too late, and even fur farming is useless, since the animals do not thrive in captivity.(1)

The region of the fur traders was an extensive one, reaching from Southern California north to the Alaskan ports of the Russians. British Columbian history, and that of its native tribes, concerns the region between the mouth of the Columbia River to the Portland Canal. The character of the coastline changed considerably as it gained in latitude, from a smooth and unindented south to jagged fiords, large inlets and a maze of islands in the north. The largest group of islands lying off the coast were the Queen Charlottes in latitude 54°, a happy hunting ground of the fur traders. Their advent began a new era in the history of the British Columbian Indians. There were six principal tribes on the coast, three northern and three southern. In the extreme north were the Tlingit - beyond them came the Eskimos, having some of their characteristics, but most resembling regular² eskimo tribes - followed by the Tsimshian and Haida, tribes closely related in culture. In the south were the Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Salish tribes. The three northern tribes were grouped in still larger units called phratries, which employed a special heraldic crest, but these organizations were not popular in

- (1) Good descriptions of the sea otter appear in:
 S. Newhouse, "The Trappers' Guide," The Oneida Community, Wallingford, C. T. 1867.
 Agnes C. Laut, "The Fur Trade of America", Macmillan Co., New York, 1921.

LINGUISTIC STOCKS
OF
THE INDIANS
OF THE
BRITISH COLUMBIAN COAST



{ "BRITISH NORTH AMERICA".
C. HILL TOUT PAGE 254.
 { CONSTABLE, LONDON 1907.

the south. The Nootka, Kwakiutl, and Coast Salish recognized no phratric divisions, but within their individual tribes were numbers of "geneological families" or clans. Among the Kwakiutl particularly, great rivalry existed between the heads of the clans. It was shown strongly in the potlatches, in which everyone who received a gift, unless of lower social status, was obliged to return it in double quantity.

The tribes in common "participated in a civilization which was characterized by the possession of large rectangular wooden houses, and of dug out canoes, whose dress was scanty, who depended almost entirely upon the sea for food, who held in great regard those persons who were of pure descent and benevolent in the disposal of property, and who had a conventionalized grotesque art." (1) These wooden houses were peculiar to the coast, and varied slightly in different localities. All had one common feature, and were built with a separate inner main framework and an outside covering or shell. The framework lasted for many years, but the Indians, who were a race of transients, annually tore down the planks of the outer shell and removed them for a short time to other localities. It was common for a tribe to have several village sites, and spend some part of the year at each, a habit which caused considerable inconvenience to the traders. Maquinna of Nootka thought nothing of moving his village from Friendly Cove to Tashees, in the middle of the lengthy bartering operations, and the traders had to follow or go elsewhere.

The clothing of the Indians was simple - in summer

(1) Pliny Earle Goddard, "Indians of the Northwest Coast", American Museum Press, New York, 1924. Page 13.

the men frequently dispensed with it altogether. In winter, or for ceremonial occasions, they wore garments and hats of woven cedar fibre, or robes, "cutsarks", made of three sea otter skins, in which the sides of two were sewn together, and the side of the third sewn to the ends of the others. The total lack of footwear was one of the features of the coast. The food of the natives was simple - salmon was the chief staple of diet, along with halibut, sturgeon, and oolichan or "candle fish", varied by game, the flesh of seals, porpoises and sea otter, berries, roots, seaweed and clams. Clams were an important item, since it was always possible to fall back on them, when other food supplies became exhausted. The Indians were a primitive people, but were good fishers, understood the drying of fish, storing of oil, making of elementary tools, and had made considerable progress in basketry and a type of conventionalized art, as well as developing a fondness for music. As wood carvers, the Haidas were supreme, and were noted for their enormous totem poles, many of which are still in existence. The Tlingit were perhaps superior in basketry.

The social organization took the form of a pyramid, with the chief at the top, having under him lesser chiefs who acted for their individual groups. The British Columbian Indians were by no means democratic, and recognized three distinct grades of society, nobles, commoners, and slaves, of whom the commoners made up the bulk of the population. The slaves were allowed to marry in their own class only, and

possessed no rights, being mostly prisoners of war who could be put to death at the whim of the masters. Slavery was universally practised, and wealth was the criterion on the coast. Women had considerable voice in matters of trade and government, particularly among the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands. In that region no Indian "dared conclude a bargain without his wife's consent; if he did the moment he went to his canoe he was sure to get a beating. This I have seen to be the case more than once, and there is no mercy to be expected without the intercession of some kind female." (1)

Their position at Nootka was not quite so dominant, although outlying villages owing allegiance to Maquinna were frequently left in charge of his feminine relations. Strange comments on the acuteness of the Nootka women in bargaining: "--- in my mercantile capacity I dreaded the sight of a woman: for whenever they were present, they were sure to preside over and direct all commercial transactions, and as often as that was the case, I was obliged to pay three times the price, for what in their absence I could have procured for one third the value." (2)

Ornaments and customs varied with the tribes. Head deformation was practised by the Salish, where the head was flattened so that it sloped backwards, and also among the Kwakiutl, who bough the head so as to decrease the diameter and elongate it upward and backward, producing the sugar loaf type. The Haida women and those of Norfolk Sound favored lip

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- (1) John Hoskins, "Narrative of a Voyage to the North West off America and China", Performed in the "Columbia Redivia", 1790-3. Transcript in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C. Page 56.
 - (2) James Strange, "Commercial Expedition to the North West Coast of America", Page 32.

ornaments - large wooden disks inserted in the lower lip, with hideous results, the only difference being that at Norfolk Sound it signified rank, while the fashion was open to all at the Queen Charlotte Islands. Dixon describes the process at Port Mulgrave: "an aperture is made in the thick part of the under lip, and increased by degrees in a line parallel with the mouth and equally long. In this aperture a piece of wood is constantly worn, hollowed out on each side like a spoon, but not so deep." (1) At the Queen Charlotte Islands he noticed one lip piece which appeared to be peculiarly ornamented, and made several efforts to buy it, but tools, basins, a hatchet, were all refused. The old lady's fancy was finally taken by some bright buttons and she eagerly made the exchange. "This curious lip piece measured three and seven-eighths inches long, and two and five-eighths inches in the widest part; it was inlaid with a small pearly shell, round which was a rim of copper." (2) The general standard of life was low. The Indians were infested with vermin, and their bodies were so encrusted with paint and dirt that it was difficult to tell what their exact colour was. Their houses were insanitary, and reeked of rotting fish, the remains of which were strewn on the floor.

The Haidas were by far the fiercest and most warlike of the British Columbian Indians, and did not bear much resemblance to the other tribes. Their faces were broad with protuding cheek bones, and their eyes had a mongolian slant. Powerful in build, they were the most advanced and notable

(1) Dixon, "Voyage Round the World", Page 172.

(2) Ibid, Page 208.

people on the coast. Their language, traditions, physical and psychological traits were distinct. The Haidas were not the square wooden type with brown skins and black hair found elsewhere. Their women were also exceedingly strong, and better looking than the average coast Indian, often having ruddy cheeks. Tatooing was more favoured than by the other tribes, and took place in three stages, at each of which a potlatch was given, and a new name assumed.(1)

The other tribes, such as the Nootka Indians, were shorter, fuller in the figure, and much more phlegmatic. Cook observed "a very remarkable sameness of expression seemed to characterize the countenances of the whole nation, a dull want of expression, with very little variation being marked in all of them." The women closely resembled the men in appearance. On the whole they seemed to be "a docile, courteous, good natured people, quick in resenting what they look upon as an insult or injury, and like most passionate people as soon in forgetting it." (2) Their curiosity, like most of their passions seemed to lie dormant, and they were much given to petty thieving. Theory and practice of government did not concern them, and they lacked political ability. Their interests centred in social activities, ceremonies and festivals with religious and traditional significance. The medicine men, claiming supernatural powers as a result of prayers and fastings, were very powerful, and distinguished by peculiarities of dress and appearance. Ritualism had a

(1) Diamond Jenness, "Indians of Canada", F. A. Acland, Printer to the King, Ottawa, 1932, cf. chaps. 10 and 21.

(2) Cook and King, "Voyage Round the World", Pages 300-332.

strong appeal, and disease was cured by frightening the evil spirits, assisted by massage and sucking. The Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian used a "soul catcher" or bone tube (generally carved), for capturing the wandering souls of the sick and returning them to their bodies. Secret societies flourished among the west coast Indians, thought to have originated among the Kwakiutls, and been adopted by the others. The most horrible of these was the "Cannibal Society", whose members literally dismembered human corpses, and consumed portions of the flesh.(1) Other forms of cannibalism were practised, such as devouring the hands and other portions of enemies slain in battle. According to Jenness, the culture of the west coast was not a virile one, and "had apparently reached full blossom at the coming of the white man, and was lacking in further potentialities for health and vigorous growth." (2)

Such were the inhabitants of the north west coast who were soon to be engulfed in such keen commercial rivalry. They were more or less friendly, but trade was not accomplished without considerable loss of life and property. The conscienceless behavior of the traders often aroused the natives to attack, which was followed by reprisals and bad blood. The traders themselves were only interested in outwitting each other and the natives, and reaping rich rewards in China. The best fur centres lay in the Queen Charlotte Islands, Vancouver Island, the island mazes off the mainland, and the Prince of Wales Archipelago. The earlier visitors got good furs at Cook's River, Prince William's Sound, and

(1) Diamond Jenness, "Indians of Canada", Page 338.

(2) Ibid, Page 148.

Norfolk Sound, but even then encountered Russian competition, and found the area was being well drained, and the Indians afraid to trade with strangers. The furs of the Russian traders reserved for the Chinese market entered by way of Kiakhta, a town on the border between Siberia and Mongolia, and did not compete with those of the maritime traders, who took their pelts direct to the port of Macao in China.

Chapter III."THE EARLY TRADERS".

(1785-1788).

During the first three years of the fur trade - 1785-1787, all the ships on the coast with the exception of the exploring expedition of La Perouse were English, although some flew the flags of other countries to avoid the monopolies of the English joint stock companies and their strangle hold on trade. The British Admiralty had made considerable efforts to check the spread of information concerning the north west coast before the official publication of "Cook's Voyages" in 1784. Both Captain Cook and Captain Clerke were instructed "To demand from the officers and petty officers, the log books and journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection; and enjoining them and the whole crew not to divulge where they have been, until they have permission to do so." Zimmerman later stated that the journals had either to be surrendered or destroyed, but he was mistaken. It was merely a precaution to guard against the forestalling of the market, and prevent other versions circulating before the authorized one appeared.

Captain Cook and Captain Clerke died on the voyage, so that the duty of fulfilling the orders devolved upon Captain Gore and Captain King. As the ships neared Macao,

during November 1779, both ships' companies were mustered on deck, where the captains read the command, and urged them to comply with it. Captain King tried to make it as easy as possible for the men: "I told them that any papers which they were desirous of not having sent to the admiralty, should be sealed up in their presence, and kept in my own custody, till the intentions of the board with regard to the publication of the history of the voyage, were fulfilled: after which they should be faithfully restored to them." There seemed to be little objection on the part of the men, and Captain King recorded with great satisfaction: "I am persuaded that every scrap of paper, containing any transactions relating to the voyage was given up." The error of this assumption was soon evident, for within six months of the ships' return the first surreptitious journal appeared, and two more followed in the next two years. They were the anonymous (Rickman's) in 1781, Zimmerman's in 1781, and Ellis^e in 1782.

Rickman's Journal was the first account offered to the interested world. His publisher, Newberry, was notable for the production of surreptitious editions, and the authorities had been forced to interfere previously and prevent him from reestablishing the market with an unlicensed version of Cook's Second Voyage. Rickman's narrative was published at London in April 1781, and read widely, being reprinted at Dublin within a few months, and also translated into German. Apparently no steps were taken to restrain Newberry or check its distribution.

The second unauthorized English account was that of William Ellis, assistant surgeon of the "Discovery", which appeared in 1782. He needed money, and so sold his notes to a bookseller for thirty guineas. It was a dear bargain, in as much as it lost Ellis the support of Sir Joseph Banks whose protegee he had formerly been. On January 23, 1782, Ellis received a letter from Banks expressing regret that he had "engaged in so imprudent a business" and feared in consequence "that it will not in future be in my power to do what might have been done, had you followed my advice." (1) The Journal was reprinted in London 1783, 1784 and 1785, during which time there is no record of official protest. It had a wide circulation, and the following year was published both in France and Germany.

An edition appeared in the United States in 1783, the work of John Ledyard, an American sailor. It is especially interesting because it is believed that Ledyard surrendered all his notes in obedience to the official command, and wrote his version from memory, with the assistance of Rickman's journal. In many places his account is simply a "barefaced transcription" of the latter. One of the earliest, and perhaps most important versions, was that of Heinrich Zimmerman, a German sailor on board the "Discovery", which appeared in 1781 at Mannheim. It is not known whether this was the first publication, or if that distinction belonged to Rickman. It was certainly the first on the continent. The German work was not as accurate regarding the day to day navigation of the

(1) F. W. Howay, "Zimmerman's Captain Cook", The Canadian Historical Studies, Ryerson Press, Toronto, Canada. Published 1930. Page 8.

ship as Rickman's, and lacked the scientific knowledge of Ellis' later journal. It is hardly surprising, seeing that he had not the same facilities for observation, and is altogether a remarkable achievement for a common sailor. Zimmerman's book was printed in lengthened form at Berlin (1) in 1781, with a preface by a fellow German, J. R. Forster, formerly a naturalist on Cook's second voyage. A French translation appeared almost at once, and a Russian one, taken from that, in 1786. The Russians made no attempt to translate either Rickman or Ellis, although French and German copies respectively were available. There seems little doubt this work furnished the incentive for the first proposed venture to the north west coast, that of William Bolts, an Englishman in the service of the Emperor, in 1781. Preparations were made at Trieste on the Adriatic, and two ships were outfitted, the "Cobenzell" an armed ship of seven hundred tons, with a tender of forty five tons. The double object of the expedition was to make discoveries and trade for furs on the north west coast of America. Men of high scientific knowledge had been engaged, while the European centres were approached for a safe conduct for the vessels and a good reception at foreign courts. Then, unexpectedly, the enterprise was overthrown by a group of "interested men then in power in Vienna", (2) and the ships never sailed. Little is known, either of the nature of this intrigue, or of Bolts himself. From one source we hear of

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- (1) Zimmerman's Third Voyage of Captain Cook. Pub. W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer, Wellington, 1926. Appendix, Page 47.
 - (2) Dixon, "A Voyage Round the World", Goulding, London, 1789, Page XX.

him as "a well informed man, long employed in the East Indies and Bengal, and who had acquired in several long voyages all the knowledge necessary for managing well an expedition of this kind", (1) while Captain Portlock comments "----- this feeble effort of an imprudent man failed prematurely, owing to causes which have not yet been sufficiently explained." (2)

Captain James Hanna in the "Sea Otter" (or "Harmon"), a sixty ton brig with a crew of thirty, sailed from the Typa on April 15, 1785. The passage was a rough one with almost continuous gales and rain, and it was the second of August before stumps of trees were chanced on in the ocean, indicating that America was not far distant. Hanna reached Nootka Sound five days later, at nine P. M., when it was already dark. Almost immediately three native canoes came off, and the crew, fearing trouble, armed at once. In this instance, however, it was unnecessary, for the Indians "hollow'd at a distance - 'Maamook' - that is, asking to trade, and we soon got them along." (3) Hanna was the first trader on the coast, the pioneer both in the fur trade, and as it chanced, in experiencing Indian hostility. His suspicions of the Nootkans had been well grounded, for a few days later they attempted to board the vessel in broad daylight, but were repulsed with considerable slaughter, after which they traded peacefully. Hanna called at other points, but the accounts of his voyage are so meagre that the exact places visited are

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- (1) Etienne Marchand, "A Voyage Round the World", Strahan, 1801. Page LXXX.
 - (2) Nathaniel Portlock, "A Voyage Round the World", Stockdale and Goulding, London, 1789. Page 2.
 - (3) James Hanna, "Log of the Sea Otter" 1785. Original in Provincial Archives. Quotation is last entry made, Aug. 9, 1785. Hence log is of limited value, being no record of time passed on the coast.

uncertain. Among other things, he exchanged names with Cleaskina, a chief of Clayoquot Sound. The exchange of names by the Indian chiefs with their visitors was intended as a great compliment, and Meares mentions this chief under the name of Hanna, as coming off to the "Felice" in company with another chief, Detooche, when he was passing Ahousat in June 1788.(1) Hanna left in the latter part of September, having collected five hundred and sixty skins, and arrived at Macao in the end of December. Dixon quotes the Chinese values set on his pelts, which as a whole brought Hanna twenty thousand six hundred dollars. It was an interesting example of the returns obtainable at the beginning of the trade. The Chinese divided them into five classes, and priced them accordingly.(2)

140 prime skins	\$60
175 2nd.	\$45
380 3rd.	\$30
65 4th.	\$15
50 5th.	\$10
500 whole skins.	\$20,000

240 flips and pieces, estimated at 60 skins, sold for \$600.

Total - 560 skins - sold for \$20,600.

The expedition of James Strange represents the only attempt of the East India Company to investigate the possibilities of the north west fur trade of which there is any detailed information. The suggestion, coming in the first place from Lieutenant King and the cartographer Dalrymple, met with no response from the Company's governors. James Strange, of the Madras Establishment of the East India

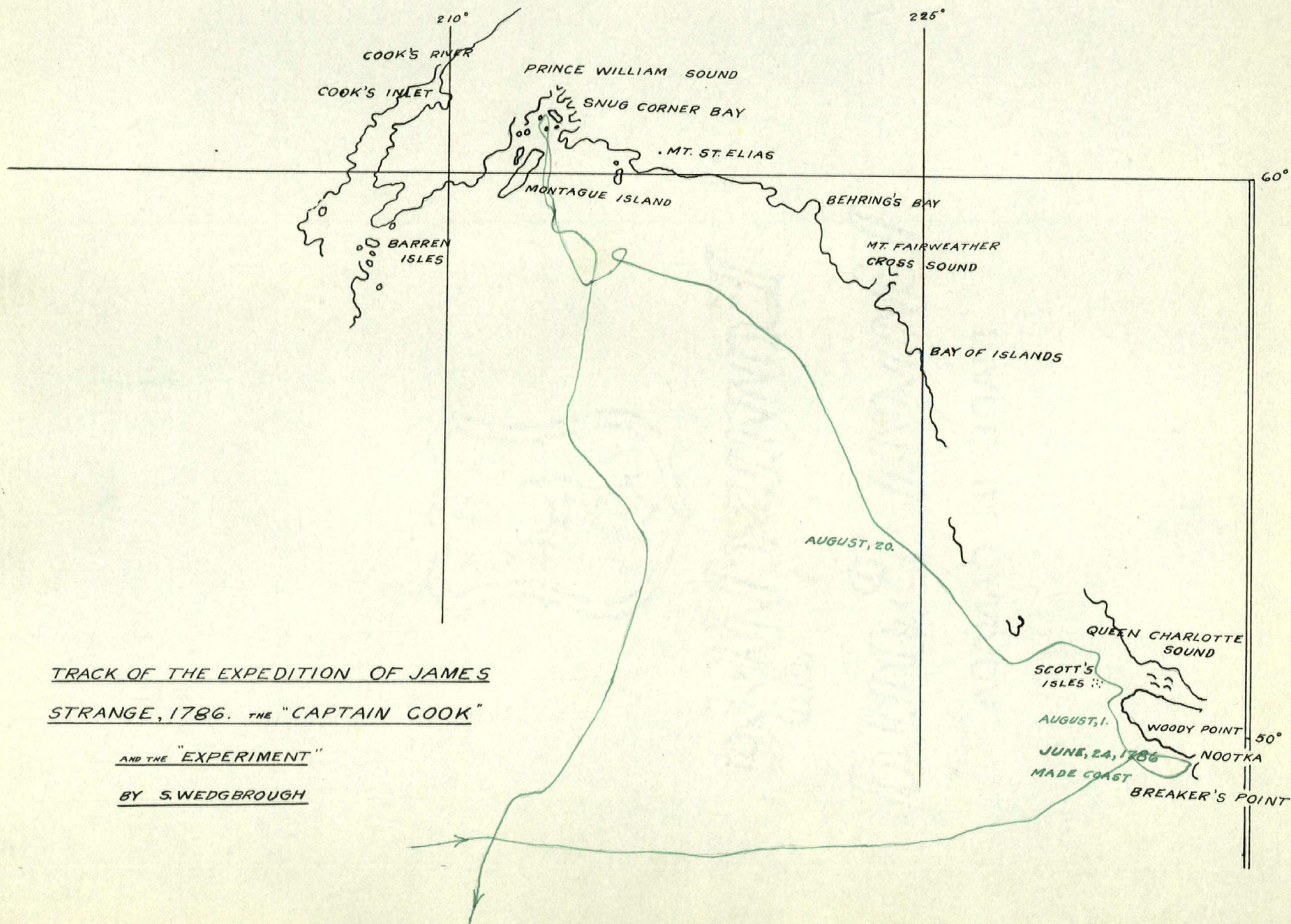
(1) John T. Walbran, "British Columbia Place Names" Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa, 1909, Page 228.

(2) George Dixon, "A Voyage Round the World", Letter XLVI, Page 316.

Company, was independently influenced by the publication of Cook's Third Voyage to consider such a scheme during a voyage to India. Ample leisure on board ship enabled him to complete his plans, which he submitted on landing in Bombay, to a Mr. David Scott of that city, who was deeply interested, and became the patron of the expedition. Meares spoke of the enterprise as being "equipped under the direction of Mr. Scott, whose mercantile experience and spirit are acknowledged in Europe as well as India." (1) The East India Company granted Strange temporary leave of absence, and seemed seriously to consider establishing commercial intercourse with the north west coast, if the financial returns were satisfactory.

Strange threw himself wholeheartedly into the undertaking, and invested his entire personal fortune therein. Mr. Scott, "with a liberality peculiar to himself" adopted it on a grand scale, and put Strange at its head. He relinquished his right of patronage in naming the officers who were to accompany him, on the ground that if Strange were to work with them he must find them congenial. Strange's choice included several men of science, and five former lieutenants of the British Navy. Two ships were outfitted, the "Captain Cook", named in the memory of the distinguished navigator, of three hundred and fifty tons burthen, commanded by Captain Henry Laurie, with a crew of sixty, accompanied by the "Experiment". The "Experiment", new off the stocks, was about a hundred and fifty tons, and carried a crew of thirty five under Captain Guise. Strange went as supercargo on the

(1) John Meares, "Voyages" made in 1788 and 1789. J. Walter, London, 1790, Page 131.



"Captain Cook", and in his opinion better vessels never went to sea. Both were "copper bottomed, and had two very complete boats", were amply supplied with every store that either England or India could provide, and carried the best mathematical instruments available. The objects of the expedition were wide, to establish a new branch of commerce with the western coast of America, discovery, and to extend knowledge of navigation and science. The outfitting expenses were very heavy, due to the enhanced price of provisions and naval stores in the East, and the high wages necessary for the crew.

The ships left Bombay on the 8th. of December 1785, intending to defray expenses by going first to China with a cargo of sandalwood and rich articles of commerce, and then on to Nootka. Strange planned to secure these commodities for the Chinese market on the coast of Malabar, at the ports of Goa, Mangalore, Tillecherry and Cochin, but to his great regret, found on arrival that the desired goods could not be obtained at any of them. It was too late to turn back for further instructions, so Strange left Cachin on the 1st. of January 1786 for the north west coast, which he intended to make in latitude $40^{\circ}00'$ north. Since the China trip was off, it was necessary to stop at Batavia and secure supplies. The sojourn was a most uncomfortable one - the Dutch treated them with little courtesy, and even refused information concerning the passage and navigation of nearby Straits. "If the privilege of breathing could here be brought into account, I am sure it would not be omitted, such are the extortions of this self

interested nation." (1)

There was only one inn, government controlled, but so unhealthy that certain apartments were popularly known as "Tavern Sepulchres". Strange and several of the officers went ashore in order to hasten business transactions, and engaged rooms. While the party was at dinner the landlord came in, asked the usual questions as to whether the food was to their liking, and complimented them on their healthy appearance, saying in Dutch that he hoped they would leave his house in as good a case as they came into it, but that he "doubted it exceedingly". Unperturbed by such croaking, Strange passed a comfortable night, but his peace of mind was short lived. Conversing with an Englishman who had been in the house a few weeks, he happened to mention that he was occupying No. 18. "My gentleman started from me at the mention of No. 18, and with hands and eyes uplifted to Heaven, entreated that I would no more think of sleeping in that room. He informed me that during a residence of five weeks in the house, he had seen no less than seven bodies, dead of putrid fever, carried to their graves out of that very bed, on which I had last night reposed, and that it had not he believed, been aired in all that period." (2) Strange immediately felt "a thousand pains and aches" and sent for the landlord to reproach him in the bitterest terms for the treatment he had received. Investigation proved that Strange had been allotted No. 18 because it had been free from infectious disease for six or eight days, while in many of the other rooms it was only

(1) James Strange, "Commercial Expedition to the North West Coast of America", Records of Port St. George, Madras, Government Press, 1928. Page 7.

(2) Ibid, Page 7.

forty eight hours. Strange refused to spend another night in the best bed in the house, and slept for the rest of his stay on the billiard table. It was only his anxiety to speed departure that made him remain on shore.

After a ten day visit the ships at last managed to get under way, but the effects of Batavia were soon felt. Almost at once Strange and fifteen seamen went down with fever, many of them very dangerously ill. Further disaster followed, and eight days later - 17th. of February - both ships ran aground near Borneo, in a region infested with pirates. Captain Guise feared at first that the "Experiment" was lost to service, but by making a raft of all the booms and spars, and moving the guns and heavy stores onto this, the ship was lightened and freed a little after midnight. The danger showed the low morale of the seamen - symptoms of alarm and mutiny appeared, and it was necessary to set a special watch to guard the boats. Investigation proved the "Experiment" to be in a serious state, with five large holes through her bottom in the planks next the garboard streak, which could only be repaired by landing with a stop of seven or eight days, but no alternative offered. During the stay the livestock taken aboard at Batavia was greatly depleted, being reduced to a few hogs, and some poultry which Strange particularly desired to take to America. Strange's fever was now so serious that for four months he was unable to make an entry in the log book, and there is a gap between the 18th. of January and the 20th. of June. After twenty days on the

coast of Borneo the "Experiment" was pronounced seaworthy, and the journey across the Pacific began. Scurvy broke out, the supplies of sauerkraut, soup and malt proved inadequate, and by the time Nootka was reached, a third of the crew were confined, with little hope of recovery.

The ships made land on the 24th. of June, 1786, in latitude 48° 44' north. Two canoes came off almost at once, containing six or eight natives, who approached the ships with little hesitation. They had with them half a dozen small bream, some sardines, and six bunches of leeks, which Strange eagerly bought for the invalids, recording: "no purchase I afterwards made on the coast afforded me a like satisfaction." During the night the vessels stood off shore, and by morning many Indians had collected. As guides to Nootka they proved futile, for none would indicate any part of the coast except that of his own residence, and wished the expedition to anchor there. By midday the canoes had increased to fifty, varying in occupants from two to ten. The natives offered a great variety of fish for sale, salmon, cod, skate, halibut, bream, trout, herrings, sardines and flat fish, but the supply was irregular - one day the ships were swamped with fish, and the next none could be obtained. Strange began enquiries for sea otter skins, but only secured a few very ragged specimens, and so sailed slowly up the coast, arriving at Nootka Sound on the 27th. of June.

The Indians collected in large numbers, but with the exception of a few chiefs to whom Strange wished to show

some marks of respect and distinction, none were ever allowed up the ships' sides. It was felt that by so doing much trouble was avoided, either from quarrelling or theft. On the 6th. of July the ships' moorings were changed to Friendly Cove, in the hopes of obtaining better shelter for the invalids on shore, and Strange and the surgeon visited the Indian village to buy some sort of a hut for their use. They were received with much friendliness, and given pressing invitations to enter all houses. Strange was deeply impressed by the "beastly filth in which the natives of this part of the world pass their lives. I declare that before I was an eye witness to it, I had a very imperfect conception of the extent of it. It is impossible to move a single step without being up to the ankles in mud, fish guts and maggots, and this inconvenience was alike felt within and without doors." (1) Strange explained he wished to buy a hut for his sick, and was offered any one he chose. The bargain was concluded for twenty five cents and the shelter was duly cleaned and set in order, but proved so insanitary that after a few days the patients were moved to a tent some distance from the village, where they slowly recovered. While convalescing, the sailors occupied their time by gardening, in the hopes that it might benefit future voyagers, and planted "a great variety of garden seeds."

The sea otters were much more difficult to preserve than procure. The Indians readily traded them for axes, knives, chisels and swords, but since both skins and inhabit-

(1) James Strange, "Commercial Expedition to the North West Coast of America", Page. 20.

ants swarmed with vermin, much labour had to be expended before the pelts were fit for storage. Strange said of them, "I dreaded no less their utter loss than the want of them --- the furs seemed to me to be a sort of sanctuary for the vermin, to which they resort from persecution. I have also seen the privilege of eating the live stock of a very lousy head, the subject of much serious altercation between three or four persons; whereas I at no time perceived them to be objects of pursuit or contention when once they had taken refuge in the fur." (1) Besides ~~thus~~ this the skins abounded in every possible description of filth, which greatly complicated the task of dressing. Strange worked on them eight hours a day, and was only on shore three times for business purposes during a month's stay at Nootka. He was gratified, however, to find that his labours won the approval of the merchants of Canton, and greatly enhanced their value.

Strange had hoped to make detailed notes on the Indians' form of government, but found his time fully occupied. He commented on the extreme accuracy of Captain Cook's descriptions, with which he agreed in every detail. The Nootkans worshipped Enkitsum, the God of the Snow, whose image was kept in the house of Maquinna the chief, but despite an elaborate display of worship, Enkitsum and the decorated curtain of his sanctuary were sold without hesitation when Strange made an offer for them. The Indian women had considerable ascendancy over the men, and the traders, in their mercantile capacity, dreaded the sight of them. Whenever

(1) James Strange, "Commercial Expedition to the North West Coast of America, Page 21.

present they directed transactions and asked three times the price for articles which in their absence could have been obtained for a third of the value. Human hands and heads were frequently offered for sale, and Strange, anxious to find out what use the Indians put them to, one day intimated that he did not know what to do with such articles. A chief, Clamata, said they were "good to eat", and to demonstrate the fact "very composedly put one of the hands in his mouth, and stripping it through his teeth, tore off a considerable piece of the flesh, which he immediately devoured, with much apparent relish." (1) When Strange expressed his horror, Clamata sought to appease him by explaining that he would not eat a friend, but only an enemy killed in war, which was an act "acceptable in the eyes of Heaven." It has since been established that cannibalism was practised by the tribe.

The Nootkans were extremely fond of music, an attribute noticed by Captain Cook, and had most retentive memories. On one occasion several large canoes visited the ships, filled with natives, who from their dress and attendants would appear to be of an upper class. Each wore two or three fine sea otter skins which the traders were very desirous of buying, but the Indians seemed unimpressed by the display of iron mongery, copper ware and beads. Their attention seemed to be constantly wandering to the music of their attendants, to which they themselves kept time, by beating two shells together with great precision.(2) This reminded Strange that among

(1) James Strange, "Commercial Expedition to the North West Coast of America," Page 27.

(2) It was observed by Dr. W. N. Sage on a recent visit to Nootka that this native custom still persists, only that now the Indians substitute boards for shells.

the various articles of trade were a number of cymbals, which would substitute well for the shells, and be in keeping with the music which was very much on martial lines. The first clash of the cymbals was received with expressions of rapture and delight, and to demonstrate the instruments Strange composed a sort of ring ting tune, which drew bursts of applause from his audience, and was encored again and again until physical fatigue forced the performer to cease. After it had been played half a dozen times the majority of the Indians joined in, and as a result of the exhibition in an hour's time the natives were completely stripped of their furs, each contending who should be served first. Every pair of cymbals brought three, sometimes four skins, and as the result the inhabitants spent a night of harmony and glee on shore. They returned next day with more skins, which they would trade only for cymbals, and insisted that Strange play a song before they would receive them. Strange struck up the first that came into his head, but far from being appreciated, it was practically "hissed off the stage". A second and a third suffered a like fate, until he realized that it was his yesterday's composition which was required of him, but, "had all the sea otter skins of Nootka been the price of it, I could not recollect a note." It was hardly surprising, seeing that it was simply a jingle made up on the spur of the moment, but it had made a lasting impression on the Indians, and tired of waiting, they now struck it up for themselves, with astonishing precision of time and tune. The melody

immediately came back to Strange, and he was able to join in. In three days there was not a boy or girl in the village who could not sing it, and after that period the unfortunate composer seldom bought a skin without being called upon to sing.

The young surgeon of the "Experiment", John Mackay, was left behind at Nootka to recover from purple fever, and persuade the Indians to collect furs against their return in the following year, a trip which was never made. Expenses would be reduced considerably if ships could begin trading at once, instead of waiting for a fortnight or so while the natives collected skins. Mackay was placed in the family of Maquinna, to whom Strange made many presents, and who, in the presence of Enkitsum, assured him in return that his "doctor should eat the choicest fish the Sound produced", and should be found on his return "as fat as a whale". Mackay was already gaining a reputation by curing the scabby hands and legs of the children. Strange left him some simple remedies, but nothing which even injudiciously administered could prove fatal, and advised him not to take serious cases. Mackay was also instructed to make notes on the manners and customs of the people, and amply supplied with pen and paper. The only surviving livestock - a pair of goats - was given to Mackay, as well as generous quantities of European foods. At the Indians request he was supplied with a musket and pistols, as well as a red coat and cap for the purpose of frightening the enemy. Strange refused to let the natives have rifles,

but this wise rule was broken by later traders.

Preparations were now made to leave the Sound, after collecting every scrap of fur in the district. During the process several hundred words had been added to Captain Cook's vocabulary, and this scientific contribution was very pleasing to Strange. The ships got under way about midday on July 28th. 1786, and were caught almost immediately in a thick fog. They made their way slowly up the coast, but encountered no natives until north of 50° latitude. Here they met a canoe carrying four men, who greeted them with a song and harangue like those of Nootka, but understood only a few words of the Nootkan language. They had two old and ragged sea otter skins, which Strange thought proper to buy, and showed extravagant joy over the iron they received in exchange. The ships stayed the night in the district and made every effort to find the Indian village, but unsuccessfully. They named and explored Queen Charlotte Inlet and Sound, and took possession of it "in the name of his Britannic Majesty". In one of the bays, opposite some old huts, Strange left a mark of his having visited and taken possession of the Coast. A deep hole was cut in the body of a large tree, in which were deposited copper, iron and beads, besides the names of the ships and date of discovery.(1)

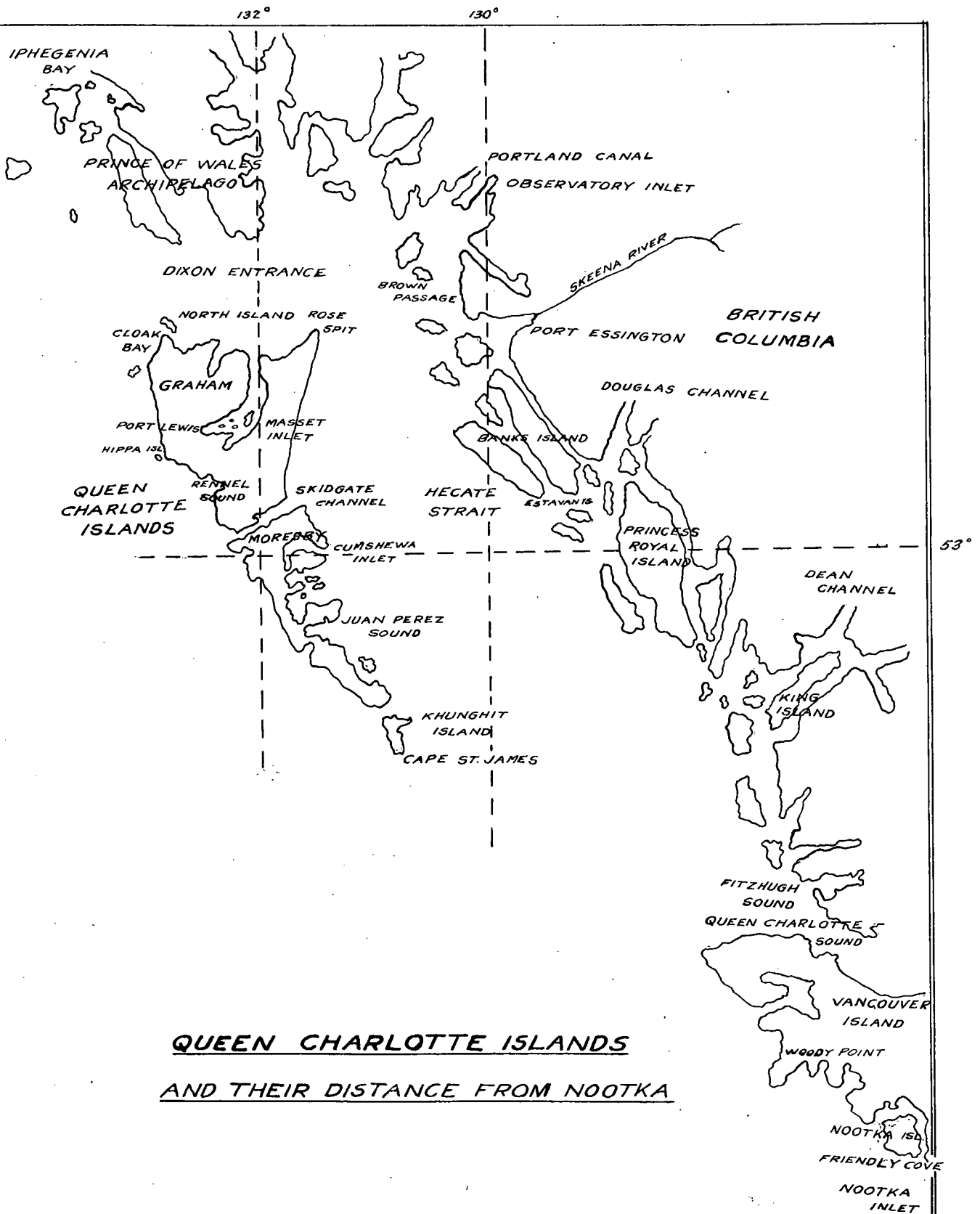
The "Captain Cook" and the "Experiment" continued north, but concluded that the coast between Nootka and Prince Williams Sound was very thinly inhabited, for although they were often near shore they saw no signs of Indians. After

(1) James Strange, "Commercial Expedition to the North West Coast of America", Page 32.

a stormy passage the expedition reached Cape Hinchinbroke on the 29th. of August, and on the 30th. anchored in ^{Snug} Suey Corner Cove at Prince William Sound. No natives appeared, so the long boat was sent on a cruise of discovery. On the second day an old man visited the ships, but with great fear and trembling. He could not be induced to come near, until offered a string of beads, when he paddled close enough to take them on the end of a spear. Two young men came a little later, one of whom offered for sale a dirty old otter skin, also showing great symptoms of fear. The traders bought it, hoping to encourage them, but little developed. The long boat returned after four days, having found nothing but piles of fish, for everywhere the people disappeared before them - they were getting into Russian territory. During the next three or four days several canoes collected, each containing from ten to fifteen Indians, but they had little in the way of skins. "In the article of furs, whether good or bad they were almost destitute compared with our Nootka friends. They appeared little versed in the art of traffic, and never hesitated a moment in accepting any offer that was made to them. They as readily concluded the bargain for one bead as they would have for twenty. Colour alone constituted the value of the offer, and none other than sky blue would have been received, although the number offered had been ten times multiplied." (1)

The failure of the fur supply at Prince William Sound was a serious matter to Strange - it doomed the expedition

(1) James Strange, "Commercial Expedition to the North West Coast of America", Page 37.



to financial failure, and meant that a second venture could not possibly be undertaken on the same scale, as he had originally planned. The skins from the good fur centres were not numerous enough to justify such big ships, while the profits were swamped by heavy overhead expenses. At the same time, Strange admitted that by dismissing the "Captain Cook", and cutting down every superfluous expense, a ship of the "Experiment"'s size might run a profitable trade, but business on such a scale was beneath the scope of the East India Company. Strange took cold comfort in the reflection that his failure would prevent others engaging in the same line of commerce "until such time as our frequent intercourse with the natives of this continent had taught them to be prepared with that article of trade which they now perceived to be the object of our pursuit, and which this coast would doubtless supply in no inconsiderable quantities." (1) He was convinced that for the present at least the sea otter trade was too hazardous and undeveloped to have any possibilities for his company.

On the fifth of September, 1786, a second ship arrived at Prince William Sound, a hundred ton screw, the "Sea Otter", under Captain William Tipping, who, by an odd chance, happened to be a close acquaintance of Captain Guise of the "Experiment". The "Sea Otter" had sailed from Bengal as consort to the "Nootka", a two hundred ton ship commanded by Captain John Meares, R. N., although the ships followed different courses. Tipping had been instructed to survey

(1) James Strange, "Commercial Expedition to the North West Coast of America", Page 37.

the western coast of Japan before proceeding to Prince William's Sound, where he was to meet Meares, who had first gone to Nootka. Captain Tipping dined on the "Captain Cook" that night, but his resentment towards Strange for skimming the supply was so marked that the meal was not a comfortable one. Tipping refused to believe that besides trading all the way from Nootka, one of Strange's ships had already visited Cook's River, and he weighed anchor early next morning, disappearing in the direction of Cook's River, apparently in a frantic attempt to get there first. The "Sea Otter" was never heard of again, so presumably was either cut off by natives, or wrecked on the way and lost with all hands.

Since the anticipated number of furs were not forthcoming, Strange, who was a man of undoubted daring and ingenuity, sought to counterbalance it by another commodity. An account had appeared in "Coxe's 'Russian Discoveries'" of a Copper Island, in latitude 54° 40' N. longitude 182° 30' E., supposed to be rich in that metal, which was washed up by the sea. Since copper was in high demand in China, the expedition decided to try and secure a ship of ore. The "Captain Cook" was dispatched from Prince William Sound on this mission, while the "Experiment" went to China with the sea otter skins. Should the "Captain Cook" get nothing, Laurie was instructed to try for a cargo in China to help defray expenses. The "Experiment" anchored in Macao Roads on the 15th. of November 1786, where the "Captain Cook" joined her a month later, having striven vainly for nearly three

weeks against opposing gales to make good their passage to Copper Island. The shattered state of the sails and rigging, the extreme sickness of the ship's company, and the reduced state of provisions finally forced them to abandon the quest and return to China.

Strange collected six hundred and four skins altogether, which were sold at Canton, April 4th, 1787, realizing twenty four thousand dollars - an average of forty dollars a skin. It was not even enough to pay the costs of the voyage. The cargo was classified as follows: (1)

prime skins	55
2 nd.	134
3 rd.	142
4 th.	63
In halves	46
small pieces	33
pieces yellow and inferior	131

Total 604 - sold for \$24,000.

Strange submitted the chart and narrative of the voyage to the Honourable Major General Sir Archibald Campbell, K. B., Governor in Council of Fort St. George. Through the heavy losses he had incurred by investing his personal fortune in the venture, he was now unable to meet his financial obligations, and was obliged to ask the East India Company for some pecuniary consideration for the term he had lost upon the unfortunate voyage. The Council of Fort St. George considered that Strange had fully deserved it, and forwarded the application to the Court of Directors in London, but no further information on the subject is at present available as the records of the East India Company are closed for so recent a date.

(1) George Dixon, "A Voyage Round the World", Letter XLVI.
Page 318.

France, at the time of the publication of Cook's third voyage, was enjoying a short period of peace, and viewed the new discoveries with much interest. As a maritime power she felt it her duty to contribute to the advance of science and increase the knowledge of the globe, and organized a scientific expedition on lines similar to Captain Cook's. It was placed in charge of Jean-Francois Galaup de la Perouse, a man of distinguished naval exploits and scientific acquirements. Two frigates were outfitted, "La Boussole", commanded by La Perouse, and "L'Astrolabe" under De Langle, the second in authority. The Government was enthusiastic over the prospects, and caused seven hundred medals to be struck, one hundred of silver and bronze, and six hundred others of different kinds of metals, which La Perouse was instructed to distribute wherever he touched. One side of the medal bore the effigy of the King of France, with the common inscription, while on the reverse was the legend - "Les Fregates du roi de France, La Boussole et L'Astrolabe, commandees par M.M. de La Perouse et de Langle, parties du Port de Brest en Juin 1785" - encircled by two olive branches tied together by a ribbon. The frigates were to make scientific and astronomical observations and continue explorations in the Pacific after completing a survey of the north west coast of America. Special attention was to be given to the latter region between 49° and 57° because Captain Cook had been prevented by adverse winds from examining any point in the district except Nootka. Detailed information concerning the fur trade was to be collected. The French Government wished to be thoroughly acquainted with all

its aspects before encouraging French trading ships to enter into competition with those of other nations in a traffic which might begin with great profits, but end in greater losses. The venture came to a tragic end, the ships being wrecked in 1788 on the reef of the Mannicolo Islands in the Pacific. The surviving crew of one ship were murdered by natives. Some of the men from the second made land near Païow on the Island and built a small ship, in which they disappeared, and were never heard of again.(1)

The three years' journal of La Perouse's expedition was not lost, since sections had been sent to Europe at every opportunity, and when disaster overtook the party most of the records were already in safe keeping. These were interesting, more particularly as at La Perouse's former request they were not turned over to a literary man who might "sacrifice to the turning of a phrase the proper word --- or lay aside all nautical and astronomical details, and desirous of making of it an interesting romance, commit errors ---- which will prove fatal to my successors: but choose an editor versed in mathematical knowledge, who may be capable of calculating, of combining my data with that of former navigators, of correcting errors which may have escaped me, and not commit others himself." (2) La Perouse's wishes were carried out, and his manuscripts came under the editorship of one fully qualified for the task, H. L. A. Milet Mureau. Mureau was a Brigadier

(1) Ref.: Peter Dillon, "Discovery of the Fate of La Perouse", Hurst, Chance and Co., St. Paul's Church Yard, London, 1829, vols. I and II.

(2) J. F. G. de La Perouse, "A Voyage Round the World", vol. I, J. Johnson, London, 1799. Page 4.

General of the Corps of Engineers, a Director of Fortifications, a member of the Constituent Assembly, and a Fellow of several literary societies of Paris.

La Perouse's instructions regarding the north west coast were to approach from the South Pacific, make land in latitude $36^{\circ}30'$, and continue northwards reconnoitering as he went. Careful watch was to be kept for a gulf or river which might lead to Hudson's Bay - in spite of Cook's survey belief in the North West Passage was not dead. (1) No offence was to be given to Spain, but the exact extent of her colonization must be ascertained, and whether or not she had settled at Los Remedios and Port Bucarelli. The expedition was to go north to Mount St. Elias, (the 60 th. parallel), but need not make a further examination of Prince William's Sound and Cook's River. Instead a course was to be shaped for the Shumagen Islands and the Aleutian Islands, continuing to Avatcha in Kamchatka for provisions, and from thence to the Kurile Islands and Japan. La Perouse had, at the same time, authority to make any changes he thought necessary in the plans. Minute data was required on the fur trade - in what latitude furs might be procured - the quality, the articles most desired in trade, and what skins "have most easy, certain and lucrative sale in the two Empires of China and Japan." A specimen cargo of sea otter skins was to be collected and sold in China for eastern merchandise.

The expedition was closely modelled on that of Captain Cook, and considerable interest was aroused in England. Sir

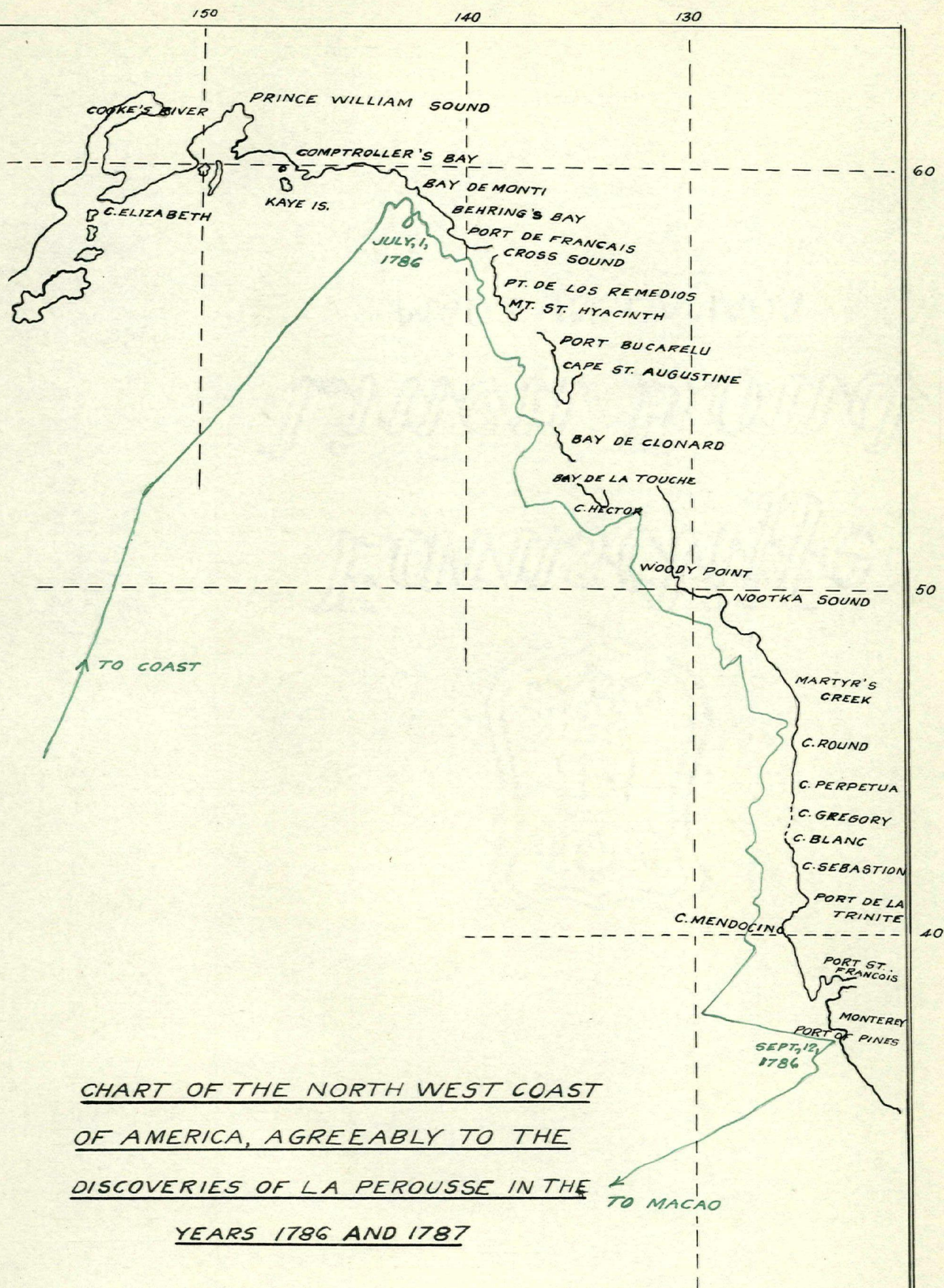
(1) J. F. G. de La Perouse, "A Voyage Round the World",
I, 74.

(2) Ibid, I, 449.

Joseph Banks, hearing that difficulty had been experienced in obtaining a dipping compass, lent La Perouse the original one used by Captain Cook.(1) The ships carried a large library of all variety of scientific books, among them "Cook's Voyages" in French and English, "Hawksworth's Collection", Dalrymple's "Historical Collection of Voyages", Coxe's "Russian Discoveries", and Muller "Voyage of the Russians". The other texts referred to such subjects as astronomy, navigation, natural philosophy, and natural history. The scientists hoped to make advances in physics, zoology, minerology, anatomy, physiology, botany and analysis of atmospheric air. Merchandise valued at 58,365 livres (2) was taken on the voyage for purposes of presents and barter. The chief items were bar and plate iron, sheet copper, tools, (hammers, wedges, saws, etc.), eighteen hundred drinking glasses with feet, only six hundred mirrors, combs, needles, pins, dishes and pewter ware, coloured feathers, jewelry, tinsels, silk ribbons, and cloth (serges, knittings and flannels). Besides these La Perouse carried domestic animals, and the seeds of most common fruit trees, vegetables and herbs. Mureau criticized the attempt, questioning the use of supplying natives with articles which they knew neither how to apply, preserve, nor perpetuate, and considered it more practical to try and make an orderly colony before a polished people. "Can the benefit derived from a new farinaceous plant or a new fruit, or even the introduction of domestic animals, be compared to the sum of evil which these people will find to result from the adoption of European customs and manners? ---

(1) J. F. G. de La Perouse, "A Voyage Round the World", I, 449.

(2) Ibid, I, 319.



--- at present it can not." (1) It is interesting as a contemporary opinion, being made a few years after the loss of the expedition.

La Perouse sailed from Brest on the first of August, 1785, after every precaution had been taken to preserve the health of the crews. The ships carried large stocks of preventatives and antiscorbutics, fresh provisions were taken at every opportunity, and scrupulous cleanliness was observed on board. Cape Horn was rounded without mishap, and the ships left the Hawaiian Islands, June 1, 1786, for the north west coast, having obtained a three week supply of food. La Perouse reversed his instructions, and instead of reaching the shore in the thirty sixth parallel, kept out to sea, and first made land in the sixtieth parallel. Thick and continuous fogs were encountered by the 9th. of June, about 34° north, and La Perouse became anxious about scurvy. Every effort was made to keep the men warm and dry, extra clothes were given out, boots and flannel underwear, while stoves filled with burning coals were placed under the half deck and between the decks, wherever the people slept. The measures proved very satisfactory, and not a single case occurred.

The ships were unique in one respect - they ground all their own flour with a mill set up on board. The pursers believed that kiln dried corn kept much better than flour or biscuit, and hence sent aboard an immense quantity of it, with two mill stones, twenty four inches in diameter and four and a half inches thick. It required four men to put and keep them

(1) La Perouse, "Voyage Round the World, I, 446.

in motion, but La Perouse had been assured their size was fully adequate for a ship's company such as his. Unfortunately when the mill was set up the baker complained that the resulting grain was only broken, not ground, and that a mere twenty five pounds of bad flour resulted from the whole day's labour of four men, relieved every half hour. The situation was serious, as corn formed nearly half the store of provisions. The inventive genius of de Langle came to the rescue, and assisted by one of the crew, an ox-miller's boy, he managed to adapt the movements of a windmill to the mill stones. Now operated by the simple turning of a handle, it proved so successful that two hundred pounds of excellent flour were ground daily. Unfortunately La Perouse does not give his opinion of the experiment, whether or not he considered it preferable to carrying the usual supplies of flour and biscuit - doubtless due to the untimely ending of the expedition.

The ships ran north until they were in sight of Mount St. Elias, in latitude $59^{\circ}41'$. Then, for the first time, the long boat was sent ashore to reconnoitre, and named the cove it visited after the commanding officer, de Monts Bay. Sailing a little south, further explorations were made in the vicinity of Behring Bay, although its actual situation could not be located, and La Perouse concluded that Captain Cook must have been deceived by the appearance of the shore. Mount Fairweather was sighted on the 2nd. of July, more to the south, and the same day a new port was discovered in latitude $58^{\circ}3'$ north, longitude $139^{\circ}50'$ west of Paris, christened "Port des

Francais." "This port has never been discovered by any other navigator: It is situated thirty three leagues to the north west of that of Los Remedios, the extreme boundary of Spanish navigators, about two hundred and twenty four leagues from Nootka, and a hundred from Prince William's Sound. I had thought that if the French Government had entertained ideas of establishing factories in this part of the American coast, no other could pretend to the smallest right of opposing the project." (1) In the cold light of reason, however, La Perouse did not favour the founding of such a post. He saw too many serious objections in the way, and he outlined these in his memoir on the fur trade. There was the immense distance from Europe, the uncertainty of the commercial returns from China, and the competition of Spanish, Russians and English on the coast. In all probability the French East India Company would object to the extension of its privileges of trading with the Chinese markets, to these adventurers, "The expenses of the equipment would also be so considerable that the mere sale of furs would not be sufficient to indemnify a company like that of Hudson's Bay, if their ships were obliged to return to Europe in ballast. It would be absolutely necessary that they should be freighted back by the French East India Company at a price of tonnage agreed upon in Europe, as well as allow them interest for the value of their furs, and to make use of them in the purchase of its cargoes." (2) La Perouse did not consider that the prospects warranted the organization of such a company, or that if formed it could ever come to a satisfactory agreement

(1) La Perouse, "Voyage Round the World", II, 85.

(2) Ibid, III, 311, "Memoir on the Fur Trade."

with the French East India Company. On the whole he viewed the matter much more from the standpoint of a large organized company - possibly with government backing, than as a speculative field for small private enterprise, and hence not encouraging. There were also diplomatic considerations to sway his judgment. Spain would undoubtedly view as usurpation any attempt of France to establish a factory on the north west coast, and La Perouse thought it foolish to endanger European relations and France's Spanish alliance for so small a matter. If the French Government decided to enter the sea otter trade despite these deterrents, La Perouse suggested that it would be wise not to grant the trade to one exclusive company, but suggests allowing the privilege to some commercial town of sending three expeditions of two ships annually. At Port des Francais and fifty leagues along the shore La Perouse estimated ten thousand sea otter might be collected annually.

The Indians of Port des Francais appeared almost at once, and made signs of friendship by waving and hanging up white cloaks and different skins. The natives desired iron above everything, and would take beads only as a measure to conclude a bargain, never as the original basis. The French traded iron for fish, sea otter skins, and small articles of native dress. The Indians surprised them by their acute bargaining, and ability to make an exchange in their own favour - they were finally persuaded to accept plates and pewter pots, but still chose iron if there was an alternative. The Indian chief became a regular nuisance, by calling daily at the ship

and expecting a present to be given him every few hours.

The French made a temporary establishment on an island in the bay of Port des Francais where they set up an observatory, and did considerable trade in sea otter skins for hatchets, knives, and bar iron. The pilfering of the Indians caused La Perouse serious annoyance, but although punishing the thieves when detected, he made no effort to reclaim the goods, "in order to avoid every quarrel that might be attended with melancholy consequences." As a result the daring and insolence of the thieving increased, culminating in an episode which brought a serious loss to the French. One night when the scientists were sleeping by the observatory, the Indians "traversed a very thick wood, which was totally impervious to the day, and glided upon their bellies like adders, almost without stirring a leaf, they contrived, in spite of our sentinals, to carry off some of our effects. They had the address to introduce themselves into the tent where Messrs. de Lauriston and Darpaud, who were the guard of the observatory, slept. They took away a musket, ornamented with silver, as well as the clothes of two officers, who by way of precaution had placed them under their bolster. They were unperceived by a guard of twelve soldiers, and they never once wakened the two officers. " (1) Among other things lost was the original memorandum book in which all astronomical observations had been made since the arrival at Port des Francais. After this incident it was judged impossible to continue the camp any longer.

Port des Francais was elaborately surveyed and mapped,

(1) La Perouse, "Voyage Round the World", II, 92.

and while the expedition was so engaged the Indian chief came aboard, and offered to sell the island on which the observatory had been standing. La Perouse accepted the offer, and the purchase was completed for several ells of red cloth, hatchets, knives, bar iron and nails. Formal possession was then taken with customary formalities, and a bottle containing a suitable inscription and a medal were buried at the foot of a rock. So far all had gone well, and the French were considering them the most fortunate of navigators "in having arrived so great a distance from Europe without a single person sick, or one man of the two ships' companies affected with scurvy," (1) when the venture was marred by a tragic incident. The pinnaces of both the "Astrolabe" and "Boussole" were wrecked while attempting a landing at another part of the bay, and fourteen persons were drowned. La Perouse prolonged the stay at Port des Francais over two weeks in the hopes of obtaining at least their bodies, but with little success, and the enforced wait necessitated a change of plans. Unless he could reach Monterey between the 16-15 of September, and make the trade winds, it meant that a year must be lost before he could proceed to China and the reconnoitring of the Japanese and Kamschatka coasts. If this was to be avoided, there was only time to run straight down the American coast, determining its direction, but making no attempt to land, and heading straight for Monterey. La Perouse planned to sell the skins obtained in China for the sole benefit of the sailors. The pelts were mostly sea otter, but had some variations, as Port des Francais

(1) La Perouse, "Voyage Round the World", V, 97.

abounded in fur bearing animals, marten, grey squirrel, brown and black bear, Canadian lynx, ermine, beaver, Canadian marmot, and red fox. The Indians offered most varieties for trade, but only inhabited Port des Francais at the favourable season, and never spent a winter there. On the whole La Perouse considered them "as rude and barbarous as their soil is rocky and barren."

Progress down the coast was slow owing to bad fogs, making exploration in the neighbourhood of 55°, where Cook had been driven off shore by storm, quite impossible. By the 25th. of August the ships were off Nootka Sound, but encountered more fog banks, and did not reach Monteray until the 12th. of September. They were piloted in with the assistance of Don Estivan Martinez, whose ships lay in the harbour, and who had been informed both by the viceroy of Mexico and the Governor of the Presidency of the French 's probable arrival. La Perouse's comments on the north west coast line are vague and hurried, but his map is surprisingly accurate considering the time at his disposal.

The Spaniards, both Governor and priests, made the French very welcome, and showed them great hospitality. La Perouse made an interesting acquaintance during his stay at Monteray - the Spanish commissary M. Vincent Vassadre y Vega, who had brought orders to the Governor to collect all the sea otter skins of his ten missions and four presidencies, as the government had reserved for themselves its exclusive trade. Vega was "a young man of great merit and genius", then leaving by one of the Monteray ships for Canton, to conclude a commercial

treaty relative to sea otter skins. It was estimated that about two thousand were annually gathered, which the Spaniards thought could easily be increased to three thousand when the Chinese markets required it. La Perouse believed that it was only since the publication of Cook's "Voyages" that the Spaniards had realized the value of sea otter skins as articles of commerce. This was not the case, however, for Dalrymple mentions that trade had been opened as early as 1777, two hundred being sent to China in that year. The skins were sent to Lima, and brought from Peru to Manila, trade no longer passing through Acapulco. (1) King's report may have increased the trade, but it was by no means responsible for its beginning. The Spanish explorers wanted the land, and aimed at increasing "New Spain" by colonization and Christianization. The fur trade had never furnished an incentive for exploration, and even in their later settlements at Nootka, no effort was made to collect the sea otters. The skins which came to hand at Monteray, mostly collected by the priests, were sent to China, but that was the extent of Spanish enterprise. It is significant that between 1785 - 1795 it was only the odd trader who mentioned the existence of Spanish furs in China - in somewhat disparaging tones - while none recorded meeting a Spanish ship in the waters of the Orient. The French considered the skins of Monteray and the southern regions a little inferior to those of the north.

La Perouse left Monteray on the 24th. of September, and reached Macao in the beginning of January 1788, where he

(1) Alexander Dalrymple, "Plan for Promoting the Fur Trade", Page 27.

was received with much courtesy by the Portugese governor, and permitted to anchor in the Typha. He experienced a little difficulty in selling the pelts, which numbered six hundred, as the permission of the Portugese had first to be obtained. The furs realized a considerable amount, which Dixon quotes as ten thousand dollars, (1)) although Marchand adds an extra four hundred. (2) This sum was distributed among the soldiers and sailors of the frigates without the officers sharing in any manner whatsoever. The ships next visited Manilla, and went from there to the Eastern coast of Tartary and Kamschatka. While in Kamschatka, La Perouse visited the grave of Captain Clerke, the companion of Captain Cook, and left an inscription in copper. La Perouse was cut short in his explorations, and hence only an unfinished journal and some hurried reports survived. Much valuable information was lost to the world when the expedition met its untimely end on the reef of Mannicolo Island early in 1788.

Captain James Hanna came in the wake of Strange and La Perouse, arriving a few weeks later in August, 1786, on his second trip. The ship this time was a hundred and twenty ton snow, also called the "Sea Otter", but carrying only a crew of thirty, the same size as had formerly been required for the smaller vessel. The undertaking was a serious financial failure, for fur supplies were temporarily exhausted, and only a hundred skins and three hundred pieces were collected, realizing eight thousand dollars. It was a chance every trader had to take - being forestalled by a rival and finding nothing

(1) Dixon, "Voyage Round the World", Appendix, Page 318.

(2) Marchand, "A Voyage Round the World", Page LXVIII - gives the figure as L2083.

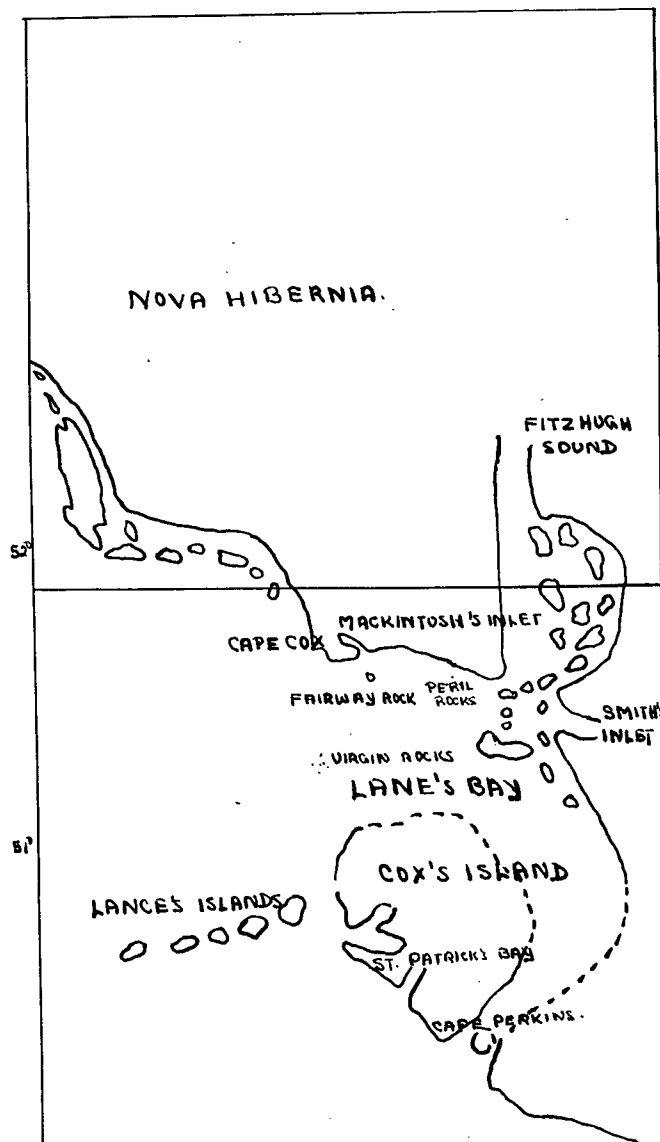


CHART OF PART OF THE NORTH WEST COAST OF AMERICA
CAPTAIN JAMES HANNA in SNOW "SEA-OTTER." 1786.

but the pickings left - with consequent disaster for his venture. Hanna was forced by scurvy to spend two weeks at Nootka, where he met Mackay, and offered him a passage home - which was refused. Afterwards he traced the coastline north to 53°, but with small returns. Hanna named sounds, islands and bays as he went, chief of which were Cox's Island, Cape Cox, Lance's Islands, Lane's Bay, Fitzhugh Sound and Smith Inlet. His chart is crude and incorrect, but it is interesting in one respect. "Lane's Bay" was admittedly named after Henry Lane, Esquire, of Canton. (1) John Henry Cox and William Fitzhugh were outstanding merchants and financial men of the same centre, and they were all members of the company which put up the money for Meares' enterprises. The occurrence of Cox's name twice on the chart is sufficiently accounted for by his prominence. There is no known case in the whole maritime fur trade where a master was also sole owner.² The master was frequently merely the master, occasionally he was also a part owner, but he never made trips wholly in his own interest. Hence it is probable from the naming of the most prominent points in his chart - if Hanna resembled his contemporaries at all - that it was Cox, Lane and Fitzhugh who were his financial backers. Hanna left the coast on the first of October 1786, and reached Macao on the eighth of the following February, where undaunted by the failure of the second voyage, he began to make arrangements for a third. The fur

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- (1) H. H. Bancroft, "History of the Northwest Coast", vol. XXVII, A. L. Bancroft and Co., San Francisco, 1884. Page 174.
 - (2) Letter received from Judge F. W. Howay, New Westminster, B. C., January 18, 1934.

sale was completed on March 17, 1787, and showed a drop in price over the year before - which was hardly surprising as an extra twelve hundred skins had been thrown on the market by Strange and La Perouse.

100 sea otter skins	\$	50
300 pieces	\$	10
	\$	<u>8,000</u>

The third voyage was never made, for Hanna died suddenly and very unexpectedly, in the middle of the preparations.

The "Lark", a British snow of Bengal, left Macao for the north west coast in July 1786 under Captain Peters. She was two hundred and twelve tons burthen, with a crew of seventy. The East India Compnay had the monopoly of trade in China, and hence as the "Lark", an English ship, was first to call at Kamchatka to arrange trade between the two lands, it follows she must have belonged to the East India Company. (1) The records of the vessel are meagre in the extreme. There is no evidence that Peters was anything but an ordinary employee of the Company, merely the master of the vessel. While a Yankee shipowner might be glad to have his captain interested with him in the venture, it is unlikely that a rich concern like the East India Compnay would be tangled up in partnership or co-ownership with its servant. The expedition had a fatal ending, for the "Lark" was wrecked on Copper Island, and only two of the crew survived. These were a Portuguese and a Belgian negro, who were obliged to winter on Copper Island, before being ultimately rescued by a Russian vessel which took

(1) F.W.Howay, "Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade", Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa, 1930. Page 114. Letter from Judge F.W.Howay, New Westminster, B.C., January 18, 1934.

them to Nijenai, Kamchatka. (1)

Captain Charles Barkley arrived in 1787, both the first Englishman to come directly from Europe, and the first to fly false colours to avoid procuring a license from the East India Company. His ship, the "Loudoun" - four hundred tons, ship rigged, and mounting twenty guns - sailed from Ostend as the "Imperial Eagle" under the Austrian flag. Ostend was at this time part of the Austrian Netherlands, and remained so until the French Revolution. The camouflage was purely nominal, as the ship's log was still kept in the name of the "Loudoun" (2)) The vessel was a former East Indiaman, and Barkley himself had been brought up in the sea-service of the East India Company. The enterprise was partly his own, for he had invested three thousand pounds in it. At the time of sailing Barkley was only twenty five, and had just married Miss Frances Hornby Trevor, a girl of seventeen, who accompanied him on the voyage, and was the first white woman to visit the north west coast. She describes her husband as "a man of exuberant spirits and fond of company and show when on shore, but a great martinet on board," (3)

The journey round Cape Horn was a very hard one, and terrible storms made progress slow. Captain Barkley took ^erhumatic fever and his condition became so critical that for several weeks it was feared he might not recover, as skilled

(1) Marchand, "A Voyage Round the World", Page LXXXIV.

(2) Charles Barkley, "Log of the Loudoun" ("Imperial Eagle")
Original in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British
Columbia.

(3) Frances Barkley, "Diary", Transcript in Provincial
Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, Page 2.

medical attention could not be obtained. Mrs. Barkley got little assistance, even from the first and second officers - Henry Folger and William Miller, who took the Captain's condition very calmly, and pressed her instead with their amorous attentions. She blamed Mr. Miller most heavily, since he was a former lieutenant of the British Navy, and hence "Should have had more honour." Being blessed with a strong constitution, Barkley recovered, and shaped the ship's course for Brazil, where he could regain his health and obtain more provisions. At first the Portugese governor was not at all friendly, being suspicious of the warlike appearance of the "Imperial Eagle" and her twenty guns, but more friendly relations were established later, and considerable social intercourse took place. The Barkleys lived on shore for a few days, and Mrs. Barkley was chaperoned to the official reception by Mr. Miller, who "cut quite a dash, with his sword by his side, and his naval uniform." In return Captain Barkley gave a very picturesque fete on board ship, dressing her with the flags of all nations, and when the visitors arrived, he manned the yards and fired salutes.

At the Sandwich Islands Mrs. Barkley engaged a maid, "Winnee", who accompanied her to the north west coast, and was the first reputed Hawaiian woman to do so. Winnee became very attached to her mistress, and later went with her to China. The "Imperial Eagle" arrived at Nootka in June 1787, and obtained a large number of sea otter skins through Mackay's assistance, in return for which Barkley offered him a passage

to China. Mackay was quite ready to leave the Sound, for his position had not lately been one of prestige. As soon as Captain Hanna left the natives had stripped him of his clothes and forced him to conform to "their mode of dress and filthiness of manners." As it chanced, Mackay proved quite adaptable, and soon earned the reputation for being the slovenliest and filthiest of them all. In other ways he made good use of his time among the Indians, mastered their language, collected furs, and did sufficient exploring to convince himself that Nootka Sound was not part of the continent, but belonged to a chain of detached islands. At the time of Barkley's arrival, however, it appeared that he had had enough, and, eagerly accepting the opportunity of escape, was heard of no more in coast history.

From Nootka the "Imperial Eagle" moved gradually south from bay to bay, trading as she went, and Barkley Sound, Cape Beale, Frances and Hornby Peaks received their names. Barkley's major discovery was the lost Strait of Juan de Fuca, which he named after the mythical voyager. Since the expedition was a purely mercantile one, any geographical discoveries he made had to be suppressed, and hence the discovery of the Strait was not recorded in the log of the ship. Meares later obtained Barkley's charts, and tried to claim the credit for his discovery. The voyage was marred by one unhappy incident, shortly after entering the Strait of Juan de Fuca, when a boat's crew under Mr. Miller were killed by the natives, near Martyr's Point, where a similar incident had formerly befallen Bodega Y Quadra. No further explorations were made, and

Captain Barkley sailed for Macao with his cargo of eight hundred sea otter skins, which realized thirty thousand dollars, the largest returns yet received from a single enterprise. After this Barkley had planned to go to England by another ship, but unexpected troubles arose with the owners of the "Imperial Eagle". The latter were super cargoes in China in the services of the East India Company, and several of them were directors in England. On the ship's arrival in China "the owners there found they were not warranted in trading to China being well known and for what purpose, so they found themselves through fear of losing their own situations obliged to sell the ship and to avoid worse consequences." (1) It was quite permissible for Meares to explore and trade, because his was a "country ship --- namely a trading ship from port to port in the Indian seas. The company's servants could have property in her, but the "Imperial Eagle" was actually a ship by which the Company's charter was not allowed to go from China to Europe." (2) The owners of the ship insisted that she be sold, and refused even to pay Barkley his salary. Barkley was obliged to do so, and sued for damages, but was only awarded the return of his invested money. Furthermore, he was obliged under penalty of a heavy fine, five thousand pounds, to turn over to the Company all his papers, charts and journals that they might be withheld from publication for a certain time, as it was thought to the disadvantage of the fur trade that the public should be given these particulars. Then instead of restoring the papers to Barkley, the owners

(1) Frances Barkley, "Diary", Transcript, Page 6.

(2) Ibid, Page 6.

of the "Imperial Eagle" gave them, or more likely sold them, to Meares and others, who tried to claim credit for Barkley's discoveries. Captain and Mrs. Barkley soon returned to England, but altered circumstances forced the latter to dispense with Winnee's services. Winnee was terribly distressed, and soon fell seriously ill. In 1788 Captain Meares promised to take her back to the Hawaiian Islands, but she died on the way and was buried at sea. Barkley did not attempt another voyage until 1791, when he visited mainly in the waters of Alaska.

Chapter IV."THE BENGAL FUR COMPANY AND THE
KING GEORGE'S SOUND COMPANY."

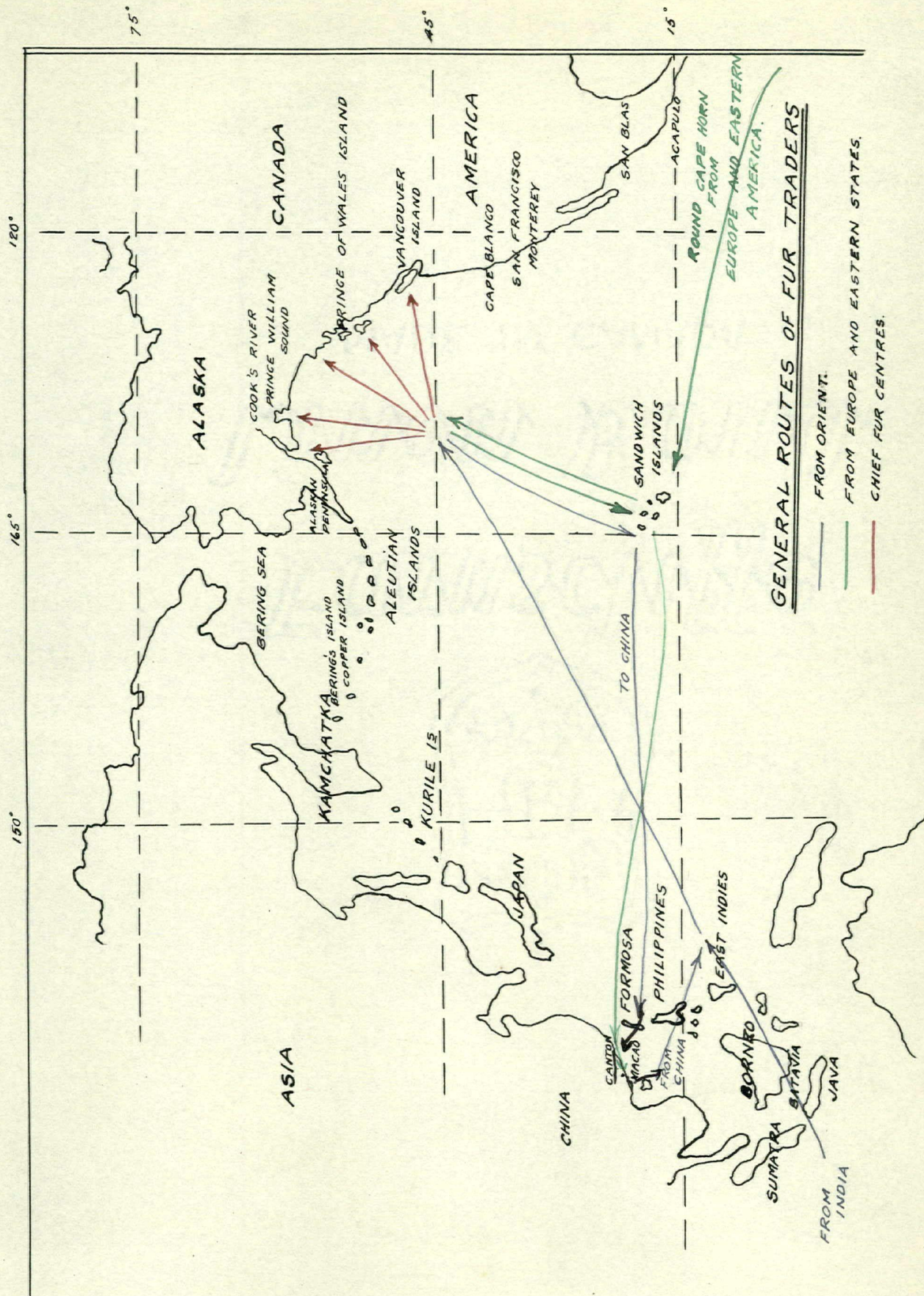
(1786-1789)

In January 1786, two ships flying the English flag were outfitted at Calcutta by a set of gentlemen calling themselves the Bengal Fur Society, (1) and placed in charge of Lieutenant John Meares, late of the Royal Navy. They were the "Nootka" of two hundred tons, and the "Sea Otter" of one hundred, the latter under Lieutenant William Tipping R.N. The vessels did not sail together, each having commissions to fulfil before starting for the north west coast. The "Sea Otter" left in February laden with opium for Malacca, for which she received three thousand rupees, and then set her course for Prince William's Sound, the appointed meeting place. Tipping arrived first, but found Strange already at anchor in the Sound, having taken the cream of a very poor trade. The account which Tipping gave Strange of the activities and plans of the expedition varied widely from that of Meares - and in this instance Meares' story is more probably correct. Tipping was doubtless trying to discourage Strange from visiting Nootka, if he had not already done so, by telling him that Meares was already there. The "Sea Otter" came to an untimely end, and Strange's record of the meeting is the last news ever heard of that ship. Tipping weighed anchor early next morning, (1) Dixon, "Voyage Round the World", Page 318.

and setting out in the apparent direction of Cook's River, was heard of no more.

The "Nootka" did not sail until the second of March 1786, after conveying the Paymaster general of the King's Forces and his suite to Madras, a trip which brought in another three thousand rupees. Meares carried provisions for eighteen months, and a crew of forty Europeans and ten lascars. There was no carpenter on board - Meares said it was impossible to obtain one - and the deficiency was felt at every part of the voyage. Throughout his career Meares' ships were characterized by the severe outbreaks of scurvy - pointing at negligence amounting to criminal carelessness on the part of the commander. Since Cook's investigations great advances had been made in the use of preventatives and antiscorbutics, with which Meares, as a naval man must have been familiar. Yet after seven weeks, in which several ports had been visited where it was possible to obtain fresh provisions, scurvy had already broken out on the "Nootka", and the boatswain was the first victim, "an irreparable loss". There would seem to be ample foundation for Dixon's later charge that the supply of antiscorbutics was inadequate - indeed, one might almost say it was a chronic condition of his every undertaking.

The "Nootka" touched at the Russian Islands and Unalaska on her way to Prince William's Sound, and anchored at Cape Douglas, near Cook's River. They traded with the Indians, and obtained a few sea otter furs, in the ratio of a pound of unwrought iron for a skin. In this vicinity a party of



Russians passed the Englishmen, leaving Cook's River to winter at the Island of Kodiak. It was now so late in the year that Meares determined to pass the winter months at Prince William's Sound, anchoring at Smug Corner Cove. The natives told them that a ship with two masts had left only a few days before, which Meares concluded must have been the "Sea Otter" leaving early, but it is more probable that the description belonged to Strange's "Experiment".

As usual, complaints were made of the pilfering of the natives, who even went to the extent of taking in their teeth a nail which stood out a little way from the wood in either boat or ship, and pulling it out. Meares finally taught them a lesson by firing cannons along the water, and this threatening demonstration had the desired effect. Trade was once more resumed on what the captain called "a moderate basis", and sixty fine sea otter skins were traded for a small quantity of large spike nails. An effort was then made to conciliate the chiefs by presenting them with strings of beads. Beads were very popular in the north, at Prince William's Sound, and Cook's River, but were hardly accepted at Nootka.

Preparations for winter were at once begun on the "Nootka". Meares intended to cover the vessel with spars, and close it in all round, but only "one half from aft, forward was completed when heavy falls of snow made it impossible to get any more wood from the shore. In anticipation of native attack the ship was boarded and netted all round, ten feet

above the gunwhale, and could well hope to resist a sally, although the ice forming all round gave the Indians an advantage. Fortunately, however, the situation did not arise.

Fresh salmon and ducks were obtained up to the end of October, but after that with the rapidly falling temperature the supply soon failed. Winter had come in earnest." "The stupendous mountains which met our eye on every side, were now white with snow to the very edge of the water, while the natives had no other means of support but the whale fish and blubber which they had prepared for their winter provisions." (1) The snow was soon as deep on the ice as it was on the shore, and during November and December the thermometer hovered between 20° - 28° F. The sun rose no higher than the sixth meridian, and at high noon gave only a faint glimmering light. The mountains "forbade almost a sight of the sky, and cast their nocturnal shadows over us in the midst of day, the land was impenetrable from the depth of snow, so that we were excluded from all hopes of any recreation, support, or comfort, except what could be found in the ship and in ourselves." (2) Discomforts increased as the winter advanced and the decks proved incapable of resisting the intense cold of January, despite the large fires which burned twenty out of twenty four hours, and the lower parts were an inch and a half thick in hoar frost. A temporary stove was constructed out of one of the forges, in an effort to keep fires going day and night, until the sick complained that excessive smoke was the real cause of their illness. By the end of January there were four dead, with

(1) John Meares, "Voyages", J. Walter, London, 1790. Page XVI.

(2) Ibid, Page XVII.

twenty three others including the surgeon, confined to bed in a very grave condition. The Indians blamed the scurvy on the absence of whale oil and blubber in the traders' diet. In February the death toll rose to eight, while the sick numbered thirty, and the crew gave up hope. The thermometer seemed pegged at 15° F. The surgeon and the pilot died, but hope revived a little when a few of the more strong minded recovered through drinking pine juice - a remedy so nauseating that many preferred death. Only three men were able to tend the sick - Meares, the first officer, and a seaman, and their task was complicated by the great deficiency of provisions. Cordials, wine and sugar were exhausted, and there only remained biscuit, rice and a little flour to prepare for the sufferers, Beef and pork the crew refused to eat, and finally the two remaining goats were killed to make broth. In all, twenty three died, and Meares gives a gruesome picture of their burials.

" --- Too often did I find myself called to assist in performing the dreadful office of dragging the dead bodies across the ice to a shallow sepulchre which our own hands had hewn out for them on the shore. The sledge on which we fetched the wood was their hearse, and the chasms in the ice their grave."⁽¹⁾ The terrible winter dragged on, and not until May did the temperature begin to rise. The men revived a little when it was possible to get fresh fowl again from the natives.

Unexpected deliverance was at hand, and on the 17 of May 1787, the Indians arrived with the news that two ships had anchored in another part of the Sound. Meares could

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Page XX.

hardly believe it, but it was verified on the 19th., by the arrival of Captain Dixon of the "Queen Charlotte" and a boat's crew. They were welcomed as guardian angels by the sick, who had feared they would never leave. The new ships were English, under the leadership of Captain Portlock, who commanded the larger of the two, the "King George". They were licensed by the East India Company, and were lawfully traders, not piratical adventurers like Meares. Despite the salvation which Portlock and Dixon undoubtedly brought the "Nootka", strong feeling arose between Dixon and Meares at their meetings, which found outlet in the famous Dixon - Meares Controversy, following the publication of Meares "Voyages" in 1790. Dixon and Meares disagreed fundamentally on the facts concerning the meeting and the assistance rendered - what one stated the other denied. Meares' reputation for integrity and veracity was not high, either among his contemporaries or later historians. In the words of Judge Howay - "this gentleman's tendencies to distort the truth justify the student in doubting any important and uncorroborated statement made by Meares --- even Maquinna dubbed him 'Aitaaita Meares' - 'the lying Meares'!" (1) Dixon was an able navigator - praised as such by Mozino in his Noticias de Niitka, and Milet Mureau when editing La Perouse's voyage - whose honour and accuracy have never been questioned by any except Meares. In regards to the controversy Meares was undoubtedly in the wrong.

Meares was an Englishman on an unlicensed ship flying British colours - hence a barefaced poacher operating an

(1) F. W. Howay, "The Dixon Meares Controversy", "The Canadian Historical Studies", Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1929, Page 8.

illegal venture. Portlock and Dixon were licensed, and lawfully in trade - hampered by all the restrictions of the paths of virtue. Apparently Meares was given all the assistance that means permitted as regards food and repairs, including two of their sailors to make sufficient hands for the navigation of his vessel. Meares on his side expressed no gratitude, but complained bitterly of the wages asked by the seamen. In return Portlock required Meares to take a bond that he would do no further trading on the coast, but return to China at once. Meares accepted this condition - but did not keep it, on the ground that Portlock simply took advantage of his helplessness to rid himself of a competitor. He kept carefully in the background that he was a thief caught in the act - a lawful seizure - who had been given his freedom on promising to offend no further. Nichol, a seaman of the "King George" records "Captain Portlock could have made a fair prize of him (Meares) as he had no charter and was trading in our limits; but he was satisfied with his bond not to trade on our coast." (1) In extracting this bond Portlock was actually exceeding his powers. Beresford, the supercargo of the "Queen Charlotte", and author of Dixon's "Voyage" said that the devastating effects of scurvy on the "Nootka" was partly due to an over use of spirits. Meares hotly denied it, but Beresford's testimony is supported by Nichol in his "Voyages".

Meares traded profitably down the coast, and after a month at the Sandwich Islands reached Macao on the 20th. of (1) Howay, "Dixon Meares Controversy", Page 11.

October 1787. The expedition had been a financial failure - only three hundred and fifty seven sea otter skins had been secured - and these through making the most of every opportunity. Meares sold his cargo at Canton on April 4th. 1788 for fourteen thousand, seven hundred and two dollars - amazingly good returns considering what the venture had undergone, and immediately began preparations for a second voyage. (1) Meares was daring, original and enterprising, and his audacity where his own interests were concerned was unbounded. Yet the "Lying Meares" was undoubtedly the "stormy petrel" of the coast, and ill feeling and discord seemed to follow inevitably in his wake.

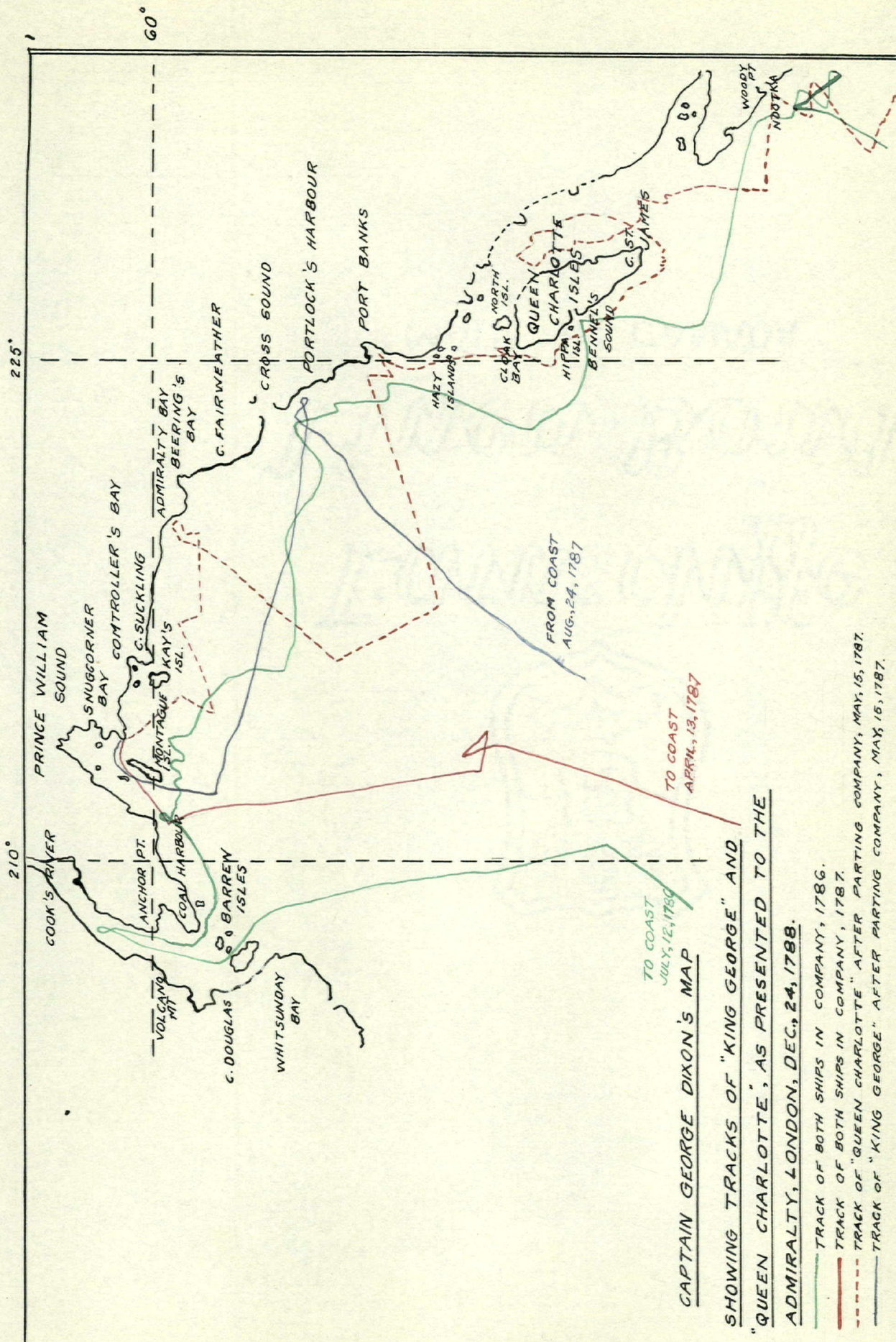
Dixon's report of the sale of Meares' furs is interesting because of its inaccuracy. The cargo was apparently sold in five lots, and Meares' final returns are quoted at \$14, 242 instead of \$14,702. It is generally believed that, with the exception of the introduction, Dixon's "Voyage" was the work of the supercargo, William Beresford. The "Voyage" was written in letter form, and his initials, "W. B." appear at the close of all accounts. Beresford's records of former fur sales, where it is possible to check the figures, have been quite correct. Were it not for the unfortunate Dixon - Meares Controversy, the incident would be dismissed as a mere slip of calculation. Even so the chances are all in favour of its being a genuine accident. Beresford had no motive in falsifying the returns, while it seems unlikely that a man of Dixon's standing, so universally well spoken of, would have

(1) Dixon, "Voyage Round the World", Page 319. Fur sale quoted in Appendix V to thesis.

demeanoured himself to that extent. Had Dixon wished to do so, it is more probable that it would have been done for a worth while amount, not a trifling sum running under a hundred pounds. Perhaps the strongest proof that the deception was not intentional, lies in the fact that all the figures for Meares' supposed transactions are given - the number of furs, and the price of each, making it possible to check the quotations for the entire sale in about fifteen minutes. A course open to such easy detection would hardly have been followed had the error been deliberate, even although the act were inspired by the most petty of motives.

The "King George's Sound Company" was organized in May 1785 by Richard Cadman Etches, his brothers John and William, and other merchants, to engage in the fur trade of the north west coast. The company was noteworthy in that it had conformed to the full regulations, and was licensed both by the South Sea Company and the East India Company. The furs were to be sold in China by the supercargoes of the East India Company, and an agreement had been made to freight the vessels back to England with tea from Canton. They bought and outfitted two ships - the "King George" of three hundred and twenty tons, and a snow of two hundred, the "Queen Charlotte". The venture was placed in charge of Captain Nathaniel Portlock, while Captain George Dixon commanded the "Queen Charlotte" - both men had previously visited the coast with Captain Cook on his third voyage.

The expedition set out under exalted auspices - the



CAPTAIN GEORGE DIXON'S MAP

SHOWING TRACKS OF "KING GEORGE" AND
"QUEEN CHARLOTTE", AS PRESENTED TO THE
ADMIRALTY, LONDON, DEC. 24, 1788.

- TRACK OF BOTH SHIPS IN COMPANY, 1786.
- TRACK OF BOTH SHIPS IN COMPANY, 1787.
- TRACK OF "QUEEN CHARLOTTE" AFTER PARTING COMPANY, MAY, 15, 1787.
- TRACK OF "KING GEORGE" AFTER PARTING COMPANY, MAY, 16, 1787.

"King George" was christened by the Secretary of the Treasury, and carried several gentlemen's sons whom Portlock was to initiate into seafaring life. Great care was taken to lay in an adequate store of antiscorbutics, and Dixon records with pride that on a voyage lasting over three years, the "Queen Charlotte" out of a crew of thirty three lost only one man. When this record is compared with that of Meares and the "Nootka" there seems conclusive evidence that Meares did not take proper precautions for health preservation. Dixon took great pains to acknowledge his indebtedness to other navigators when employing their charts to compile his own, while Meares made full use of the work of his predecessors, but ignored the sources, and tried to pass off the result as his own unaided effort - even to the extent - as in the case of Barkley - of claiming their discoveries.

The ships left England on the second of September 1785, doubled Cape Horn, called at the Sandwich Islands for fresh provisions, and then made straight for Cook's River, arriving on the 16th. of July, at the Barren Islands. During the voyage the armourer's forge had been set up on deck, and articles had been made both for the ship's use and "toes" for future trade. These toes were long, flat pieces of iron, resembling a carpenter's plane, only narrower, and were much valued by the Indians.

Almost at once the English encountered the Russians, who had a temporary trading headquarters on Kodiak Island, made of boats laid on their beam ends with skins drawn fore

and aft. Their relations with the natives were such that they never slept without arms ready loaded by their sides. (1) From Kodiak, parties left for various points - that which encountered the British ships was from Cook's River, twenty five strong. Dixon was not impressed by the skins, which were green and not very plentiful. Courtesies were exchanged with the Russians.

The English vessels entered Cook's River, and a small trade with the Indians developed - salmon was sold for beads, and about twenty sea otter skins and a few marmot cutsarks were collected. Some of the marmot cloaks contained as many as a hundred skins, but the supply was soon exhausted, so Portlock then made for Prince William's Sound. Such bad storms were encountered by the time they reached Montague Island that it was judged wiser to run south rather than continue. Portlock fell ill, so Dixon took the lead, with instructions to go south to Cross Sound, Cape Edgecombe, and thence to Nootka, where they planned to winter and build a sloop about sixty or seventy tons. The gales continued - Dixon missed Cross Sound - and the ships were caught in a great tempest outside Nootka. After vainly trying to enter the Sound for several days the attempt was abandoned, and the ships left the coast for the season, to winter at the Sandwich Islands - the "Paradise of the Pacific".

Portlock and Dixon returned to the north west coast in the middle of March 1787, and reached Montague Island on the 23rd. of April. A few Indian canoes visited them, but (1) Dixon, "Voyage Round the World", Page 60.

had no furs - it was concluded they had been trading from the green and yellow beads which they wore - so Dixon was sent in the long boat to reconnoitre. Meanwhile Portlock had the "King George" hauled on shore for purposes of scraping and graving, and large quantities of spruce beer were brewed. Dixon was much interested in the Indians' report of a vessel in the vicinity of Snug Corner Cove, and finally discovered Meares and the unfortunate "Nootka".

Considerable difficulty was experienced in trading with the inhabitants, as the only articles readily accepted were green and red beads and toes. Hatchets, howels, saws, brass pans, adzes, pewter basins and tin kettles were refused even for fish - and these articles formed Portlock's chief cargo. Dixon cites an incident which took place when his long boat was returning to the ship, showing how impossible it was even to give the Indians useful objects - let alone fair value for their furs. "Some canoes joined us, and one of the Indians had a few sea-otter skins which he offered to sell. Happening to cast his eyes on a frying pan, which my people in the long boat had to dress their victuals with, he requested to have it in barter. Accordingly it was offered him, but he absolutely refused to take it entire, and desired us to break off the handle, which he seemed to regard as a thing of inestimable value, and rejected the bottom part with contempt." (1)

Portlock was greatly mortified to hear of Meares' existence, and to learn that there were other ships on the

(1) Dixon, "Voyage Round the World", Page 156.

coast engaged in the fur trade. It was news to him, and he mentally reduced his goal of four thousand skins to one thousand between the two ships. Meares arrived a little later in the long boat of the "Nootka", and received due assistance. Meares also gave Portlock to understand that he was expecting a ship to arrive at King George's Sound early in June. Portlock concluded that if such were the case the "Queen Charlotte" and the "King George" had better separate - the latter staying in and about Prince William's Sound, and the former making straight for Nootka. His resolution was strengthened by the fact that the season was already far advanced, so the "Queen Charlotte" set sail in due course - May 15th., and made her way slowly down the coast.

Portlock stayed some weeks in the vicinity of Montague Island, doing a fair trade. In the beginning of August the ship was spring-cleaned, well aired with fires and sprinkled with vinegar, after which she left Prince William's Sound for the season. The "King George" made one stop only, when she anchored near Cross Sound, and accomplished a certain amount of business with the Indians. The skins obtained here were of a poorer grade since the Indians did not take the same care in drying and stretching their skins as those of Prince William's Sound and Cook's River. Traces of La Perouse's expedition were discovered, for the natives produced a carpenter's adze made in a new fashion, with the letter "B" and the fleur de lis on it, and described the arrival of two ships, each with three masts. The tribe was badly marked with

smallpox, which Portlock concluded must have been brought by the Spaniards in 1775. He left the coast for the Sandwich Islands 24th. of August 1787, commenting that the fur trade would become a very valuable and lucrative branch of commerce if established on a proper foundation, such as could easily be done by the government or the East India Company.

The "Queen Charlotte" after leaving Prince William's Sound, made her first stop at Port Mukgrave. A few furs were obtained, but from the beads and iron articles owned by the natives it was obvious that they were not the first traders. Ten days were spent in collecting these pelts - chiefly owing to the extremely slow mode of trade practised by the Indians, deliberately aimed at spinning out the traffic. A canoe containing four or five Indians would draw alongside the vessel, and wait for perhaps an hour before giving any sign that they had anything to sell. Finally by significant movements and shrugs they endeavoured to hint that they had something very precious, but before showing it, wished to see what would be given in exchange. If this manoeuver brought no results, the cargo would finally be produced - after much deliberation - it usually proved to be a few trifling pieces of old sea otter. Even then the bargain was not concluded for some time, so that frequently the whole day was wasted in picking up trifles. Dixon estimated the inhabitants at about seventy, and noted that their favorite articles were toes and pewter basins. They would trade beads and objects of small value, but would take only the deep blue and small

green. The Indians, as elsewhere, were so encrusted with paint and dirt, that their real features were obscured. To satisfy their curiosity, the traders finally bribed one woman to wash her face, and were much surprised by the handsome countenance disclosed by the process. The Indians of Port Mulgrave chewed a plant - a species of tobacco, generally mixing it first with lime, or resine from the inner rind of the pine tree.

Norfolk Sound was the next port of call. Here the natives seemed much more lively, and produced some excellent sea otter. Toes were greatly desired, but only those from eight to fourteen inches were accepted. The demand varied greatly at the different ports - here pewter basins were very popular, while hatchets, howels, buckles and rings were easily traded. Beads were regarded with such contempt that they were hardly received even as presents. The "Queen Charlotte" visited Port Banks, but saw no inhabitants and sailed on, reaching the Queen Charlotte Islands, which Dixon so named after his ships, and anchored off Cloak Bay on the 4th. of July 1787. They were the first traders in the region, and were visited by about ten Indian canoes, carrying roughly a hundred and twenty people. Dixon was much struck by their beautiful beaver cloaks, and other furs. At first the Haidas were too much occupied by studying the vessel to trade, although shown toes, adzes, hatchets, howels, tin kettles and pans. Once trade began, it went fast and furiously - making, in the words of Dixon, "a scene which beggered description". Some of the

Indians even threw their furs on board if there was no one to attend to them, but care was taken to see that all received payment - largely in the form of toes. In half an hour three hundred first grade sea otter skins had been collected. The cloaks or outsarks "generally consisted of three good sea otter skins, one of which was cut in two pieces, and afterwards sewn together so that they formed a square. They were loosely tied about the shoulders with small leather strings fastened on each side." (1)

The "Queen Charlotte" followed the Island south, naming Hippa Island, and remarking on the savage and brutal strain noticeable even in the singing of the Haida people. The sailors received the impression that had they landed on the fortified Hippa they would have been killed immediately.

Lip ornaments were as popular among the women as they had been at Port Mulgrave and Norfolk Sound, only in these places they signified rank, while in the Queen Charlotte Islands they were worn indiscriminately. The natives were skilled and daring robbers, and on one occasion when trade had been completed, tried to engage the attention of the sailors by selling halibut while some canoes paddled astern and tried to retrieve the furs by spearing them through the cabin portholes. When detected they paddled off with apparent unconcern. The traders could make no headway with the language, for the natives were not communicative and treated attempts to speak it with sarcastic laughter or silent contempt.

(1) Dixon, "Voyage Round the World", Page 201.

The voyage had been commercially a very successful one - one thousand eight hundred and twenty one sea otter skins had been obtained at the Queen Charlotte Islands alone. The ship was now headed for Nootka Sound, and on the way encountered two ships also belonging to the "King George's Sound Company", which had left England in September 1786. They were the "Prince of Wales" under Captain Colnett", and the "Princess Royal" a fifty ton sloop with a crew of fifteen under Captain Duncan, and had with them Mr. John Etches, brother of Richard Cadman Etches, the moving spirit of the enterprise. The surgeon of the "Prince of Wales" was Archibald Menzies, later the famous botanist of Vancouver's expedition. The newcomers had already spent a month at Nootka, but with little results in the way of furs, since Captain Barkley had secured the best by the time they arrived. Supplies being low, they obtained wine, tobacco and portable soup from the latter, for which Dixon later made payment in China. (1) Dixon had been from England twenty three months and so could not offer much in the way of extra stores himself, but gave them a puncheon of molasses, a hogshead and a harness cask of Sandwich Island pork, what trade they wanted, and a copy of his charts. (2) Comparison of notes showed that it was useless for the "Queen Charlotte" to go to Nootka, or for Captains Colnett and Duncan to go to Prince William's Sound. Dixon advised the latter to explore the north east shore of the Queen Charlottes and then left for China via the Sandwich Islands.

(1) Howay, "Dixon Meares Controversy", "Dixon's Remarks", Page 29.

(2) Ibid, Page 28.

The ships had obtained between them two thousand five hundred and fifty two skins - the largest cargo yet recorded, which realized fifty four thousand eight hundred and fifty seven dollars. Dixon remarks that this sale shows the extreme fluctuations of the Chinese market, as two hundred of the skins ought to have fetched fifty dollars each, and the remainder in proportion. The supercargo of the East India Company were blamed as well for the way they conducted the sale - as licensed ships Portlock and Dixon were not permitted to dispose of the skins themselves. By this method Portlock says they received twenty dollars apiece for two thousand of their best furs, which if properly handled would have brought eighty or ninety each - the current rate at the time. (1) Portlock's estimate runs higher than Dixon's, but in spite of the loss and disappointment - which must have been considerable - Portlock comments on the fur trade "so far from being a losing branch of commerce, it is perhaps the most profitable and lucrative that the enterprising merchant can possibly engage in." (2) The King George's Sound Company had not made large fortunes, but were the gainers by several thousand pounds.

After meeting in Macao early in 1788, Portlock and Dixon went home to England. Portlock mentions meeting Captain Barkley and the "Imperial Eagle" - at this time under Portuguese colours. (3) The "Imperial Eagle" had previously worn the Austrian flag - but it is quite possible that Barkley changed,

(1) Nathaniel Portlock, "A Voyage Round the World, 1785-8", Randal, London, 1789, Page 370.

(2) Ibid, Page 371.

(3) Ibid, Page 368.

since Portugese shipping received preferential duties at Macao.

The "Prince of Wales" and the "Princess Royal" had not come straight from England. On their way they stopped at Staten's Land and founded a factory for the purpose of collecting seal skins and oil, before proceeding to Nootka Sound. Scurvy obtained a strong hold during the voyage, and the ships suffered much more heavily than Dixon and Portlock had before them. Finding trade worthless at Nootka, where the "Imperial Eagle" had already secured most of the furs, the ships were leaving for Prince William's Sound, when a chance meeting with Dixon showed the futility of this, and made them visit the Queen Charlotte Islands instead. Colnett and Duncan wintered at the Sandwich Islands, and returned to the coast in the spring of 1788. Here the vessels separated, the "Prince of Wales" going north to Prince William's Sound, while the "Princess Royal" visited Nootka and the Queen Charlotte Islands, as well as a group of islands eastward off the mainland shore, later named "Princess Royal Islands" after the sloop. While in these inner channels off the mainland, Duncan had a narrow escape, for the natives attacked the tiny vessel - the smallest yet to visit the north west coast - and were only driven off with difficulty. He sailed southward in the beginning of August, encountered Meares near Ahousat, and left for China via the Sandwich Islands, where he met Colnett on August 17, 1788. Duncan left for England almost immediately after reaching China, but the "Princess

Royal" and Colnett" remained. The East India Company chartered the "Prince of Wales" to load teas, and the ship returned immediately to England, carrying Duncan and two young Hawaiians as passengers.

Early in 1788 Meares made a second voyage, fraught with serious international consequences. He intended to establish a factory at Nootka, and build a small vessel for trading on the coast - as Portlock and Dixon had planned to do in the winter of 1786-7. Two ships were outfitted by John Henry Cox and Company, merchants of Canton, (1) the "Felice" of two hundred and thirty tons with a crew of fifty, and the "Iphigenia" of two hundred, the latter under Captain Douglas with a crew of forty. They were ostensibly the property of the Portugese company, Juan Cavalho and his firm, and flew the Portugese flag to avoid the English license duties. (2) Cavalho had actually no share in the undertaking, which was an entirely British enterprise. Meares commanded the expedition and was a joint proprietor. Chinamen were included in the crew for purposes of economy, since they lived on fish and rice and asked low wages, but they were mainly handicraft men, not sailors. Meares regarded the experiment as highly satisfactory, and quoted the number of Chinamen engaged as fifty. (3) If this was so, they outnumbered the whites, since the total of both ships' crews was only ninety. This was the first employment of Chinese by Europeans on the British Columbia coast.

(1) George Vancouver, "Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean", Edwards, London, 1798. Page 404.

(2) Howay, "Dixon Meares Controversy", Pages 2, 5-6.

(3) Meares, "Voyages", Page 3.

Both ships were copper bottomed, and built to stand the rigours of the north west coast - after the last experience Meares was taking fewer chances, and provided warm clothing for the crew, both European and Chinese. He records that large supplies of antiscorbutics were included, but subsequent events leave it open to question. Each ship carried a five months supply of water, and allowed every person a gallon a day. A considerable amount of livestock was included in the cargo, with the idea of stocking islands for future use - six cows, three bulls, four calves, goats, turkeys, rabbits and pigeons. During the trip Meares meant to restore the Atocian Prince, Tianna, to his native Sandwich Islands, from whence he had taken him to China in 1787.

The ships left on the 22nd. of January 1788, and encountered bad weather at once. The Chinese crew became very seasick, the rolling so upset the cattle that most of them had to be killed, and by the 2nd. of February scurvy had broken out seriously on the "Iphigenia". "The carpenter, two of the quarter masters, and some of the seamen were already ill - others discovered symptoms which were truly alarming, their legs swelling and their gums becoming putrid," (1) - and all this after only eleven days at sea. Circumstances suggest that general conditions on both ships left something to be desired, for while Meares makes no specific mention of scurvy on the "Felice", he speaks of "a small mutiny" which was quelled "by gentle means". Douglas sought to check scurvy by substituting spruce beer for spirits and resorting (1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 23.



CHIEF MAQUINNA
OF NOOTKA.

THE ENGLISH FACTORY.

VILLAGE

OF

NOOTKA

FRIENDLY
COVE.

HOG ISLAND

NOOTKA

SOUND

SKETCH OF FRIENDLY COVE
IN NOOTKA SOUND BY
MR. WEDGBOROUGH

to oranges and antiscorbutics.

Meares reached Nootka on the 13th. of May, 1788, and returned another wanderer to his home - the Indian Comekela, a brother of Maquinna, who had been taken to China by an earlier expedition. Comekela's appearance excited high admiration - he was garbed in a "scarlet regimental coat, decorated with brass buttons, a military hat set off with a flaunting cockade, decent linens, and other appendages of European dress" (1) and his return was celebrated by a great feast of whale blubber and oil. Maquinna and Callicum were absent from Nootka when the ships arrived, but returned a few days later, escorted by twelve war canoes, each holding an average of eighteen people. Most of the Indians wore "most beautiful sea otter robes, reaching from neck to ankle", and sang as they paddled. It was a visit of state, and hence the hair of the natives "was powdered with the white down of birds, and their faces be-daubed with red and black ochre in the form of a shark's jaw, and a kind of spiral line, which rendered their appearance very savage ---- The chief was distinguished by a high cap, pointed at the crown, and ornamented on top with a small tuft of feathers." (2) Meares made presents of copper and iron to the chiefs, who in return threw their sea otter robes at his feet. They were given blankets, and went off, apparently well satisfied.

Meares set about establishing a base for future trading, and purchased a piece of territory from Maquinna on which his factory could be built. Maquinna readily granted it,

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 109.

(2) Ibid, Page 112.

and received copper, iron and other articles, including a pair of pistols. Meares is the first trader recorded to have supplied firearms to the natives - Dixon and Portlock refused to do so. (1) Maquinna promised to assist the work in every way, and gave his protection to the party left at Nootka. Captain Ingraham makes an interesting comment in connection with the later dispute regarding the sale of Nootka. In his journal for September 1792 he asserts that Maquinna made "a declaration that he never sold any lands whatever to Mr. Meares or any other person except Captain Kendrick, whom he acknowledged to be the proprietor of lands around Mawhinna. Captain Magee and Mr. Howell witnessed this -- declaration. If Mr. Meares did purchase the land he mentions no doubt a man of his penetration knowing the laws of his country had a deed drawn at the time --- " (2) The fact that Meares never produced nor mentioned any such document is conclusive evidence that none existed,

The Indians were employed in the erection of the building, which was finally finished on the 28th. of May, 1788. Meares described it: "The house was sufficiently spacious to contain all the party intended to be left in the Sound - on the ground floor there was ample room for the coopers, sail makers and other artisans to work in bad weather, and a large room was also set apart for the stores and provisions, and the armourer's shop was attached to one end of the building and communicated with it. The upper story was divided into an eating room and chambers for the party. On the whole, our

(1) Howay, "Dixon Meares Controversy", "Dixon's Remarks", Page 35.

(2) Ibid, Page 7.

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 was 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. Without the breastwork, was laid the keel of a vessel 40-50 tons which was now to be built agreeable to our former determination." (1)

The fur trade had not been allowed to suffer through building activities, and a hundred and forty sea otter pelts were collected. On his arrival Meares had set a price for every kind of fur, but this did not suit the natives' instincts for bargaining, and they tried every means in their power to alter the agreement. The Indians much preferred to trade by giving presents, rather than common barter, and the chiefs used to send Meares a message whenever they were prepared to make such a present. Meares took what he was prepared to give in return, and went on shore, where the skins were laid at his feet with much ceremony and noise. Everyone gathered to see the spectacle, and dead silence followed to see what return would be made. It was not an ideal method of traffic from the traders' point of view, who had no previous inkling of the amount or value of the chief's "present".

The fashion for European dress had begun since the

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Pages 115-116.

return of Comekela, and a bargain could now be fixed by a hat or shoe. A spirit of mutiny still pervaded the crew of the "Felice" under the leadership of the boatswain. Meares sought to discredit him in the eyes of his fellows by degrading him to serve before the mast, and hoped that the discontent would thus die a natural death. Meares began preparations for a trading trip south, planning to leave a party on shore to complete the new vessel, while he collected the furs taken by the Indians during the summer months. Meares left on the 11th. of June, after visiting Maquinna, and intimating that they would return in about four months. Maquinna was given a suit of clothes covered with buttons and promised that when they finally quitted the coast "he should enter into full possession of the house and all the goods and chattels thereunto belonging." (1) The "Iphigenia" was already north, covering the coast from Cook's River to Nootka, while Meares and the "Felice" went south.

Meares visited Wickanashish and his village, which was almost three times the size of the Nootka one, and did a considerable trade, securing a hundred and fifty sea otter skins. The articles chiefly in demand were brass hilted swords, copper tea kettles, pistols, muskets, and powder. Meares had no scruples in supplying the Indians with firearms. As a whole he considered the Indians of Wickanashish Sound much more uncivilized than the Nootkans, but far superior in sagacity and activity. The "Felice" continued down the coast, trading and exploring as she went. In this latter capacity (1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 130.

Meares deliberately tried to claim the discoveries of Barkley, not only of Juan de Fuca Strait, but also on the island, saying, "We endeavoured to keep in with the shore as much as possible, in order to have a perfect view of the land. This was an object of particular anxiety as the part of the coast along which we were now sailing had not been seen by Captain Cook, and we know of no other navigator said to have been this way except Maurelle, ---- and his chart convinced us he had never seen this part of the coast." (1) Yet while making such a statement he was in possession of Barkley's own chart, (2) and when preparing his map drew freely upon the work of Barkley, Laurie and Guise, Duncan, Portlock and Dixon, without any acknowledgement. (3) Meares entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and took possession in the name of the King of England. The ship returned to Nootka on July 26, 1788, having made excellent progress and collected many skins, and found the new vessel well advanced. The long delayed mutiny on the "Felice" finally came to a head, but was at once quelled. The eight ringleaders were given the choice of continuing in irons, or being landed among the savages. They chose the latter, so Meares turned them over to the tender mercies of Maquinna, who made - and treated them as - domestic slaves with all that coast slavery implied. Meares considered this a humane way in which to "settle the affair without bloodshed."

Meares met the "Princess Royal" about the 16th. of August 1788, making for Port Cox in Wickaninish Sound. In

- (1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 152.
- (2) Howay, "Dixon Meares Controversy", Page 8.
- (3) Ibid, Page 15.

Meares opinion she had done an extremely good trade, and "there is reason to believe that this little vessel accomplished more for her owners than any ship that ever sailed to the North West Coast of America." (1) Meares now returned to Friendly Cove, where the "Iphogenia" arrived on the 27th. of August, having covered the American coast from Cook's River to King George's Sound.

Captain Douglas had gone straight north, towards Alaska, and passed the Barren Islands at Cook's River on June 17, 1788. He anchored in Cook's River, where almost at once he was visited by a number of native canoes, all manned by "ticket men". They immediately showed the tokens as passports of good usage. The Russians sold these tickets to the Indians at exorbitant prices, asserting that they would protect the people from ill treatment from any strangers who might visit the coast. The "licence" was encouraged by exercising "great cruelty on such natives as were not provided with these instruments of safety, so that the poor people were very happy to purchase them on any terms." (2) The particular Indians in the canoes were so poverty stricken that they had not a rag of fur between them.

Trade was slow - the Indians were afraid to barter for fear of the Russians, and Douglas got only fish, for beads, and five sea otter skins, purchased for two feet of broad bar iron each. At the Indians' request he sent the long boat higher up the river on a trading expedition where business could be transacted unobserved. The results of this

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 200.

(2) Ibid, Page 307.

trip were disappointing, and the "Iphigenia" moved on to Snug Corner Cove in Prince William's Sound. Luck again deserted them, for a tree on shore revealed the inscription. "J. Etches of the "Prince of Wales", May 9th. 1788 and John Hutchins", showing that the ship had preceded them by ten days. As a result Douglas only obtained one sea otter skin and "five seal skins for the rigging." (1) The "Iphigenia" continued trading south along the coast, with more success, until rejoining the "Felice" in Friendly Cove.

At Nootka work on the new schooner was progressing fast. The season for leaving the west coast approached, but the year had been a satisfactory one, and a very valuable cargo of furs collected which should be marketed as soon as possible. Hence Meares planned to take the pelts to China himself in the "Felice", while leaving the "Iphigenia" and the schooner to carry on the trade. The "Felice" was then made ready for sea, and the mutineers - with the exception of the boatswain - were allowed on board. Meares presented Maquinna with a musket and a little ammunition, (2) as well as a few blankets. The vogue for articles of European dress was gaining, and Callicium commissioned Meares to bring back to him shoes, stockings and a hat. His friends did likewise, and the goods were duly delivered by the "Argonaut" in 1789.

On the 16 of September, 1788, a new sail appeared on the horizon, which proved to be the sloop "Washington" from Boston, under Captain Robert Gray. It marked the first American participation in the fur trade. Gray had no idea that

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 316.

(2) Ibid, Page 216.

other competitors were already in the field, and was greatly surprised to see the ship in the stocks. "He appeared, however, to be 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." (1)

The launching of the new ship took place three days later - at 12 o'clock on the 20th. of September 1788, a procedure at which the ceremony of other dockyards was strictly observed. "As soon as the tide was at its proper height, the English ensign was displayed on shore at the house, and on board the new vessel, which at the proper moment was named the "North-West America", as being the first bottom ever built and launched in this part of the globe." (2) The Indians and Americans watched the ceremony with great interest. In actual fact, the ship entered the water with such velocity that she nearly went out of the harbour - since Meares, being unaccustomed to such matters, had forgotten to put an anchor and cable on board to pull her up. Meares left almost immediately for China, and a little later Douglas sailed with the "Iphigénia" and "North West America" to winter at the Sandwich Islands. Gray wintered and traded at Nootka, where he was joined by his companion and commander, Captain Kendrick, of the "Columbia". They will be fully discussed later.

In the autumn of 1788 a reorganization of interests took place in China, shortly after Meares' return, between the agent of the merchants in England, (The King George's Sound

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 220.

(2) Ibid, Page 220.

Company) and the agent of the merchants in India," (1) forming a joint stock company to carry on the fur trade and eliminate injurious competition. It was known as the "Associated Merchants trading to the North West Coast of America, and consisted of: John Meares, John Henry Cox, Richard Cadman Etches, John Etches, William Etches, William Fitzhugh, Henry Lane, and Daniel Beale. (2) Meares acted as the spokesman throughout. The East India Company and the South Sea Company derived no further revenue from the enterprise, for the firm took the name of Juan Cawalho, and the ships flew the Portuguese flag. Meares gives his own explanation for sailing under false colours, in his memorial --- "In order to evade the excessive high port charges demanded by the Chinese from all other European nations except the Portugese, he and his associates had obtained the name of Juan Cawalho to their firm, although he had no actual connection in their stock. Cawalho, though by birth a Portuguese, had been naturalized at Bombay, and had resided there many years under the protection of the East India Company, and had carried on an extensive trade from thence to their various settlements in that part of the world. The intimacy subsisting between Cawalho and the Governor of Macao had been the principal cause of their forming this nominal connection, and Cawalho had in consequence obtained his permission that the two ships above mentioned, in case it should be found convenient to do so, should be allowed to navigate under, or claim any advantages granted to the Portuguese flag." (3) Certain tariff advantages

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 106.

(2) Howay, "Dixon Meares Controversy", Introduction, Page 3.

(3) John Meares, "Memorial", Appendix: Howay and Scholefield, "British Columbia", I, Page 6 of "Memorial".

may undoubtedly have been gained by this deception, but it was merely an excuse to camouflage the real reason - to avoid the expense of licenses required of all independent British traders in those regions.

At the same time Meares asserted that the ships of the Etches brothers - the "Prince of Wales" and the "Princess Royal", carried licenses from the English joint stock companies which did not expire till 1790. Colnett's evidence supported Meares, for he stated that the King George's Sound Company held a license from the South Sea Company "good for five years after September 1st. 1786, for trading in the South Sea and other parts of America." (1) Hence the "Princess Royal", when she returned to America in 1789 as the property of the "Associated Merchants", was still a legal trader. Colnett's trading license for the "Prince of Wales" was also valid, one of Meares principal reasons for enlisting his services. The "Prince of Wales" was not considered fit for another voyage to the north west coast, having damaged her keel, and so was freighted to England with teas by the East India Company. Another vessel, the "Argonaut", was bought by the new company to take her place. Colnett saw no disadvantage to his permit in the change of ships - had there been, he suggested it would have been completely remedied by renaming the new vessel "Prince of Wales" (2) but it was considered unnecessary. The Spanish Viceroy alone questioned the legality of the transfer. This explains why, although Meares and the "Associated Merchants"

(1) W. R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy", American Historical Association, Annual Report 1904, Washington, Government Press, Page 296.

(2) Ibid, Page 296.

owned four trading ships on the north west coast during the season 1789, half flew the English flag and half the Portuguese - two were authorized, and two were poaching.

Captain Colnett was given charge of all the concerns of the company, and received instructions from Daniel Beale in its name before leaving Macao. He was ordered to build a substantial house as soon as the ship reached Nootka. The second ship, the veteran "Princess Royal", was placed under Captain Hudson, and both sailed early in the year. Meares believed that the best passage was obtained by leaving in March, but for some reason it was the middle of April before Colnett was able to start.

Chapter V."THE NOOTKA SOUND CONTROVERSY."(1789-1790)

The peace and tranquility of the north west coast was soon to be rudely disturbed, and by 1789 there were indications that Russia, Spain and Britain, all aimed to occupy and trade at Nootka Sound. Spain sent an expedition north in 1788 under Martinez and Haro, who visited the Russian settlements in Alaska, and learnt that Cusmick only awaited the arrival of four frigates from Siberia to establish a trading post at Nootka Sound. Martinez was much perturbed by this news, and persuaded Florez, the Viceroy of New Spain, to forestall the move by making a Spanish settlement there immediately. Florez was sufficiently impressed to send two ships from San Blas on February 17, 1789, the "Princesa" and "San Carlis", having orders to make a permanent base, under the command of Martinez with Haro as his assistant. Careful instructions were given regarding the chance meeting of British, Russian or American ships. The British were to be convinced by explanatory argument of Spain's prior and superior claim to the locality. The Russians, first reminded of the strong friendship existing between the two countries, were to be finally cajoled by the news that in case of trouble Spain could rely on the assistance of her French ally. The Americans were simply to be informed that Spain was opening up her

territory north to Prince William's Sound, and that troops, colonists and missionaries were on the point of arriving. If any of the intruders, unquelled by such arguments, attempted to make a settlement, Martinez was to "repel force by force", and "endeavour to prevent as far as possible their intercourse and commerce with the natives." (1)

Florez regarded the Americans as more dangerous rivals than the Russians or even the English. As the great commercial nation of the American continent he saw the immense value to them of an outlet on the western coast, and expressed himself: "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." (2) As proof of his suspicions he mentioned the American ship "Columbia" of Boston, who was known to have called at Juan Fernandez Islands earlier in the year, and continued towards the north west coast in 1788, with a small companion vessel, the "Washington", somewhere in the offing. Spanish anxiety was increased by the fact that their real destination and intentions were unknown, since the Spanish Governor of the Islands, Blas Gonzales, had allowed them to depart without ascertaining. For this offence he was cashiered by the Captain-General of Chile, whose action in the matter was upheld by the Viceroy of Peru.

Spain still clung to her claim that the Treaty of

(1) Manning, "Nootka Sound Controversy", cf. Martinez' Instructions, Page 304.

(2) Ibid, Page 302.

Tordesillas, 1494, had given her sovereignty over the entire American continent west of the line set by that agreement, and strove to exclude all other nations as interlopers. The Nootka Sound Controversy, although developing between Spain and England, not America, as Florez had seemed to anticipate, was in reality a struggle for the freedom of the seas. It was "a decisive conflict between two great colonial principles, of which England and Spain were the exponents." (1) England upheld that discovery without colonization did not constitute ownership, and that such land belonged to the nation who first settled and developed it, and won her point.

The Spanish expedition entered Friendly Cove on the 5th. of May 1789, and found two foreign vessels at anchor - the "Iphigenia" of Captain Douglas, and the American "Columbia" - Captain Kendrick. Captain Gray and the "Washington", meeting Martinez a little earlier as she was leaving the Sound, had paused for friendly intercourse. To the American officers who went aboard, Martinez represented himself as an explorer, sent from Cadiz with two other ships to explore the coast. He also told them he had been north to Bering Straits, and showed a northern skin canoe lashed to his quarter as a proof. Martinez asked some searching questions concerning the ships already in the Cove, and remarked, on hearing of the "Iphigenia", that "she would make a good prize." The only explanation for Martinez' curious lies was that he wished to put the American traders entirely off their guard, and by assuming an unofficial guise, ascertain the

(1) Manning, "Nootka Sound Controversy", Page 284.

true motive of their activity at Nootka.

There is no positive evidence that Meares' house was still standing when Martinez arrived. The Americans, Gray and Ingraham, wrote three years later that no trace of it remained, and that Captain Douglas had pulled it down in 1788 before leaving for the Sandwich Islands, taking the boards with him, and giving the roof to Captain Kendrick who used it for firewood. The strong Spanish bias of the American captains detracts from the value of their testimony, but there is indirect evidence in their favour, unwittingly supplied by Meares himself. It is an extract from the log of the "Iphigenia" of May 22nd. 1789, made two days after Captain Douglas' return from the Sandwich Islands, and two weeks before Martinez arrived on the scene. "(We) sent some sails on shore and erected a tent to put our empty casks in." (1) Manning argues with seeming logic that if the house had still been standing it would naturally have been used for this purpose instead of a mere pitched tent. The case is strengthened by the fact that nowhere in the journal for 1789 is any reference made to the house, and that even in his "Memorial", Meares makes no definite statement that his house was still standing. Thus it may safely be concluded that however disposed of, the house had gone by May 1789, and there were no evidences to indicate that Meares intended to form a permanent establishment. Hence Martinez was perfectly justified in taking possession of Nootka.

Captain Douglas tried to represent to the Spaniards

(1) Manning, "Nootka Sound Controversy", Page 313.

that the "Iphigenia" was a Portuguese ship, following Meares' policy for the past season. He carried a passport bearing the signatures of the governor and captain general of Macao, saying it was a Portuguese vessel, under the command of Francisco Josef Viana, "also a subject of the same crown." The real captain was represented as an English supercargo. Haswell records that when the "Washington" reached Nootka, both the "Felice" and the "Iphigenia" were flying Portuguese colours, while Duncan tells the same story of Meares when he met the "Felice" off Nootka. She was under the Portuguese flag, and posed as coming from Lisbon under the command of Don Antonio Pedro Mannella. (1) Douglas explained the presence of the "Iphigenia" in the Sound, saying that he was awaiting essential supplies from China. Martinez accepted this story, but was by no means blind to the dual nationality of the ship. Friendly relations continued for a few days until perusal of the Portuguese instructions revealed a clause whereby the captain was ordered if accosted by Russian, Spanish or English ships to defend his ship, and if superior to the attacking vessel to capture and take her as a prize to Macao. The Spanish authorities took violent exception to this - although it was probably an error of interpretation - and Martinez seized the "Iphigenia", struck the Portuguese flag, and flew the Spanish in its place.

The officers and crew of the "Iphigenia" were confined, some in the "Princesa" and the rest on the "San Carlis". Martinez having made his prize, found that he could not spare

(1) Howay, "Dixon Meares Controversy", cf. Duncan's Letter, Page 112.

sufficient men to send her to San Blas, and so released her after twelve days, in exchange for a bill upon Cavalho, the supposed Portuguese owner, promising to pay as ransom the fair value of the ship and cargo if the Viceroy ruled that Martinez had been within his rights to make the capture. A farewell dinner was given on board the "Princesa", after which the "Iphigenia" left the Sound, supposedly for China, but running north after midnight instead. Douglas had only between sixty and seventy sea otters on board but raised the number to about seven hundred during the voyage. Hence it is fairly obvious that the ship's supplies of food and trading articles cannot have been diminished to the extent claimed by Meares in his "Memorial".

The "North West America" had been absent on a cruise when the Spaniards arrived, and returned to Nootka on the 8th. of June, quite unaware of the progress of events in her absence. On hearing the vessel belonged to the firm of Cavalho, Martinez seized her, and renamed her "Gertrudis", after his wife. Being a small ship she could be sailed with a limited crew, which the Spaniards were able to supply, and was sent south on a trading expedition under David Coolidge of the "Washington". Meanwhile no time was lost in forming an establishment at Nootka - far more elaborate than that of Meares. Hog Island was fortified and garrisoned, while on shore barracks, a workshop and a bakery were built. Formal possession was taken on June 24, 1789, in the "Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost ---- and his Majesty the

King, Don Carlos III, and for the service of God and the good and prosperity of his vassals." (1) It was accompanied by much impressive pomp and ceremony.

Captain Hudson and the "Princess Royal" arrived on the 15th. of June, and was met by Martinez, Kendrick and Funter (late captain of the "North West America"). Martinez permitted her to take on wood and water and depart in peace, as well as presenting Hudson with a "circular letter to all Spanish vessels to allow him to pass on his way unmolested, (2) In so doing Martinez was perhaps too lenient. His instructions ordered him "to prevent intercourse and commerce with the natives" and quite justified him in seizing both the "Iphigenia" and the "North West America", as the only available method of asserting authority. Captain Hudson's commission said that the voyage was one of discovery, which possibly explains why Martinez allowed the "Princess Royal" to leave - and mentioned its exploratory aims in his circular. Martinez' friendly attitude to the American ships was perfectly consistent with his orders, since they carried letters from the Spanish minister in the United States, recommending the attention of the authorities of his nation on the Pacific coasts." (3) On examining the Americans' papers Martinez found their object was not colonization, but to circumnavigate the globe. There was no reason for preventing this, as there

(1) Howay and Scholefield, "British Columbia", I, 139-143.

(2) Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy", Pages 328-329.

(3) C. F. Newcombe, "First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island", Cullin, Victoria, B. C., 1914. Page 33.

was nothing in their instructions derogatory to Spanish rights, but he forbade them in the name of Carlos III, to return either to the seas or coast without a special permit, since Spain had prohibited navigation by any foreign power on the American shores. The Americans were very useful to Martinez, both in his dealings with the English and the Indians, and he became so friendly with the Americans, that the English accused them of being in league.

As the "Princess Royal" sailed out, she passed the "Argonaut" entering - July 2nd. - which was also met by Martinez, vainly hoping it was his expected supply ship "Aranzazu". Hudson had left a letter for Colnett, which reassured him completely as to the friendliness of the Spaniards, and he allowed his ship to be towed into the harbour regardless of the warnings of Captain Hunter of the "North West America", alias "Gertrudis". The "Argonaut" carried all the necessary equipment for founding a trading post, as well as material for another sloop and twenty nine Chinamen of the artisan class who were to begin the future colony of the trading post - Fort Pitt. Meares also planned to internationalize the population still further by importing wives for these Chinese from the Sandwich Islands. Colnett wished to leave the next day, but Martinez vacillated, and finally demanded his papers. A bitter dispute arose over some trifling matter concerning them, reaching a climax where Martinez arrested Colnett and seized the "Argonaut", sending her as a prize to San Blas. Some of the English were sent with her, and the rest later in

the "Aranzazu". The "Argonaut" was ready for the voyage to San Blas on July 13th., when just as she was sailing, the "Princess Royal" came in sight. Captain Hudson had found himself in the vicinity, and so stopped off at Nootka Sound to see if all was well with the "Argonaut". Leaving his ship he visited the "Princesa", where he was at once made prisoner, and ordered to direct the "Princess Royal" to enter the Nootkan trap. The Spaniards were prepared to capture her by force if this failed, and realizing the hopelessness of the situation, Hudson ordered the ship to surrender. Both the English vessels were sent as prizes to Mexico, a voyage on which their crews experienced great discomfort, Colnett being locked all night in his cabin without water, while the men were confined and kept in irons. (1) The ships arrived in August 1789. Florez recalled Martinez the same year, February 2nd, 1789, but the order did not arrive until after the disturbances and before the news of his exploits had reached Europe. Martinez arrived in San Blas, December 6th. 1789, and the first Spanish settlement at Nootka was deserted. (2)

Florez supported Martinez in his actions, but he was succeeded in October 1789 by Revilla Gigedo, and the handling of the affair devolved on the new Viceroy. Gigedo, in spite of Florez' letters, did not consider the matter of much importance, and assumed the attitude that Martinez had insufficient ground for making the captures. Yet he was sufficiently interested in Nootka to wish to reoccupy it, and

(1) Howay and Scholefield, "British Columbia", I, 145.

(2) W. N. Sage, "The Spanish Explorers of the British Columbian Coast", Canadian Historical Review, December 1931. Page 394.

selected Lieutenant Francisco Eliza^S of the Spanish Navy to carry it out, giving him three ships, the frigate "Conception," the "San Carlos" and the sloop "Princesa Real", alias "Princess Royal". His instructions included the exploration of the "coasts, islands, and parts up, to 68°, Cook's River, and the Strait of Juan de Fuca". Eliza arrived on the 5th. of April 1790, and began both tasks at once, establishing a military post at Nootka, and sending Lieutenant Fidalgo on the "Filipino" to explore the shore line from 57° south. Weather conditions prevented Fidalgo from completely fulfilling his instructions, but he visited the Russians of Cook Inlet, and took possession of Prince William's Sound. Failing supplies, and continuation of unfavourable winds then forced him to return to Monteray.

Revilla Ggedo expected advice from Spain regarding the English ships, but none came, so in May 1790 he ordered them to be released and returned to Colnett on his own authority. It was a practical repudiation of Martinez' actions. The English sailors still confined in Mexico were freed as well, although the majority had reached Macao at an earlier date. Ggedo stated that his action was one of "pure generosity", but forbade Colnett to visit the Spanish American coasts again either for trade or settlement. At Colnett's earnest request this was later modified to places under the control of Spain. Colnett left Mexico in the "Argonaut" late in 1790. He missed the "Princess Royal" at Nootka, and only obtained possession at the Sandwich Islands in March 1791, and

the "North West America" was also regained about this time.

Eliza sent Manuel Quimper to explore the Strait of Juan de Fuca in the "Princesa Real" in May 1790. He set out on the 31st., making slow and careful progress, exploring both north and south shores, and taking formal possession in the south. Eliza continued his explorations along the southern coast, when a bad storm prevented him from returning to Nootka, so he made for Monteray, and arrived on the 2nd. of September 1790. Eliza must have passed the freed "Argonaut" on the way, with the order for the surrender of the "Princess Royal". Colnett was greatly incensed on finding she was not at "Nootka, and accused the Spanish of tricking him.

The diplomatic side of the Nootka Sound Controversy must be considered briefly, since the actual discussions and incidents have little direct connection with the fur trade. The first information of the course of events reached England indirectly on January 4th. 1790, through Anthony Merry, the British ambassador at Madrid, who sent an account of a confused rumour in Madrid to the effect that an English ship had been captured by a Spanish man-of-war at Nootka, and sent as a prize to Mexico. The matter was not investigated. The first important intimation arrived in the form of a protest from the Marquis del Campo, February 10, 1790, against British invasion of Spanish territory, and suggested that such intruders should be punished. The Marquis of Leeds replied brusquely that in the first place the vessel so seized must be restored, and then investigation would be made when

information concerning all circumstances of the affair had been gathered. The Spanish diplomats had not expected such an attitude, and disliked the tone of the British reply. Immediate preparations were made for war; for it was thought that Pitt desired to humble Spain. Floridablanca, the Prime Minister of Spain made every effort to preserve the outward appearance of peace, and keep Merry in ignorance of his plans.

Spain would not agree to the British demand of "satisfaction before discussion", and sent another note in a similar tone in March, expressing the hope that British subjects would now be requested to respect Spanish rights, and that it would "not be necessary to enter into discussions regarding the indubitable rights of the Spanish Crown." (1) So far it was only known that one ship had been captured. The Spanish authorities were in full possession of the facts, but for some unknown reason had not made them public. Then, like a thunderbolt, Meares arrived in London in April 1790, and presented his famous memorial to a government whose previous information depended only on vague rumours, and possessed no clear idea of the facts. The Memorial was a document "more useful to stir the public mind to war with Spain than as a statement of facts. Exaggerated, contradictory, intentionally false, it exists today a complete proof of his mendacity" (2) It was written in the expectation of exacting large money payments from Spain, and the case against the Spaniards was twisted with the deliberate intention of arousing a rampant war spirit in the general public. At a cabinet meeting

(1) Howay and Scholerfield, "British Columbia", I, 149.

(2) Ibid, I, 149.

following the presentation of the document, April 30, 1790, the government resolved to demand "an immediate and adequate satisfaction for the outrages committed by M. de Martinez", (1) and advised the king to prepare for war. Plans were begun, but kept secret until the middle of May, when information concerning the affairs of Nootka was sent to Parliament by the king, stressing that no satisfaction had been given, and that Spain claimed the right to exclude all nations from the waters and territory of that part of the world. The king added that as steps were being taken in Spain towards war, he felt bound to ask Commons for supplies to do likewise. The idea was popular, and Parliament voted a million pounds to "enable his Majesty to act as the exigency of affairs might require", and preparations were speedily got underway. Great Britain informed her allies of the Triple Alliance, Holland and Prussia of her need, and asked for aid with gratifying results. Holland sent ten ships, while Prussia promised to stand by her agreement should war occur.

Spain was not so fortunate. She was allied with France, but although the French king was willing to help her, the French minister said that the tone of the Assembly made it advisable to keep peace. Seeing little possibility of aid, Spain began to change her diplomatic attitude, but made one last effort to get help, and sent a circular letter to the courts of Europe, asking for assistance on the ground that Great Britain was trying to force a quarrel while Spain wished to maintain peace. The general European situation did not

(1) Manning, "Nootka Sound Controversy", Page 376.

favour war, and matters became less belligerent in tone. Britain declared that she had every desire to reach a peaceful agreement, but stated that "no negotiations to that end could be undertaken until the vessels were restored, Meares indemnified, and satisfaction given for the insult to the British flag." (1) Pitt forced Spain to choose between war and abandoning her claim to sovereignty. War seemed imminent. Both fleets lay in readiness, as well as the Dutch ships, which were prepared to assist Great Britain whenever she should so desire. Matters dragged on until September, Spain began to realize the seriousness of her isolation, while the people of England began to complain at the length of negotiations and the uncertainty. In July Floridablanca had signed an agreement to restore Meares' ships, indemnify the owner, and give satisfaction for injury, while Fitzherbert signed a counter declaration for England, accepting the indemnity and apology. Further abortive efforts were made, but no agreement was reached, until October 2, 1790, Pitt "sent a ten day ultimatum together with two drafts for the Convention of which the Spanish ministry might take its choice" - the only difference being that one of them provided for the definite demarcation of Spanish territory. (2) Floridablanca procrastinated trying to obtain a few small concessions - the Spanish considered the British demands preposterous - no greater surrender could be required as the result of a disastrous war." (3) No avenue

 (1) Howay and Scholefield, "British Columbia", I, 152.

(2) Lennox Mills, "The Real Significance of the Nootka Sound Incident", Canadian Historical Review, 1925, VI, 118.

(3) Ibid, VI, 118.

of evasion opened, and he was forced to agree.

The Nootka Sound Convention was signed on the 28th. of October 1790. By its articles Meares' lands were restored, and reparation for his losses promised. The freedom of the Pacific was assured to both British and Spanish shipping, while at Nootka and elsewhere "both should have free access and carry on their commerce without molestation wherever either power should form a settlement." (1) The Convention was approved in England, but bitterly attacked in Spain. Floridablanca's fall from power in 1792, after fifteen years of service, is attributed to his signing it. (2)

The Convention left the north west coast in the nature of a no-man's land, claimable only by settlement, while Spain had renounced - for the first time in history - her claim to exclusive sovereignty of the coasts and waters of the Pacific Oceans. Captain George Vancouver was sent from England to receive the property and buildings at Nootka. Spain paid Meares a large compensation - \$210,000 - "a very liberal allowance, and far exceeded any actual loss." (3) Meares reached this figure by his usual methods of exaggeration, such as assuming that the "Argonaut" would have collected two thousand skins worth a hundred dollars each - a feat never accomplished in coast history in such a period by a ship her size. Dixon further points out that the price of all such skins since 1785 was only about twenty nine dollars. (4) Meares further estimated that the "Iphigenia", "Princess Royal"

(1) Manning, "Nootka Sound Controversy", Page 119.

(2) Ibid, Page 459.

(3) Howay and Scholefield, "British Columbia", I, 156.

(4) Ibid, I, 156.

and "North West America" would have secured a thousand skins apiece, although the combined cargoes of the "Felice" and "Iphigenia" for the previous season had only produced seven hundred and fifty pelts, sold, Meares stated, for fifty dollars a skin. Meares had "sing'd the King of Spain's beard" as effectively as ever it was done by Sir Francis Drake - the contrast lying merely in the methods - mendacity versus bravado. So ended the Nootka Sound Controversy - which when it first opened was regarded as "the insignificant quarrel of two obscure sea captains" - a mere "fight for the catskins of Nootka", and at its climax nearly precipitated European war. The settlement determined the subsequent positions of England and Spain on the north west coast, broke the Spanish monopoly, and provided a future factor of the Oregon Boundary Dispute.

The incident marked the end of the first era in the Maritime Fur Trade, in which it reached its peak. Furs were plentiful, traders were sufficiently scarce to make barter profitable, and no great ingenuity was required in selecting articles of trade. Iron, copper, firearms and powder were the most desired commodities. The metals either came in bars or sheets, or made into articles such as kettles, swords, and a variety of tools. Beads were more valued in the north, but soon brought little but fish in any district. Pewter ware, blankets and mirrors were highly popular, and by 1788 the vogue for articles of European dress had begun.

The fur trade, although mainly sea otter, was

exclusively so only a short time. Fur seal was soon included, as well as beaver, river otter, marten, marmot, and practically every animal found on the coast. Meares, in his "orders to Captain Douglas" gives an idea of the relative value of these furs. (1) Black beaver fetched from ten to twelve dollars, river otter between four and five. Black marten were valuable, brown were not. Small hurst skins were worth collecting, since they brought between ten and fifteen dollars a hundred. Oil was a prized commodity, fetching a price of forty five pounds sterling a ton. Whale bone had a certain market. No skin approached the sea otter in value, but beaver and fox - particularly black fox - always brought good returns. The price of the latter was not quoted. Ginseng was included in the trade.

Some traders made a practice of setting a price for every kind of fur when they arrived, and remained adamant, despite the wiles of the Indians who were notorious barterers. As was later said of the natives, "the modern Hebrew could teach them nothing in the art of bargaining." (2) Great care was taken over the skins and their preservation. Meares' instructions to Douglas and Colnett on the subject were explicit; "Furs must be classified and packed in chests, let them be smoked and carefully put in, with heavy weights over them, so that when they are produced at market, they may bear such appearance as will enhance their value." (3) Samples of each quality had to be put in separate boxes, and every skin,

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Appendix II, "Orders to Captain Douglas."

(2) Marchand, "A Voyage Round the World", Page 192.

(3) Meares, "Voyages", Appendix II, "Orders to Captain Douglas."

piece, and tail numbered and registered. The Chinese rated the sea otters under eight or nine denominations of proportionate worth, concerning which, according to Meares, "they would never suffer us to intrude an opinion." (1)

Unsatisfactory conditions in China increased the difficulties of the traders. The Chinese were said to regard the power of Great Britain with much apprehension, and the regulations concerning foreign vessels certainly did not tend to encourage them. All European shipping came under the Hong merchants, one of whom was put in charge of each ship at Canton. Every trading operation of the ship depended on his pleasure, and was arranged to his personal advantage. The Hong merchants were heavily taxed by the Mandarins and higher officials, and paid these taxes with what they collected from the Europeans. They were not security for each other. All ships on their first arrival had to pay a certain "measurement," which was calculated by their tonnage, before they were allowed to trade. The sum was collected by the Hoppo, (or Viceroy) of Canton, and within a few years had been much augmented. An East Indiaman, for instance, paid from eight hundred to twelve hundred pounds. The ships were barred from entering Canton, and had to remain at Macao, fourteen miles away. They were obliged to send their goods ashore on Chinese boats, and continual robberies were committed, on the cargoes on their way to Canton, for which there was no redress. Bribery and corruption was rife among the officials. An additional burden was placed on licensed ships, for they were not permitted to bargain for

(1) Meares, "Voyages", Page 243.

their own cargoes, and the sale was conducted by the super-cargo of the East India Company. Portlock and Dixon observed that by this method they received twenty dollars apiece for two thousand of their best furs, which if properly handled would have brought eighty or ninety each, --- the current rate at the time. (1) In spite of this, they commented on the fur trade: "So far from being a losing branch of commerce, it is perhaps the most profitable and lucrative employ that the enterprising merchant can possibly engage in." (2)

(1) Portlock, "A Voyage Round the World, 1785-1788", Page 370.

(2) Ibid, Page 371.

Chapter VI.. "THE AMERICAN ENTRY."

(1788-1790)

The New Englanders entered the field under very favourable circumstances. Unhampered by monopolies, they found a rich supply of furs, and returned to a country enjoying peace, and anxious to build up a merchant marine. The city of Boston early got control of the trade, and managed to maintain the lead in spite of competition. Massachusetts depended almost entirely upon her marine commerce, and prospered or flagged according as it waxed or waned. In 1784 she was seeking substitutes for the protected trade of colonial days, for without fresh outlets she could no longer maintain her former dominant position among the States of America. Her seamen had to compete with the English, Scots and Dutch in the Baltic and Indies, and hoped that new markets and sources of supply might be found in the Pacific. Commerce and the struggle for existence occupied them entirely, and Emerson wrote "From 1790 to 1820 there was not a book, a speech, a conversation, or a thought in the State." (1) The Chinese market was discovered in 1784, when the "Empress of China" from New York, carrying Major Samuel Shaw as supercargo, anchored at Macao. From then on America imported her own teas and silks direct, and depended no more on the Dutch and British. Major Shaw was given the honorary title of American Consul at Canton, and returned with Captain Magee in the "Hope"

(1) S. E. Morison, "Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860", Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1921. Page 42.

of New York in 1786, and established the first American commercial house in China.

America was sadly lacking in suitable commodities with which to compete in the China trade, for the Canton market required either money or purely Eastern articles such as edible birds' nests, opium, and sharks' fins. The New Englanders had nothing to offer except ginseng, and that in limited quantities, until the discovery of the sea otter, and, although less important, of the sandalwood of Hawaii. The "Columbia" was the first ship to return to Boston after visiting the north west coast, and her arrival, on August 9, 1790, opened the sea otter trade to the enterprising Boston merchants, and gave them access to Oriental wealth. The furs and sandalwood were mere "middlemen" to the American traders, - commodities of exchange for the teas and textiles of China. Japan took no part in the commerce. She was a hermit nation - isolated and closed to the foreigner since 1640, and remained so until 1867, when an opening was forced by Commodore Perry of the American Navy. Hence China was the sole market for the sea otter, and Canton the only port at which it might be traded. The western people were regarded as the "Fan Kwae" - the foreign devils, with whom it was wise to have as little intercourse as possible. Japan was barred in a practical sense as well as a theoretical one, for in 1791 Captain Kendrick of the "Washington" with Captain Douglas in the "Grace" of New York, ventured into a southern Japanese harbour in the hope of selling sea otter. Nothing came of it, however, for

the natives were unenthusiastic and seemed to have no use for the fur, so no business was done.

Despite this the Chinese developed a business procedure so complicated and involved, that the confused trader was glad to shift the responsibility to the Boston Mercantile Agencies which sprang up at Canton. The first of these - Shaw and Randall - was founded in 1786, and took entire charge of the sale for which it exacted seven and a half per cent on the return lading. In later days competition reduced this to two and a half per cent of which the supercargo received one. Business at Canton was necessarily expensive. Fees, expenses, and repairs absorbed nearly half the proceeds of the "Columbia"'s first sale - with a total cost of over ten thousand dollars. Even the cleverest captain knowing the business by heart, seldom brought it below six thousand. Yet the growing western demand for oriental goods made the trade increase by leaps and bounds, while the value of American imports rose steadily. Wages were not high, and masters and mates of trading ships received only twenty to twenty five dollars monthly wages. The officers treatment was more generous - doubtless with the idea of removing the temptation for private smuggling, and they were usually allowed one half to five tons cargo space on the return voyage for private enterprise in Chinese goods, as well as a commission varying from one to eight per cent on the net proceeds of the venture. (1)

The New England fur traders made their first appearance on the north west coast in 1788, having left Boston the

(1) Morison, "Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860", Pages 76-77.

previous year. Here again the influence of Cook's Third Voyage may be traced, for the Boston merchants hoped that the furs described by King would furnish the desired commodity for the China trade. The expedition was organized by Joseph Barrell for purposes of "trade and discovery". His first associates considered the speculation too risky, and fell out of the agreement, but in the summer of 1787 Barrell was joined by five other men, Samuel Brown, Charles Bulfinch, John Derby, Crowell Hatch, and John M. Pintard. They financed it privately, by fourteen shares of thirty five hundred dollars. Two ships were purchased, the "Columbia Rediviva" of two hundred and twelve tons under Captain John Kendrick who had charge of the expedition, with the "Washington" a ninety ton sloop as consort under Captain Robert Gray. Kendrick was "an old experienced navigator", but does not seem to have been quite the man for such an undertaking. The owners had no intention of allowing the voyage to pass unnoticed or uncommemorated, and caused several hundred medals to be struck and sent with the vessels. On one side was "the sloop, encircled with theirs and the commanders' name: on the other the name of the owners, encircled with 'Fitted at Boston, North America for the Pacific Ocean 1787'". (1) A few silver ones were prepared for special distribution, one of which was sent to General Washington who "returned polite thanks" and "wished the undertaking all success." The expedition was no ordinary private venture, but was "provided with sea letters by the Federal Government, agreeable to a resolution of Congress, with

(1) John Hoskins, "Narrative of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America, (Performed in the ship "Columbia Rediviva"). Transcript in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. Pages 2-3.

passports from the State of Massachusetts and letters from the Spanish Minister in the United States, recommending the attention of the authorities of his nation on the Pacific coasts." (1)

Great celebrations were held on board the night the ships left, but the atmosphere of camaraderie was short lived. Kendrick was forty seven at the time of sailing, and was not an easy man to get on with, possessing a violent and uncontrollable temper. He assaulted Haswell, his second officer before the expedition had gone very far, and took an early opportunity to transfer him to the "Washington". According to Haswell, Kendrick was always fighting with his officers, and certainly in the course of the voyage Roberts, the surgeon, and Woodruffe the first mate, also left the ship. Gray was fifteen years junior to the commander, but beyond this and the fact that he came from Rhode Island of good New England pioneer stock, little is known of his life before the turbulent years on the north west coast. Haswell, although himself an American, was the son of a British naval officer. (2)

Kendrick had a dilatory nature, and even when started was uncertain whether he would round the Horn at once, rather favouring a plan of wintering on the near side. His officers so opposed the idea that he consented to make the passage. Weather conditions were trying, and the ships encountered in rapid succession intense frost, thaw, snow, hail and heavy seas. While actually making the Horn they were caught in a

(1) Newcombe, "The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island", Page 33.

(2) Robert Haswell, "A Voyage Round the World, 1787-9", Transcript in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C., Page 32.

terrific storm, and lost sight of each other until both arrived in Nootka Sound. The "Washington" sighted the coast of New Albion on the 2nd. of August 1788, in latitude 41° 28' N., and met native canoes a few days later. The crew landed for the first time about 45° 33', to replenish necessary supplies of wood and water, with tragic consequences. The natives made a treacherous attack, killing a black boy, and wounding others - apparently without provocation - and the place was commemorated by the name "Murderers' Bay". A number of Indians were encountered in the vicinity of 48° 5' who welcomed them with the usual ceremonies of paddling round the ships, singing and whooping. The chiefs were only too eager to come aboard, but had no sea otter skins, and few of any others. Hoskins concluded "Beyond a doubt some other English ships must have visited here this season for they plainly articulated several English names. " (1) The native demands were considered extravagant, and consequently little trade resulted. Some nice furs had been acquired in their journey up the coast, in exchange for knives, axes and adzes, although the Indians would have much preferred copper.

More of the inhabitants appeared on the morning of the 30th. of August, 1788, coming from Clayoquot Sound with large quantities of furs, but "greatly to our mortification there was nothing in our vessel excepting muskets would purchase one of them, and we had barely enough for our defence. Copper was all their cry, and we had none of it." (2) The latter item was an unfortunate omission in the cargo, but

(1) Robert Haswell, "A Voyage Round the World 1787-9",
 Transcript in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C., Page 32.
 (2) Ibid, Page 33.

apparently the Americans were not prepared to take the firm stand of Barkley, Dixon and Portlock in refusing to supply firearms to the Indians. Wickananish and his brother visited the ship, clad in European fashion, and spoke of Captains Meares, Barkley "Hannah" (sic) "Dunkin" (sic) and Douglas. After a short stay the "Washington" set sail for Nootka, but ran into a terrific gale.

The ship, now sadly scurvy-stricken, entered the Sound on the 16th. of September, having met one of the English ships outside who guided them in. At Friendly Cove Gray made the acquaintance of Meares and Douglas, and learnt to his regret that the "Columbia" had not yet arrived. He had not expected to find Nootka such a center of activity, but was interested in the "North West America" which was within three days of launching. Speaking of the undertaking, Gray said that Meares "first built a tolerably strong garrison and then went to work building a small schooner about thirty tons, while Captain Meares cruised the coast collecting skins. We found this vessel nearly completed." (1) Meares was already preparing to leave for Macao, and did his best to discourage the Americans from staying on the coast, talking vaguely of the dangers and savage disposition of the Indians, and the poor condition of the fur trade. He said he had only collected fifty skins that season, but Gray was not deceived, and fully realized that Meares was trying to rid himself of a competitor. At the same time Meares was not unfriendly, the officers dined with one another, and Meares lent Gray his

(1) Haswell, Transcript, Page 36.

blacksmith to repair the damage done to his rudder irons in Murderers' Harbour. Hoskins was very poorly impressed by the English captain, and wrote "this Mr. Meares behaved himself scandalously, and by no means like a gentleman, a character he dares to assume." (1) Certainly he played a nasty trick on them when he left. Meares offered to take any letters to China that Gray might wish to send, and the latter eagerly seized the chance to write to his owners. Gray then helped to tow Meares out of the harbour, but found on his return that Meares was not as sincere as he sounded. There were his letters lying on the table, enclosed by a note, in which Meares apologized for returning them, saying he "was not certain to what part of India he should go and therefore could not ensure delivery of them." Meares feared they contained further information for the Boston traders which must be disadvantageous to his company, and had devised the ruse because he knew, had he refused to carry letters, his officers and crew would have been prevailed upon to do so. The trick angered the Americans all the more because they had had to give Meares' vessels extra provisions to enable them to reach the Sandwich Islands, so poorly were they fitted with supplies, although having plenty of the principal articles of trade - copper and iron.

Captain Kendrick and the "Columbia" arrived on the 23rd., having called at the Juan Fernandez Islands for repairs, where they were very well received by the Spanish Governor. Scurvy had claimed two victims during the voyage, while others

(1) Hoskins, "A Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript, Page 4.

of the crew were in an advanced state. Kendrick immediately assumed control, but felt he could "do nothing until these Englishmen have left the place", and so did all in his power to speed Douglas' departure, lending him carpenters, workmen, provisions and naval stores. The "Iphigenia", or "Yagene" as Haswell records it, finally sailed on the 26th. of October, 1788, and the Americans began preparations for winter.

There is some evidence that another American ship visited the coast during 1788, the "Eleanore" of New York, a hundred and ninety ton brig under Captain Simon Metcalfe. John Boit in his log of the "Union" mentioned Metcalfe at Macao, buying a companion vessel for his ship after returning from the north west coast. He gave the command of his consort - the "Fair American" - to his eldest son, and since the latter ship was known to be at Nootka in 1789, it would follow that the "Eleanore" must have been on the coast alone in 1788. (1) There is no other known record of the voyage.

The Americans made scathing comments on Meares' methods of trading, although later incidents would suggest that the whole community lived in "glass houses", Hoskins spoke of Meares as arriving at a native village and securing "all the fish and oil to be found, giving them in return a small piece of copper far less valuable than the provisions they had taken by force, and leave the poor harmless wretches unprovided for a long and vigorous winter. --- They would often send their boat from the snow in chase of the canoes and bring them to by

(1) F.W. Howay, "Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade 1785-1794". The Royal Society of Canada, Section 2, 1930. Published at Ottawa, Page 116.

firing musket balls at them (for the native canoes were far swifter than those of European build) and then rob them of their fish." (1) The story relies purely on Haswell's account, but there is no reason to suppose that he was less dependable in his evidence than any other trader.

Kendrick was leisurely in his movements, and rather unstable in his ideas. He occupied the winter at Nootka, first by trying to sloop-rig the "Washington" - an attempt which had to be given up since neither the required cordage duck nor blocks were available. He next started to build a house on shore, but soon abandoned it, and finally found occupation on board by constructing a huge brick chimney where the mizzen mast stood. His officers did not favour the plan, as Kendrick had already a good brass stove on board, and the new addition was a serious fire hazard. Kendrick could not be dissuaded however, and in due course the chimney was completed. The general forebodings were apparently justified for a few days later the "Columbia" did catch fire, and the "Washington" had to come to her assistance. The conflagration was dangerous, being in the vicinity of the magazine, but fortunately came under control before large damage had been done.

During the winter the weather was rainy and disagreeable, and the crews depended on fowling and hunting for their principal amusements. Various disputes arose between the two ships, chiefly because Kendrick would not allow the "Washington" to shift its anchor without his express permission. Kendrick was altogether a curious character. In the spring of 1789 the

(1) Haswell, "A Voyage Round the World", Transcript, Page 41.

"Washington" was sent on several small cruises, the first of these being to the south. Gray left on the 4th. of March for Clayoquot, where he obtained a few skins. The natives in this district struck him as better proportioned and stouter than the Nootkans, although resembling them in custom. The Indians + demanded copper and muskets for their furs, and sometimes refused to sell if denied them. Gray made no express statement that these guns were ever withheld - except when the "supply was so limited that they had barely enough for themselves." Gray continued down the coast line until he came to the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. On returning to Nootka he found all was still well, but that little had been done to fit the "Columbia" for sea. Captain Douglas had arrived from the Sandwich Islands with the "Iphigenia" and the "North West America", and the latter vessel was almost immediately sent on a cruise under Captain Punter. The "Washington" left Nootka on the 1st. of May 1789 for another trip - this time to the north, and encountered Martinez as he left the Sound. The meeting has already been described - the Spaniard's friendly attitude, and eagerness to know what ships were anchored in the Sound.

Kendrick was provided with letters from the Spanish minister to America, which saved his vessels from capture in the first instance. He showed considerable diplomacy in his later relations with Martinez, trying to disguise his trading activities. Martinez was not deceived but friendship suited him for the moment." (1) Officially the American ships were

(1) F.W. Howay, "John Kendrick and his Sons", Oregon Historical Society, December 1922. Pages 277-302.

on a voyage of exploration and discovery, and when the "Washington" left for her northern trip Kendrick explained it as necessary "to get pipe and barrel staves." Kendrick had his two sons on board the "Columbia", John, an officer, and Solomon a sailor before the mast. John Kendrick now adopted the Roman Catholic faith and entered Spanish service on the "Princesa", where he was welcomed because he was a good pilot and well educated.

The "Washington" reached 55°43' of northern latitude but was finally caught in so severe a storm that Gray judged it wiser to return to Nootka for repairs before the "Columbia" left. Gray was much struck by the lip ornaments worn by the women in these parts, and also in the Queen Charlotte Islands, which they visited on the return voyage. Gray named them after his ship "Washington's Island", and did a tremendous trade in furs. In one instance two hundred sea otter skins were traded for a single chisel - a curious record in a log which rates Meares so severely in its earlier pages for not giving the Indians fair value for their furs. By the time the Americans left the Indians were practically stripped of their pelts. The "Washington" arrived at Nootka in July 1789, with a very profitable cargo. The Spaniards had been busy in his absence, and Gray was much surprised to find Hog Island fortified. Haswell comments briefly on the seizure of Captain Douglas' ships "on what pretence we know not." (1) Hoskins recorded such severe measures were adopted "on account of some indignities offered the Spanish flag." (2)

(1) Haswell, "A Voyage Round the World 1787-9", Transcript, Page 66.

(2) Hoskins, "A Voyage to the North West Coast of America 1790-93. Transcript, Page 5.

Kendrick ordered the "Columbia" and the "Washington" to Clayoquot, and on their arrival changed ships, and sent Gray with the collected skins to China to make sure of an early market. The cargo was consigned to Messieurs Shaw and Randal. It is unknown why this exchange was made - it might have been a whim, for according to Haswell, Kendrick "scarcely knew his own mind and was always thinking of changes." (1) Kendrick, having lain inert at Nootka for the past ten months, now set off in the "Washington", revisited the Queen Charlotte Islands, and then made for the Sandwich Islands en route for Macao. He had a good eye for the possibilities of trade, and while at the latter islands was so much struck by the sandalwood that he left three men to collect it against his return, as well as any pearls which might come their way. The "Washington" reached Macao in the middle of January 1790, and here Kendrick was seized with such a violent fever that he was unable to return at once to the north west coast. Gray wrote to Joseph Barrell from Canton on December 18th. 1789, giving a statement of his cargo:-

700 skins	
300 pieces	Sold in January 1790 - \$21,400.

He was preparing to take on teas for Boston, and admitted that the results of the voyage would be below the company's expectations. The sale of the "Columbia"'s furs was completed in January 1790 for \$21,400 - but over ten thousand of this

- (1) F.W. Howay, "Captains Gray and Kendrick - The Barrell Letters", Washington Historical Quarterly, October 1921, Page 260.
- (2) Letter of Robert Gray to Joseph Barrell, Esquire, and Company. Written at Canton, December 18, 1789. Appendix: Hoskins, "A Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript.

was absorbed by commission and the harbour charges of Macao. Gray left immediately for Boston, entirely disregarding Kendrick's instructions to visit him first and receive his final orders. The "Columbia" fired the federal salute of thirteen guns in Boston harbour on the 9th. of August, 1790, as the first American ship to circumnavigate the world.

Kendrick wrote from Macao on February 6th. 1790, asking for instructions, and enquiring whether he was to sell the "Washington", load her with tea for America, or go back to the north west coast. During his short visit to the Queen Charlotte Islands he had secured a remarkable cargo, which he quoted as:- (1)

320 skins
60 garments
150 pieces

Kendrick finally sold the furs, and prepared the "Washington" for another trip to the regions of the sea otter. The officers of the "Columbia" blamed his dilatory conduct very much, the length of time he took to round the Horn, his oversight in not cruising the coast and letting excellent opportunities slip of making large fortunes both for himself and his owners. Concerning the time Kendrick took to arrive, Gray wrote from Nootka Sound, July 13th. 1789: " --I had the good luck to part company the first day of April --- which enabled me to make the best of my way along, and I made the coast six weeks sooner by being alone. " (2) Kendrick was even accused of planning to cheat the owners out of everything. Hoskins thought

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- (1) Hoskins, "A Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript. Appendix: Letter to Wohn Kendrick to Messers Gray and Howe. Written at Macao, February 6th. 1790.
- (2) Ibid. Appendix: Letter of Robert Gray, written at Nootka Sound, July 13, 1789.

this latter judgment rather severe as no evidence of knavery had ever been exposed, and added "the man was by no means calculated for the charge of such an expedition, but a better man might have done worse." (1) As a commander of the venture Kendrick had proved a failure, but he did much better when captaining the small schooner. He was a man of little education, kind hearted, but whimsical and vacillating, dictatorial and jealous of his authority. It was his uncertain actions and leisurely movements which prevented him from making a success of his undertaking as he should.

Simon Metcalfe with the "Eleanore" and the newly purchased "Fair American", a twenty six ton schooner owned by a trading company in New York, commanded by his son Thomas Humphrey Metcalfe, returned to the coast in 1789, but their exact movements are not known. The "Fair American" left Macao on June 5th. 1789, and reached Unalaska on July 17th. Such accurate details are not available for the "Eleanore", but in all probability she also sailed early in June. She was seen first in the neighbourhood of the Queen Charlotte Islands in September, and the following month Martinez sighted her off Nootka, but Metcalfe very wisely refused to come within hailing distance. The "Fair American" was not so fortunate, possibly due to the inexperience of her commander - then only eighteen - and the size of her crew which numbered five in all. The ship had originally been a pleasure boat, lengthened at China, and her gunwhale

(1) Hoskins, "A Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript, Page 6.

was not a foot higher than the double canoes of the Sandwich Island natives. She presented a striking contrast to the "Eleanore" which mounted ten guns, and supported a crew of fifty five - ten Americans and forty five Chinese. The "Fair American" sailed south and reached Nootka in distress, where she was detained for a short time by Martinez. Martinez seized the ship, and sent her to San Blas for the Governor to deal with. Revilla-Gigedo freed her, because the Americans had caused no inconvenience to Spain, nor interfered with Spanish settlements. The expense of detaining the crew seemed unnecessary under such circumstances, so the Governor finally allowed the "Fair American" to proceed. When released she made for the Sandwich Islands, wintering in the vicinity of the "Eleanore" and in so doing final disaster overtook the "Fair American".

Captain George Vancouver recorded the incident, as described to him by John Young, boatswain of the "Eleanore", who had been forceably detained by the natives for fear he would spread news of the massacre and bring punishment on them, and Isaac Davis the mate of the "Fair American", sole survivor of the disaster. Young was a middle aged man of forty four, coming from Liverpool, while Davis, a native of Milford, was eight years younger.

The trouble between the Americans and the Hawaiians began in February 1790, when a boat was stolen from the "Eleanore" with one of the crew in it. Metcalfe offered a reward for their return, but only learnt that the former had

been destroyed and the latter killed. He then demanded the bones of the man, which were finally surrendered along with the stem and stern of the boat. Trade continued, and the natives, believing peace was restored demanded the reward. Metcalfe promised they should have it, and loaded the "Eleanore"'s guns with musket balls and nails. One side of the ship was then "tabooed" - in order to collect all the canoes on the starboard side next the shore - the ports were lifted, and the guns let loose on the native craft. Considerable slaughter resulted, particularly from the guns between decks which were nearly on a level with the canoes, Young estimated that about a hundred were killed and many wounded. After this - as Metcalfe considered it - adequate revenge, he sailed for Owhyhee, where he had previously anchored.

On the 17th. of March 1790 Young received permission to spend a night on shore, on the understanding that he return next day. When he wished to do so he was refused a canoe, and told they were all "taboo". That evening he learnt that the "Fair American" had been captured, and young Metcalfe and the crew murdered. The native king, Tomaahmaah, was afraid to let Young go back to the "Eleanore" for fear he would take the news, and consequently Metcalfe's wrath would be vented on the local inhabitants. At the same time Tomaahmaah took the law into his own hands, and made the offending chieftain, Tamaahmootoo, surrender the captured ship, which he kept in case Metcalfe ever returned to Owhyhee. Tamaahmaah heard the mate, Isaac Davis, was still

alive, and took him to his own quarters, where he was treated with all possible kindness. Davis then gave his account of the capture of the schooner.

Tamaahmootoo and his followers came to the "Fair American" when it was nearly becalmed, made presents to young Metcalfe, and gained his confidence sufficiently to be allowed to board the vessel. The numbers made Davis uneasy, but Thomas Metcalfe would take no warning. The natives told him the "Eleanore" was only a little to the westward, and that he would see his father before night. A few minutes later Tamaahmootoo seized and threw the youthful commander overboard, and he was seen no more. Davis snatched a pistol and tried to shoot the chief, but it missed fire and he also was flung into the sea. Being a strong swimmer Davis escaped for a short time, in spite of the murderous blows aimed at him by the natives' paddles, but finally, weak from loss of blood, he was dragged into a large double canoe. There was no available weapon with which to kill him, so the Hawaiians held Davis with his throat across the rafter that united the two canoes, and jumped on his neck and shoulders, intending to end his life in that fashion. In spite of such treatment Davis continued to live, until one of the islanders began to pity him, and later took him under his care when the boat reached shore. Davis returned with Tamaahmootoo under his special protection, but neither Davis nor Young had since been allowed to leave the island for fear that retribution would follow. Even when Vancouver arrived he was only

permitted to see one at a time, while the other was held as hostage for his return.

Vancouver considered Metcalfe senior guilty of great negligence in allowing a craft of such inexperienced leadership and minature crew near the natives, to whom it would appear an easy and valuable prize. A spirit of restlessness was abroad among the Hawaiian chiefs - Tianna was among the most unruly. He made one plan to seize the "Princess Royal", arguing that if the Spaniards had taken her from the English he did not see why he should not take her from the Spaniards. Tianna also contemplated capturing the "Eleanore", making the seizure at the time when her sails were being furled. According to his scheme sufficient of the crew would be spared to navigate her, and she would prove a valuable aid in achieving his ambition - the conquest of the rest of the islands. Tamaahaah heard of the plan, and he forbad it entirely, even turning Tianna's men off the "Eleanore" when they arrived to put it into execution. (1)

The last ship to appear on the north west coast in 1789 was the British "Mercury" of London, a hundred and fifty two ton snow, owned and commanded by John Henry Cox. The ship stopped at Unalaska for a fortnight during October and November of that year, on her way to China, but does not seem to have traded. Soon after reaching the Pacific she changed her name to "Gustav~~us~~ III", and sailed under Swedish colours.

The "Eleanore" was known to have returned to the coast in 1790, and the unsupported testimony of John Meares

(1) George Vancouver, "A Voyage of Discovery", Edwards, London, 1798, II, 135-145.

indicated that the British "Mercury" - now definitely "Gustavus III" - paid a second visit. Two new American vessels arrived, the "Grace ", an eighty five ton schooner, under William Douglas, formerly of the "Iphigenia". Douglas was both owner and master, although curiously enough a second schooner, the "Polly" was also recorded as having Douglas for commander. It is possible Douglas may have been merely the owner, not the captain, or else that the two ships were the same under different names. (1)

The first voyage of the "Columbia" had, like many pioneering enterprises, been a financial failure, but the men gave such stirring accounts of the easy fortunes to be acquired in furs that the owners were induced to refit the ship once more under Captain Gray. Hoskins, the author of one log of the "Columbia", was more partial to Kendrick than Gray in his comments, and observed on the reappointment of the latter "I must do the credit to say, although Gray cruised the coast more and appeared to be more persevering to obtain skins, yet his principles were no better, his abilities less, and his knowledge of the coast from his former voyage, circumscribed within very narrow limits." (2) On her second voyage the "Columbia " carried the frame of a fifty ton vessel which was to be built on the coast. New faces were seen among her owners, Joseph Barrell, Samuel Brown and Crowell Hatch remained, but Charles Bulfinch, John Derby and

(1) F.W. Howay, "Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1794", Page 120.

(2) Hoskins, "Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript, Page 7.

John M. Pintard had gone, and there appeared instead Thomas Bulfinch, Robert Gray (now a captain owner), Davenport, and McLean. The "Columbia" sailed from Boston on the 27th. of September 1790. She experienced such violent storms while rounding the Horn that she was nearly wrecked, but in spite of these conditions, it was the 20th. of May 1791 before scurvy made its appearance. At that date there was only one outbreak, although six more followed in the next eight days. By the 16th. of June the "Columbia" was at the entrance of Clayoquot Sound, where fresh supplies were easily obtainable. Gray learnt from the natives that Kendrick had not yet revisited the coast.

Chapter VII."THE CHANGING TIMES."

(1791)

In the fur trade itself great changes were taking place. Competitors doubled and trebled, and crossed and re-crossed each other so often that they assumed almost a kaleidoscopic aspect, making it impossible to keep track of them. Many of the traders now sailed from their native lands, England, France and the United States, collected their furs in one or two seasons, sold them in China, and returned with freight or oriental cargo. Some still operated from China, and a very few from Calcutta and Bengal. Nootka was very much the rendez vous of the captains and presented an animated scene, but [the fur trade was no longer a matter of trinkets and scrap iron, and variety and articles of real value were demanded. The natives were hard to satisfy. They rejected copper sheets as being too thick or too thin, and refused to look at goods which had entranced them on a former visit. From 1791 on the traders began to winter on the coast, instead of sailing for the Sandwich Islands. Nootka Sound or Clayoquot Sound were usually selected for this purpose, and no ships sheltered in the Columbia before 1794. The price demanded by the Indians for their furs was rising rapidly.* Kendrick commented on it, and by 1793 Roberts had to pay forty toes for a prime skin which Dixon and Gray had formerly secured for

*Notes for a description
of Nootka & Clayoquot*

toe each. The source of supply for the individual trader was more uncertain than ever, from the many rivals in the field, and the Indians' increasing antagonism.

Captain Gray, returned to the coast in June 1791, and made an early stop at Clayoquot to enable the sick to recover their health. Wickaninish and many of the Indians came aboard, some of them wearing as many as four sea otter skins. The Americans were delighted and immediately showed the natives their articles of trade, but the latter seemed indifferent, expecting to receive them as presents. Members of the crew went on shore gathering large quantities of nettles, hogweed and other greens which proved excellent antiscorbutics, and were "eaten with avidity by all hands." The general health of the crew was somewhat impaired by the long voyage, seven of whom were in an advanced state of scurvy. Hoskins attributed their condition to "our scanty supply of antiscorbutics, to an improper use of what we had, and to the small attention paid by the commander to the preservation of the health of his people." (1) Gray was blamed for refusing to stop at islands in both the southern and northern tropics where the necessary fresh supplies could have been obtained. It is quite possible that Gray went to the opposite extreme to Kendrick and was inclined to be too much on the go, yet in justice to him it must be remembered that the outbreak was not nearly as serious as had taken place on other ships during a period - such as any of Meares, where the commander insisted every health precaution had been taken. Moreover, the last

(1) Hoskins, "Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript, Page 28.

voyage had been a financial failure, and one can easily understand that he might be anxious to cut down on time with an idea of curtailing expense. On the whole, Hoskins' judgment is perhaps rather prejudiced.

For two days the Indians refused to trade their skins, and then could only be persuaded to part with twenty two. Gray sent a present consisting of potatoes, onions and seeds, to Tootoocheetticus, a brother of Wichananish, and the chief was greatly pleased by the novelty. The Americans bought two deer to make soup for the invalids, and while engaged with these and other occupations, the Sandwich Island boy, Ottoo, ran away with the Indians. He was reclaimed but not without difficulty. Gray had by this time collected all the available furs in the neighbourhood, amounting to a hundred and twelve sea otter skins, twenty five pieces, and thirty seven tails - but the sum was far short of Hoskins' expectations. The Indians of Clayoquot would hardly accept iron even as a gift, and asked chiefly for copper and clothing. A sheet of copper was purchased for four skins, and clothing in similar ratio. Small articles such as knives, buttons, fish hooks and gimlets only brought sea otter tails, or fish and vegetables.

Gray next went to Hope Bay in Chickleset Sound, and then sailed from place to place trading whenever possible. He was received with much hospitality at Opswis village, where the natives roasted clams in his honour, and welcomed him with the refrain: "Wak ush Tiye awinna" - "Welcome, Travelling Chief". Yet while this was going on, some of the crew noticed

other Indians at the back of the house arming, and sharpening daggers and spears, The Americans wished to avoid a rupture if it were possible, and immediately returned to the ship, preparing to seize their weapons at any moment if required. The occasion fortunately did not arise. Hoskins commented on the multitude of dogs of the fox breed which abounded at these villages. Iron was more valued in Chickleset Sound than at Clayoquot. The "Columbia"'s next ports of call were Company's Bay and Nittenat, where at the latter centre Gray made the acquaintance of the chief Cassacan and secured valuable furs. From here he went to Tootooch's Island on the eastern side of the entrance to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and turning north again made a second call at Nittenat. It was not as successful as the first, for Cassacan exasperated Gray by suddenly deciding he did not wish to sell the skins, and carried them off, although offered considerably more than he had originally asked.

The first news of Captain Kendrick was obtained at the Queen Charlotte Islands, where the natives reported that he had called, first in a ship of one mast, later in one with two. From this it was concluded that Kendrick had achieved his ambition and altered the rigging of the "Washington" to make her a brig. Kendrick's first visit of 1789 had not been a peaceful one, for serious trouble broke out between the Americans and a chief, Koyah, while the former were anchored in Houston Stewart Channel. Kendrick had been much troubled by the thieving of the Haidas, and the climax came when the

natives stole some personal clothing he had left out to dry. He determined to teach them a lesson, and seizing Koyah and another chief, he mounted a gun, and placed a leg of each chief in it, threatening to blow them to pieces unless the linens were at once restored. In due course some were returned and Kendrick extracted payment in skins for the rest. Then before freeing the two chiefs he made the Indians bring all their remaining furs, and took them paying the price which had formerly been asked for them.

Revenge was still uppermost in Koyah's mind when Kendrick returned in 1791, although two years had elapsed between the calls. It was natural enough, since following his punishment Koyah had no longer been regarded as a head chief. Koyah watched his opportunity, and on one occasion when the Haidas were on board in large numbers they managed to get the keys of the arms chest, and capture the "Washington" for about an hour before being finally driven off with considerable slaughter. The Americans hastened the retreat by chasing them in armed boats, killing all who came within range.

In spite of his relations with Kendrick, Koyah showed no hesitation in coming on board the "Columbia" when she appeared a few weeks later. Gray was disappointed in finding no furs and although Koyah promised that more would be collected, did not stay long. Hoskins described the latter as "little, diminutive and savage looking a fellow as ever trod." The "Columbia" continued northward, and on the 23rd.

of July 1791 met the "Hope" of Boston, under Captain Ingraham, an occasion celebrated by much mutual cheering. Gray made a lucky find at his next port of call, the village of Tooschcondolth, obtaining forty nine sea otter skins, twenty four pieces of sea otter and thirteen sea otter tails for a pile of chisels. On reaching the north of the Island, Gray determined to go no further for one season, and turned west along the north shore. In this vicinity Caswell, the second mate, and a small party were ambushed when they went on shore to fish. In latitude 55°18' north and longitude 132°20' west Gray named Brown Sound, and while exploring its arms encountered another of his countrymen, Captain Crowell, with the "Hancock" of Boston. The "Hancock" was a hundred and fifty seven ton brig, owned by Crowell and Creighton. She left Boston during November 1790, but did not come direct, stopping at Staten Island on the way to kill seals, and later, after a stormy passage round Cape Horn, at the Sandwich Islands, where the Hawaiians made an unsuccessful attempt to capture her. While at the Islands Crowell obtained some forty sea-otter skins, which the natives said Captain Metcalfe's sailors had stolen and sold to them. The "Hancock" reached the north west coast on the 14th. of July 1791, and when they arrived set up the frame of a long boat and sloop and rigged it. The new ship was not launched without a struggle, as the natives chose to oppose it, and several of them were killed in the resulting skirmish. The ship - its name is unknown - was then sent to cruise the north end

of the Queen Charlotte Islands under a Mr. Anderson. Between them Crowell and Gray soon drained Brown's Sound of furs, and began to consider their next moves. The French captain Marchand anchored outside Cloak Bay at the north of the Islands with his ship "La Solide" from August 21-27 1791, and saw a brig between a hundred and fifty and two hundred tons with a twelve ton tender in the offing, but did not communicate. There is little doubt they were the "Hancock" and her newly completed assistant. Nothing is known about this latter vessel beyond these casual notes.

It had only recently been brought to Hoskins' attention that the "Washington Islands" of the Americans, so named by Captain Gray in 1789, were previously discovered and called the Queen Charlotte Islands by Captain George Dixon in 1787. He commented whimsically: "It is therefore my most sincere wish and hope that the amiable Queen of the one country and the illustrious President of the other may long live to enjoy these small honours which is in the power of the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other to bestow." (1)

On the 28th. of August 1791 Gray passed Nootka, but did not enter, being bound for Clayoquot where he had determined to winter, and in which locality the Indians reported Kendrick was already anchored. The information proved correct, and Kendrick visited then that evening - to Hoskins' great joy - "nothing can equal the pleasure I received on meeting with my old friend, or our mutual professions of happiness."

(1) Hoskins, "Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript, Page 83.

Kendrick had missed the last season having been detained in China by the sale of his furs. A series of misfortunes followed, and he experienced great difficulty in refitting and reprovisioning the "Washington", due to the unfriendliness of the Portuguese Governor. It was March 1791 when the "Washington" finally left, sailing in company with Captain William Douglas in the "Grace" of New York, who had spent the previous season on the coast. The ships parted company near Japan, each captain selecting his own course for the rest of the voyage. Douglas died the following autumn as the "Grace" returned to China, and was succeeded by R. D. Coolidge, formerly master of the "Gertrudis" (the "North West America" under Spanish colours). On reaching the coast Kendrick made straight for the Queen Charlotte Islands, where Koyah nearly captured the "Washington", and sailed from there to Nootka. Kendrick went up the Sound to Mawinna, passed the Spanish settlement and explored the Tashees River, and Ahaleset Sound, which lay between Chickleset and Nootka Sounds. Kendrick obtained many skins and also purchased a considerable area of land at Nootka Sound for muskets, iron, copper and clothing. (1) He then spent about a month equipping the "Washington" for China, and she sailed on the 25th. of September 1791.

The "Columbia" visited the southern parts of the Island during the earlier days of September, but finding the weather very bad decided to return to Clayoquot Sound and winter in Clickselecutsee Cove. She anchored there on the

(1) Hoskins, "Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript, Page 95.

20th. of September, and immediately sent men ashore to clear land where the frame of the new ship carried by the "Columbia" could be set up. The crew cut trees to build a fort, and in nine days a house thirty six feet by eighteen was erected. In the lower story the logs were piled horizontally with their ends let into each other, and their seams filled with a mortar of clay and burnt shell. The upper part was framed and covered with boards obtained from the Indians. On all sides were loopholes for musketry, and two ports were left in front for cannon. Inside was a brick fireplace built in sufficient proportions to serve both for cooking and warmth, and a forge, where daily work might be done for the new ship. When completed the house was named "Fort Defiance" and put in charge of Haswell with twenty men under him. A plentiful supply of ammunition was provided, and the fort was stocked with four cannon, forty muskets, several blunderbusses, pistols, and a quantity of powder. The new ship, to be known as the "Adventurer" was well under way.

The Indians made one unsuccessful attempt to seize Gray - thought to be due to Tootiscoosettle wishing to avenge the threats and personal abduction which Gray had practised on him earlier, to enforce the return of Ottoo, the Sandwich Island boy who had taken refuge with his tribe. Otherwise the winter passed without a rift, and relations between the two peoples were apparently of the most friendly nature. Little trading was done, but it was a slack time.

The Americans celebrated Christmas day in royal

fashion. They decorated the Fort, the "Columbia", and the vessel in the stocks with spruce bows, interspersed with the various flowers of the season, and held a big dinner on board, consisting of geese, ducks and teals in large quantities, with a double allowance of grog. The Indian chiefs and their ladies were invited, but the women refused to come on board, and remaining in their canoes were fed there. The first of January 1792 was also celebrated in appropriate style.

The natives began to collect in larger numbers, and would take little but muskets and ammunition for their furs, even when offered copper and clothing. Relations became increasingly amicable. The Americans were called in to doctor Yeklan, a son of Wickananish, and Hoskins even spent a few days with Wickananish at the village of Opitsitah. Despite this friendly guise, the Indians were hatching a great conspiracy which involved the capture of the "Columbia" and the murder of all the traders. The savages tried to maintain the best possible terms with Gray until the last minute, explaining the warlike atmosphere as preparations for an expedition against some neighbouring tribe. The plot was discovered through the savages sudden and suspicious friendship for Ottoo. Gray made Ottoo confess what was in the wind, and he admitted the natives had questioned him regarding the watch, and tried to bribe him to wet the priming of the Americans' guns. If the plot succeeded, they said he should be given plenty of skins and made a great chief.

Gray thought it best to finish graving the ship as

soon as possible, and then ship and fort could cooperate in their defence. Ammunition was given to all, and the ship hauled on shore. Hoskins gives an excellent description of the evening's work. "It was a most beautiful starry night. We had got the bottom of the ship scraped and nearly burnt when the natives gave a most dismal whoop. This was between one and two o'clock in the morning. The people who belonged to the fort flew to their arms, and those who belonged to the ship were by no means behind them. In less than five minutes every man was to his quarters with arms and ammunition ready for action. Never did men keep a sharper look out, or appeared more determined to be conquered by death alone. We continued to hear the most dreadful shrieks or whoops till day began to dawn. They appeared to be in two parties, the one sounded from towards the bank where the ship had laid, the other in the gap opposite the Fort. I suppose those shrieks or whoops must have been the order for retreat. The Chiefs were frequently called to by name, telling them we were ready for them and to come on, but were always answered by a dismal whoop. No doubt with me it has been long in agitation with them to take us, and the fetching of the sick chief aboard was a manoeuvre to see what lookout we kept of nights." (1)

The "Columbia" was graved and launched by nine o'clock and everything of value taken on board. A few Indians appeared, fearfully offering fish for sale, which Hoskins diagnosed as an attempt to ascertain the exact positions of

(1) Hoskins, "A Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript, Pages 131-132.

the fort and ship. A barricade of trees was thrown up round the house, which was left with that sole protection, while all the men boarded the ship. The fort was unmolested, and next morning two chiefs came to try and make peace - but Gray would not listen, and ordered them away on pain of death. This behaviour outraged Hoskins' business instincts, since it cut off further possibilities of trade, which after all was the purpose for which the ship had come.

The "Adventure" was launched on the 23rd. of February 1792. Gray commemorated the event by rechristening Chickslecutee "Adventure Cove". Clayoquot Sound offered a surprising variety of skins - bears, wolves, foxes, rein, fallow and moose deers, land otters, racoons, brown minks, martins, beavers, wild cats, gray rabbits, and large gray and small brown squirrels. (1) Gray had secured a fair cargo, and the ships left on the 25th. of March 1792 - but the Indians were not forgiven. Gray was furious over their attempt to capture the ships, and promised the natives "powder and shot" when he reached the village. John Boit records his revenge in his private log of the "Columbia", setting the date as two days later - the 27th. of March. Gray ordered Boit to take three well manned and well armed boats, and completely destroy the village of Opitsatah. "It was a command I was in no way tenacious of, and am grieved to think Captain Gray should let his passions go so far. This village was about half a mile in diameter, and contained upwards of two hundred houses, generally well built for Indians. Every

(1) Hoskins, "Voyage to the North West Coast of America", Transcript, Page 142.

door that you entered was in resemblance to a human or beast's head, the passage being through the mouth, besides which there was much more rude carved work about the dwellings which was by no means inelegant. This fine village, the work of ages, was in a short time totally destroyed." (1)

The number of trading ships on the north west coast was increasing rapidly, and many visited in 1791 concerning whom records are of the scantiest. The "Eleanore" and Captain Metcalfe returned for the third season running, and the Indians of Skincuttle Inlet Queen Charlotte Islands, showed Captain Ingraham of the "Hope" buckles on the 26th. of July engraved "Eleanor Metcalfe", which they said had been left behind. (2) William Douglas and his interests were well represented. The "Grace", commanded by himself has already been mentioned. He also bought the "Fairy" a British snow of Calcutta, described as "a fast sailing vessel, with part of the proceeds of the first cargo of the "Grace", and gave her command to William Rogers. The "Fairy" spent the season collecting furs, and returned to Canton on the 11th. of December 1791, from whence she was chartered with teas for Boston by Ingraham, Rogers and Coolidge for their respective companies. The "Felice" was reported to have left Macao on the 4th. of May 1791 for the north west coast, but her movements are unknown, until sighted again in 1792. Historians have reason to lament the absence of Meares as a publicity agent

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- (1) F.W. Howay, "John Boit's Log of the "Columbia" 1790-93", Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, December 1921, Page 303.
- (2) Joseph Ingraham, "Voyage of the Brigantine Hope 1790-92", Transcription in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C., Page 58.

for the ships of his company. The British snow "Mercury" returned for the third time under Swedish colours as "Gustavus III", still owned by John Henry Cox, and commanded by Thomas Barnett. It is possible that the "Venus", a hundred and ten ton brig of London, under William Hervey, was also in these parts, but the evidence rests solely upon an ambiguous statement in Ingraham's Journal. (1)

The Napoleonic wars stopped French endeavours to enter the fur trade, and secure land on the western coast to make up for loss on the eastern. Only four French traders visited the coast during the whole era of the sea otter, and the first of these, Etienne Marchand and "La Solide", arrived in 1791. French enterprise had also been checked by lack of definite information concerning the trade in the years following the publication of Cook's Third Voyage. La Perouse and his expedition had disappeared, (2) while the Etches Brothers kept silent regarding the financial returns of their ships. Captain Marchand met Portlock by chance in 1790 in the Road of St. Helena when he was returning from Bengal, and Portlock readily gave him all the desired information about the sea otter industry. Marchand returned to Marsailles where he interviewed the House of Baux, who were much interested in the possibility of developing a new channel of trade and navigation, and built and equipped the "Solide" a ship of three hundred tons. She carried a crew of fifty, composed of eleven officers and thirty nine men. Pierre Masse and Prosper Chanel

(1) Howay, "Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade 1785-94" loc. cit., Pages 120-123.

(2) Supra, p. 65.

were the second captains. The ship was well armed, being equipped with four four pound guns, two nine pound howitzers and four swivels, as well as numerous small arms. All was ready by June 1790, but the dispute over Nootka Sound caused the sailing to be postponed until the following December.

The "Solide" reached the northwest coast eight months later - 7th. of August 1791, and anchored at Sitka, having set a remarkable health record. There had been only one slight attack of scurvy on board, and this was so mild that the man had never been off duty, due to the scrupulous cleanliness observed and the plentiful supply of antiscorbutics carried. The latter consisted of cabbages, carrots, turnips, celery, sorrel, pickled or preserved in vinegar. Water was always available for drinking as well as any other beverage and a special liquid was given out almost daily, made of fermented wort and sugar, which had proved a valuable antiscorbutic in the times of Cook and La Perouse.

The natives of Sitka were not allowed on board the "Solide", but were made to trade from their canoes. Small knives and coloured beads they hardly accepted, even as gifts, and desired European clothes above all. First quality sea otter skins could only be obtained for the latter. A number of other skins were exchanged for basins (preferably copper), tin pans, iron pots, daggers, lances, halberts, pikes, nails. Marchand concluded that the Americans must have visited fairly recently, as the Indians had numerous European articles and one man wore a pair of Massachusetts coppers as ear rings.

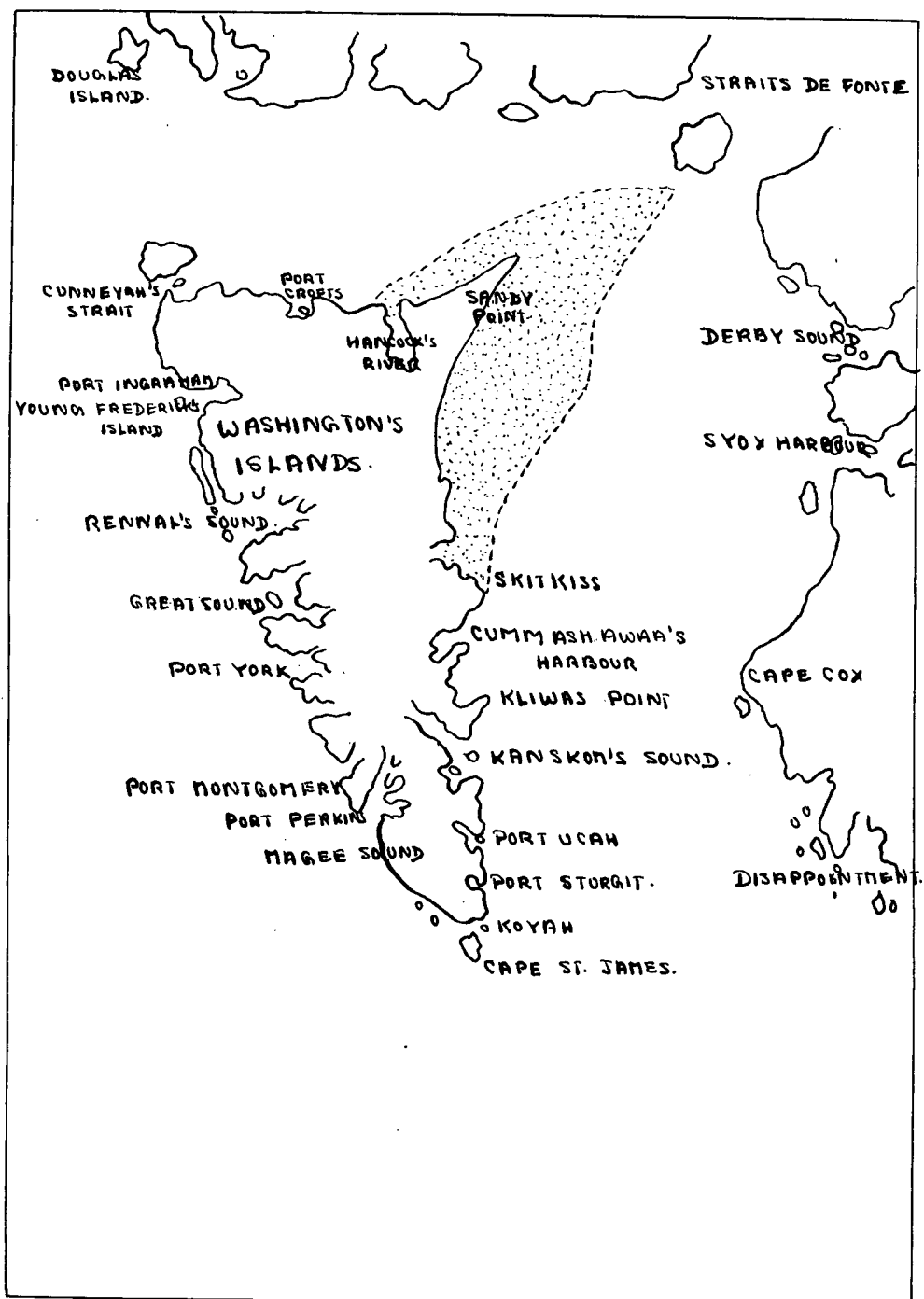
Altogether he secured about two hundred skins, mostly sea otter and bear. In the intervals the Sitka Indians went inland to collect furs from other tribes by exchanging European goods - Marchand commented - "no doubt making the strangers pay dearly for brokerage and commission", for in the art of bargaining "the modern Hebrew could teach them little". The "Solide" carried special furriers, who were employed in examining all skins, beating them free from dust and vermin, and dressing them while they were still fresh, to secure their preservation until the ship's arrival in China. In their opinion the sea otter fur was best when the animal was killed in March, April or May.

Marchand left Sitka on the 21st. of August, having been held up by contrary winds, and made for the Queen Charlotte Islands anchoring near Cloak Bay. The natives brought a few furs, but better trade resulted when the long boat was sent to Cox's Channel. The Haidas wanted muskets and powder, but Chancel peremptorily refused, and the savages finally accepted jackets, trousers, kettles, basins, daggers. By the 27 of the month the fur supply was exhausted, and the "Solide" moved on.

A few days before leaving Marchand sighted the "Hancock" and her twelve ton tender, but made no effort to get into touch with them. The "Solide" followed the west coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands, passed Hippa Island, and entered Rennel's Strait. Trade was not good - Marchand blamed the English for having preceded him - but the Americans were the real culprits. He decided it was not worth while continuing

to Cape St. James, and made instead for Barkley Sound, arriving on the 7th. of September. No better success followed, and the French concluded that the fur supply was everywhere exhausted. They left for the Sandwich Islands later in September, and after a short pause made Macao on the 25th. of November.

The leading merchants of Boston were not slow to realize the possibilities of the north west trade. Men like Thomas Handasyd Perkins were no amateurs in the merchantile business. In Perkins' case his grandfather, Thomas Handasyd Peck, had been the leading fur exporter of the district, while at his father's death his mother had carried on the fur business so successfully that foreign letters were often addressed "Elizabeth Perkins, Esquire". Raised in this atmosphere and with such a heredity it was not surprising that young Perkins should be actively interested in the sea otter traffic. In 1790 Perkins and his brother-in-law Captain James Magee bought the "Hope", a seventy ton brig, and sent her to the north west coast under Joseph Ingraham, the former mate of the "Columbia" on her first voyage. The "Hope" left Boston on the 17th. of September 1790, and after calling at the Hawaiian Islands reached the Queen Charlotte Islands on the 29th. of June 1791. Ingraham anchored in a sound on the northern coast, which he called Magee Sound after one of his owners, and named its second arm Port Perkins. The "Hope" carried a few domestic animals with which to stock convenient points, and left two sows and a boar, as well as letters sealed



MAP OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS UNDER NAME OF WASHINGTON

JOSEPH INGRAHAM IN THE BRIGANTINE "HOPE" OF BOSTON 1790-1792.

up in a bottle and fastened to the bough of a tree, giving an account of the "Hope's" arrival and the naming of the sound.

Ingraham sailed along the island, but met no natives until the 10th. of July 1791. The Indians invited them to visit their village, but on the "Hope's" approaching only produced two skins, for which they asked exorbitant prices. Ingraham displayed his articles, but made little impression, for the savages said they had had plenty of such goods from Captains Douglas and Barrett. The latter name is probable a corruption of Barnett, master of the British snow "Gustavus III". These traders had already supplied the savages with blue jackets and trousers, compared with which Ingraham's similar offerings seemed insignificant, and he only secured about twenty skins at a very high price.

Ingraham's Yankee ingenuity came to the rescue, and he devised the novel idea of making the Indians iron collars. The forge was set up in July 12th., and the smith instructed to make the collars of three twisted iron rods about the thickness of a man's finger. They were patterned on a clumsy necklace Ingraham had seen one of the women wearing, and took the savages' fancy tremendously. When finished they weighed between five and seven pounds, but the Indians eagerly bought them for three of their best skins, and preferred the shackles to anything else on board. Ingraham enlarged on the scheme, and completed his jewelry sets with heavy iron rings and bracelets weighing about a pound, which proved much more popular than the polished copper ones previously offered.

Kowe, the chief of the district, and his tribe lived in a highly fortified palisade, which, like others found at the Queen Charlotte Islands, bore strong resemblance to the New Zealand Hippias. New Indians soon appeared, whom Kowe warned Ingraham were "bad" - simply - it appeared, because they did not belong to his tribe. These savages, knowing nothing of the collars, readily accepted blue jackets and trousers for their furs, until at the last minute the chief espied one, and would take nothing else for his last three skins. Kowe repeatedly urged Ingraham to seize the furs and drive the visitors away, but such counsels were ignored.

On the 15th. of July the Indians reported that a strange ship was in the offing, and the "Hope" prepared to fly in case it should prove to be a Spaniard. The happenings at Nootka of the previous season had created a nervous atmosphere. The ship passed by, but two days later Ingraham encountered a fellow Bostonian - Captain Crowell of the "Hancock", and a week after that the "Columbia". Considerable rivalry existed between the Boston merchants, and Haswell of the "Columbia" brought letters for the "Hope" strictly against his owners' orders. (1)

Ingraham sailed slowly down the east coast, and while calling at Ucah's Harbour received the news of Metcalfe's visit. The ship itself was a centre of industry. The smith worked hard at iron collars, while others made blue cloth garments and decorated them with curiously arranged buttons. By the beginning of August plans for wintering were being

(1) Ingraham, "Voyage of the Brigantine "Hope" 1790-1792", Transcript, Page 55.

seriously considered, and the idea of passing it on the coast was not received with favour. The "Hope" made a short visit to Koyah's Inlet in the south east, but returned late at night to the old anchorage at Uwah's village. The cove at night made a tremendous impression on Ingraham, and although his description errs rather in the pathetic fallacy it helps to give the background of the sea otter traffic. "There was something sublime in entering this dreary port at this hour of the night. The surrounding high mountains threw an additional gloom over the face of the deep whose vast silence was at times interrupted by the hollow surge of the sea on the surrounding rocky shores or the gamboling of immense whales." (1)

The demand for iron collars continued, but since they took a considerable time to make - five was considered a good day's work for the smith - the price was fixed at three good skins. Ingraham felt it must be maintained, and when a canoe arrived with a man and woman who had one good and two small and indifferent furs, he gave them "a saucepan of more intrinsic value than three collars" rather than lower the standard.

Ingraham upheld Marchand in his views of the Indians' bargaining abilities, and said that on some occasions Uwah even undertook the sale of the visiting Indians' furs, or some of them at least, for "they leave no means untried to obtain the best price for their goods." Another chief, Cumshawawaa, would not allow his village to trade until Ingraham had made him a present, and would accept nothing less than a collar. His people were little behind him, and Ingraham

(1) Ingraham, "Voyage of the Brigantine "Hope" 1790-1792", Transcript, Page 65.

described them as having the most mercantile spirit of any encountered on the Island, as they refused to part with a single skin until convinced that the maximum price had been offered. The "Hope" secured an excellent cargo of a hundred and seventy six skins, which was remarkable as several other ships had already visited that season. The Indians of the district seemed much subdued, while Koyah had a newly made scar from a musket ball, and refused to say how he had received it. Ingraham correctly concluded that they had been disciplined by some ship, but did not hear the details of Kendrick's massacre, until some time later. The natives seldom admitted they sold their furs, but after trying to drive impossible bargains would throw them on the deck, with the word "Ingliish-tong" - "I'll give it to you". Such skins invariably proved the dearest by the time the return present was made.

Among other articles the "Hope" carried some feathered caps and cloaks - originally presents from the Hawaiians. At first the natives seemed "vastly enamoured" and a cap and two cloaks were sold for five excellent skins - but on reflection repented of the bargain and wished to revoke the agreement. The traders would have none of it though, on the grounds that it would begin a bad policy. By the 15th. of August the "Hope" had eight hundred and fifty skins on board, which made it quite unnecessary to winter on the coast. Instead the Americans planned to collect furs till the end of the season, and then make straight for the Sandwich Islands and China. Their trading articles needed replenishing, particularly

clothing and cloth, now of the first importance. Provisions were also running short, although the crew varied their salt beef occasionally by bear and geese obtained from the Indians. Trade was hastened, and forty two of the last furs were bought simply for unwrought iron, allowing the length of the skin for each. The iron wrought would have brought double the amount of furs, but Ingraham wished to leave the coast as soon as possible. Relations with the Indians were becoming more strained, and at the end of August when the traders were packing furs, and filling up with wood and water, several attempts were made to surprise them in the night. The "Hope" weighed anchor at 4 A.M. on the 29th. of August 1791, and fired a gun as she left. A canoe came off with a few of the chiefs anxious to do last minute business, after which they said good bye for the season, and requested that Ingraham bring many iron collars when he returned.

The "Hope" had done much better than the "Columbia" on her first voyage, who had only eight hundred skins and was away from Boston twenty five months. Ingraham had not been away a year, and had a cargo of:- (1)

1400 sea otter skins
300 sables
beavers and wolverine.

He had far surpassed most of the ships on the coast in 1791. The "Columbia" when last seen had only six hundred - some of them poor specimens. The "Hancock" could only muster between five and six hundred. These ships had spent most of their time cruising about, as had the "Hope" at first. Ingraham soon

(1) Ingraham, "A Voyage of the Brigantine 'Hope' 1790-1792", Transcript, Page 155.

abandoned this method, finding he did a much better trade by staying in one place, as so much time was lost between ports while cruising. Cummashawa Inlet was very well adapted for this purpose, since it lay within easy reach of three tribes, and not a day went by without trade. The Indians preferred trading with a stationary ship, since it permitted them to take longer over their bargaining. Ingraham reported that many edible weeds were found in the Queen Charlotte Islands, dock, wild celery, wild peas, lambs' quarter and samphire. The samphire they pickled in vinegar and found very good. Ingraham himself was quite a naturalist, and collected the seeds of new and interesting plants which he sent to Boston. The "Hope" breached Macao on the 29th. of November 1791, where she met the "Solide", and Ingraham heard for the first time of the calamity which had befallen the Canton fur market. Shortly afterwards he met R. D. Coolidge of the "Grace" who had the same tale.

The Chinese had placed an unexpected check on the trade in 1791, when they forbade all introduction of furs into the southern ports of the empire, particularly that of sea otter. China was at war with Russia at the time, and thought that by closing the market they would injure that nation, for they seemed to have the idea that all fur ships were in some way connected with the Russians. Marchand of the "Solide" was one of the first to encounter this obstacle in the autumn of 1791. The embargo prevented him from trading at Canton, and he could not go to the port of Whampoa where manipulation

might have been possible, since his vessel, although only three hundred tons, would have been charged a thousand dollars in duties. It was an exorbitant figure because the trade was small, and Marchand remarks "The Chinese Government still seem to be ignorant that the augmentation of duties does not promote the increase of produce." (1) According to his own account he gave up all idea of selling or smuggling the furs, and left for the Isle of France. Ingraham says he was informed that this was not the case, and that they were finally smuggled ashore through the interests of the padres.

By the beginning of December 1791, the sea otter was a glut on the market, and the price fell alarmingly. The "Grace" (Captain Coolidge), the "Hancock" (Captain Crowell), the "Gustavus III" (Captain Barnett) and the "Hope" (Captain Ingraham) were all at Lark's Bay (otherwise known as Dirty Butter Bay) trying to clear their cargoes. They estimated that with what Marchand had left, there must be eleven thousand sea otter on the market at the moment, and the value dropped in proportion. A few days later Captains Kendrick and Rogers arrived to swell the gathering. Ingraham tried to sell his furs first through a Mr. Mc Intire of Macao, but soon discovered that his interests were being placed very much second to those of the "Grace", since Mc Intire was the agent and administrator of the estate of the late Captain Douglas. Both of Douglas' ships, the "Grace" and the "Fairy" had arrived with handsome cargoes, but the unsettled situation of his affairs at the time of his death prevented his friends from

(1) Marchand, "A Voyage Round the World", Page 71.

reaping much of the profit. Efforts were made to smuggle small quantities of furs to Whampoa. The first cargo, a hundred and fifty skins of Captain Coolidge, sold fairly successfully, so Ingraham and Coolidge joined for a second venture, bought a boat, and sent a hundred skins each in charge of the person who had disposed of them before. The ruse was unsuccessful and the furs barely escaped seizure by the Chinese mandarins, so the venture was abandoned as too risky.

Conditions had not improved by the following year, and Gray of the "Columbia" wrote to his owners in Boston, August, 1792, "We have a tolerable cargo of furs aboard, and are in hopes to get a few more. Captain Ingraham of the "Hope" informs us furs are prohibited in China under very severe penalties: that although we may smuggle the skins, they will fetch only from fifteen to twenty five dollars." (1) A further letter from Whampoa, December 22, 1792, indicated that the situation had not been exaggerated. "--- Skins are very low --- no selling them for cash, indeed we could not get the ship secured unless we would agree to take goods in pay. --- At this time it's impossible to say the amount our skins will fetch, but I don't expect they will exceed forty thousand dollars. This is a small price for our quality of furs, but there are a great many at market and many more expected, the very best skins at retail will not fetch more than thirty dollars, and at wholesale from six to twenty five dollars. --

 (1) Hoskins, "The Narrative of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America 1790-3 ", Transcript, Appendix: Letter to Joseph Barrell from ship "Columbia" from Hoskins and Gray, August 12, 1792.

We expect to sail for Boston in about a month." (1) Here information ceases, and it is even uncertain how long the Chinese embargo lasted. Apparently it was possible for the East India Company to sell sea otter in the summer of 1796, as their representative disposed of the "Ruby's" cargo, but only at a low price, and after three month's stalling. The delay cost the "Ruby" £283 10s. in food and wages, and her captain, worrying over the loss to his owners, savagely recorded he was sick of being put off "till tomorrow, tomorrow! tomorrow! damnation! " (2)

- (1) Hoskins, "The Narrative of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America 1790-3", Transcript, Appendix: Letter from "Columbia" at Whamboa 22 December 1792 to Joseph Barrell.
- (2) Charles Bishop, "Voyage of the 'Ruby' to the Coast of America, 1794-6 ", Original in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., Page 273.

Chapter VIII.

"THE SPANIARDS AND
CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER."

(1792-1795)

The second Spanish settlement continued after the Nootka Sound Convention of 1790, but the Spanish confidence in their right of occupation had gone. They felt that it was only a question of time before they would be forced to vacate, and began to send valuable articles back to California. Revilla Gigedo, the viceroy of New Spain, was much interested in the survey of the Strait of Juan de Fuca begun by Manuel Quimper in 1790, since it had caused considerable comment from geographers. The following year he instructed Elisa to finish the work, and accordingly on the 5th. of May 1791 Elisa left Nootka in command of the packet "San Carlos", accomanied by Jose Maria Narvaez with the schooner "Santa Saturnina" or "Horcasitas". The original plan was to examine the coast from 60°, south to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, enter and completely survey it. Contrary winds prevented the ships from going north, so the survey was begun instead at 48°, and the vessels entered the Strait on the 27th. of May. The first work centred about Haro Strait and the Gulf of Georgia, and occupied them until the 7th. of August, when scurvy and failing provisions necessitated returning to Nootka. Elisa did considerable work on Rosario Strait, and mapped the coast

line of the mainland from Bellingham Bay to Boundary Bay. (1) Attention was not confined to one side of the Gulf, and the coastline of Vancouver Island was traced from Cape Lazo to Nanaimo. The work between Qualicum Beach and Nanaimo was done with much accuracy. Elisa had discovered the inland waterway running north from the Strait of Juan de Fuca, but had not been able to explore it, and the connecting arm between the Strait of Georgia and Queen Charlotte Sound remained uncharted until the advent of George Vancouver. Elisa had accomplished a voyage of great historical importance, but due to the deficiency of its records has not received adequate recognition.

On his return to Nootka Elisa wrote to the Viceroy reporting his discoveries "Assuring your Excellency that if the passage to the ocean exists, which foreign nations are so eagerly seeking on this coast, it seems to me that it cannot be anywhere else than through this great channel." (2) The Viceroy ordered that this region be immediately surveyed, and preparations began to fit two schooners for the purpose.

In 1789 Spain equipped two corvettes "Descubierta" (Discovery) and "Atrevida" (Audacious) for a "political and scientific" expedition under Don Alejandro Malespina. The "Atrevida" was commended by Don Jose Bustamente y Guera, an Italian of distinguished family in the services of Spain. It was the Spanish equivalent to Cook's Third Voyage, and the

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- (1) For a detailed discussion cf., W. N. Sage, "Spanish Explorers of the British Columbia Coast, Canadian Historical Review, XII, 395-397.
 - (2) "The Voyage Made by the Schooners 'Sutil and Mexicana' in the year 1792." Printed by order of the King, Royal Printing Office, Madrid, 1802. Translated by G.F. Barwick, October 1911, II, 2.

enterprise of La Perouse, aiming at scientific discovery and investigation of the north west passage legend. The ships sailed from Cadiz on July 30th. 1789 and followed the usual route round Cape Horn. They left Acapulco on the 1st. of May 1791, and made straight for the Alaskan coast, surveying from Port Mulgrave to Prince William Sound. The search for the Strait of Anian was thorough, but necessarily vain. Bad storms damaged the mast of the "Descubierta", so after setting up an observatory on land, and making some notes on the natives, the expedition headed south for Nootka, arriving on the 13th. of August. Here they charted the port and made another observatory, leaving for Mexico in the end of the month, "finishing an expedition which established the bearings of the northern coast of New Spain with greater exactness than all previous voyages combined." (1)

Revilla Ggedo was determined to leave no stone unturned in dispelling the legends concerning the north west coast and to show its true outline. He next ordered a survey from Port Bucareli to Nootka to "verify the potentous discoveries of Admiral Fonte." Lieutenant Jacinto Caamano was selected for the task, and left San Blas on the 20th. of March 1792 with the frigate "Aranzazu". He reached Nootka on the 14th. of May, and after refitting the ship made at once for Bucareli, examining the coast as he went. It was the 12th. of June when Caamano came to Bucareli, where the most important part of his work began. He made a very detailed map of the sound, much of which was based on the explorations of two

(1) Sage, "Spanish Explorers of the British Columbia Coast", loc. cit., Page 398.

pilots. These were sent with a launch and boat "well armed and with twenty days provisions to examine the inner channels which could not be explored in 1779,"(1) and capes, shoals, islets and roadsteads were accurately charted. The task was finished by the 11th. of June, and the "Aranzazu" sailed south, surveying and exploring, particularly in latitude 54° 50'. Caamano condemned Colnett's maps of certain parts of the coast as being "inaccurate,--- and no friend to humanity." (2)

On August 1, the Spaniards landed in the vicinity of Bank's Island, and claimed the country with their usual ceremonies, and buried a recording document near the anchorage. The Indians did not wish them to explore the island channels and tried to deter them with tales of huge monsters, which lifting their whole bodies out of the water, attacked and ate crews. The natives captured two of the Spanish, but through the interest of a friendly chief and his son, they were restored. By the first of the following month the ship had reached the Scott Islands, and six days later anchored at Nootka. Caamano had obtained a fairly accurate map of the shore line, but his ship was too large to penetrate the intricate and difficult passages to any extent.

Much had happened at Nootka during their absence. The two schooners - the "Sutil" and "Mexicana" - selected to explore the channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland, arrived at Nootka on May 13th., having left Acapulco early in

(1) "A Voyage made by the Schooners 'Sutil and Mexicana' in the year 1792," Page CXXIII.

(2) Ibid, Page CXXVII.

March. They were purposely small to allow them to navigate shallow waterways, and the "Mexicana" had just been completed at the Department of San Blas. They were theoretically adequate, but in reality totally unsatisfactory from the start. The ships measured fifty feet three inches in length and thirteen feet ten inches broad, and each carried a crew of seventeen, armed with one three pound swivel gun, four falcons, eighteen muskets, twenty four pistols and eighteen sabres. (1) They were defectively made, being too narrow and hence unstable, and had insufficient room to carry proper supplies of wood and water. The "Sutil" was commanded by Dionisio Galiano, with one lieutenant Secundino Salamanca, while Cayetano Valdes, with Juan Vernaci as sole lieutenant, directed the "Mexicana." Neither ship had a doctor, but the latter carried an artist, Joseph Cordero. The rigging varied, the former being brig-rigged, and the "Mexicana" schooner-rigged.

At Nootka they found three Spanish ships, the frigates "Conception", the "Gertrudis", and the brig "La Activa". Elisa was still commander of the provisional establishment, but Don Juan Bodega Y Quadra, who had arrived shortly before on the "Gertrudis", now took precedence over him. This ship "Gertrudis" was a Spanish frigate of thirty six guns, under Alfonso de Torres, and had no relation to the "North West America" which was renamed "Gertrudis" while in Spanish possession. Quadra had a special mission to fulfil - he was the Spanish representative appointed to meet the British commissioner, Captain George Vancouver, and put the terms of the Nootka Sound

(1) "A Voyage made by the Schooners 'Sutil' and 'Mexicana' in the Year 1792", PII, 20.

Convention into effect. Relations between Spanish and Indians were very cordial, and most intimate between Maquinna and Quadra, the former dining daily at the Spaniard's table. On the 26th. of May, while the "Sutil" and "Mexicana" were still at Nootka, the second French trading ship to visit the coast arrived at the Sound. "La Flavia", under Captain Magon, was very large, being about six hundred tons, and had sailed from Port l'Orient. She flew the new French national flag - the tricolour - which was seen at Nootka for the first time. Magon gave his purpose ostensibly as searching for La Perouse, - Galiano and Valdez added "This point seemed to us to be very secondary seeing the route they had taken" - and Magon admitted he had trading goods as well. Haswell met him at Massat in the following August, and heard he had done quite a good trade at Nootka, exchanging sea otter skins for intoxicating liquor. Liquor was curiously absent in the north west trade, and "La Flavia" is one of the rare instances of a ship with such a commodity as the principal stock in trade. Magon visited Kamschatka in September 1792, but returned immediately to Nootka, instead of making the usual call at Canton.

The crews of the "Sutil" and "Mexicana" were increased from seventeen to twenty four, numbering among them the surgeon of the "Aranzazu". The ships left Nootka on the 2nd. of June, but were driven back by storms of rain, and did not finally set sail until June 5. Galiano made straight for the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and called at Neah Bay, where Lieutenant Don Salvado Fidalgo was establishing a post. He had been

sent to do so on the "Princesa" from San Blas, as the Spanish authorities were considering making their headquarters at Neah Bay if forced to vacate Nootka. Fidalgo had cleared ground already, and Galiano and Valdez regarded the scheme very favourably, saying the spot was healthy and fertile, and the natives friendly. In spite of this Fidalgo would not allow the Indians to purchase firearms, and even objected to their owning knives. Fortunately their chief demand was for blankets and European clothing, and not for metals. The Spaniards made it a custom to fire a gun at sunset, after which no native might approach the fort or ships under any pretext. Tetacus, one of the chiefs of the district, gave much useful information to Galiano and Valdez, concerning the British and Spanish captains who had already visited the coast, and told them that there were two large ships even then in the Strait. These later proved to be the "Discovery" and the "Chatham", but this news made the Spaniards decide to concentrate on Elisa's Boca de Floridablanca, and explore the inland waterway. Galiano charted Boundary Bay with great care, and on the 13th. of June the Spanish ships met Lieutenant William Robert Broughton with the "Chatham" off Point Roberts. The encounter was a most amiable one, and after offering assistance and exchanging information each continued on their course. The "Sutil" and "Mexicana" made their way out to sea, just missing the mouth of the Fraser, and explored some of the gulf islands near Vancouver Island. The Indians were frequently encountered, who supplied them with oolichan fish and dogs' hair blankets.

After anchoring two days in Rest Bay, Gabnola Island, Galiano and Valdez crossed the Gulf of Georgia to Point Grey, "Punta Langara" as it was called, and sighted it on the 20th. of June. They anchored off Point Grey, and explored some of the low lying land, expecting to find a large river mouth somewhere in the neighbourhood, from the strong current and almost fresh water of the vicinity. On the morning of the 21st. the Spaniards met Captain George Vancouver off Spanish Banks, Point Grey. There is a discrepancy in dates between the Spanish and English accounts, being given as the 21st. of June in the former, and the 22 nd. in the latter. In this instance the Spaniards are correct, since Vancouver had crossed the international boundary line without subtracting a day from his calendar. Galiano was surprised to find that Vancouver had discovered no such river as he had been convinced existed. The expeditions then worked together from June 24 to July 13.

At the time of the disturbance at Nootka the British government was equipping an expedition to the north west coast to continue Captain Cook's survey, under Henry Roberts formerly one of Cook's men. George Vancouver, the second in command, had sailed with Cook as a midshipman. The strained relations with Spain caused preparations to be suspended until after the Nootka Sound Convention, and by this time Roberts was otherwise engaged. Vancouver was placed in command, with two ships, the "Discovery " a new sloop of three hundred and fifty tons, and an armed tender "Chatham" of a hundred and thirty five tons. The latter vessel was in command of Lieutenant

William Robert Broughton with a crew of forty five, while the "Discovery" carried a hundred. Vancouver was authorized to receive Meares' lands according to the Nootka Sound Convention, and instructed to explore the coast line from 30° to 60° north in great detail. The exact number and extent of all European settlements in this region were to be recorded, with the dates of their founding, and careful note made of any water ways or water communication which might prove a link with eastern Canada or the Atlantic seaboard. Meares had done his best to keep alive belief in the fabled North West passage, to the extent that Dixon, in his "Further Remarks" expressed surprise that Meares had not listed his failure to discover it in his claims against Spain, and receive compensation for the twenty thousand pounds reward which Spanish interference had prevented him from earning. Despite Captain Cook's survey, faith in the Strait of Anian had not yet died. Vancouver was cautioned not to give any offence to the Spaniards.

The ships left England on the 1st. of April 1791, and went by way of the Cape of Good Hope and the Hawaiian Islands. A transport ship the "Daedalus" was to follow under Lieutenant Hergest. By April 1792 they were in latitude 46° 19' north. The ships continued north up the coast, but missed the estuary of the Columbia, one of the principal rivers of the west, and its discovery was made a few months later by Captain Gray, who named it "Columbia" after his ship. On the 29th. of April, Vancouver met Captain Gray and the "Columbia" in latitude 47° 38' N. Gray was amazed when shown the track on Meares'

map, that he was reputed to have made earlier in the "Washington". Gray assured the officers he had only penetrated fifty miles into the Straits, in an east south east direction. The natives had given him to understand there was an opening to the northward, but he had not visited it, and left the Strait by the way he had come. (1)

Dixon never had any faith in the Meares' map showing the (supposed) track of the "Washington" in 1789, sailing from the Strait of Juan de Fuca up the east coast of Vancouver Island, by a channel of "magnificent distances", which brought Gray out to the north of the Queen Charlottes. He challenged the chart as soon as it appeared "I strongly suspect it never was taken from any actual survey, but has been introduced into your chart merely as a pretty variable to fill up a blank; I cannot think of anything it resembles so much as the mound of a good housewife's butter pat." (2) Meares claimed the story was given to him in China, by a Mr. Neville of the East India Company, who was returning to England on the "Chesterfield" - in a later version it was the "Duke of Buccleugh". While in Macao Neville encountered Kendrick, from whom he secured the details. It is hardly credible that any real navigator - as Meares undoubtedly was - could have accepted such a statement without charts and the observed latitudes and longitudes. Meares not only accepted it, but added to it, and in the opinion of Judge Howay "a strong case can be made out in support of

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- (1) George Vancouver, "Discovery of the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World", Edwards, London, 1798, Page 214.
 (2) Howay, "Dixon-Meares Controversy", "Dixon's Remarks", Page 40.

the view that Meares invented the whole story." (1) Nowhere did Kendrick or Gray ever make any such claim. Trivial as the incident may seem, it bore fruit of international consequence, and was later relied upon to strengthen the American side in the Oregon Boundary dispute, and figured in the evidence laid before the German Emperor in the dispute as to San Juan Island. (2)

Vancouver learned from Gray that the entrance to the Strait was about eight leagues distant, and reached it soon afterward. Captain Gray continued south along the present coast of Washington, and on the 12th. of May, 1792, discovered the mouth of the Columbia River which he named after his ship, the "Columbia". John Boit, the fifth mate, (aged seventeen), describes the incident:- we "saw an appearance of a spacious harbour abreast the ship, hauled out wind for it, observed two sand bars making off, with a passage between them to a fine river. Out pinnace and sent her in ahead and followed with the ship under short sail --- The river to the North East as far as eye could reach, and water fit to drink as far down as the Babat the entrance. We directed our course up this noble river in search of a village." (3) The Columbia River, one of the largest in western America, had finally been put on the map. Vancouver, meanwhile, entered the Strait, and steering to the east along the southern shore, proceeded to make a careful survey of the great inland sea. On

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- (1) Howay, "The Dixon-Meares Controversy", Page 13.
 - (2) Newcombe, "The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island," Page 29.
 - (3) Howay, "John Boit's Log of the 'Columbia' 1790-93", loc. cit., Page

the 30th. of April the ships anchored off New Dungeness, and then explored Admiralty Inlet and Puget Sound. From there they sailed north, passed Whitby Island and the Haro Archipelago, and following the continental coast, saw Bellingham Bay and Lummi Island and entered the southern end of the Gulf of Georgia. Vancouver next surveyed Semiahmoo and Boundary Bays, Point Roberts and Point Grey, and the entrance to Burrard Inlet, but missed the mouth of the Fraser, although he noticed both the current at sea and the low swampy flats of the vicinity. The western shore of the Gulf of Georgia - so called by Vancouver after George III - was then followed, and Jervis Inlet received its name. Returning to Point Grey on the 22nd. of June 1792, Vancouver met the two Spanish vessels, the "Sutil" and "Mexicana". Their captains, Don Galiano and Don Valdez, had both previously commanded frigates in the Spanish navy.

Vancouver was a little mortified to find that he was not the first to explore the shores of the Gulf of Georgia, although he had entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca five days earlier than the Spaniards. In a sense the meeting was a historic occasion, signifying the rise of the new British power, and the close of the Spanish era. The serviceable British vessels stood in marked contrast to the little Spanish ships, the inadequacy of which amazed Vancouver. "Their appearance just allowed room for sleeping places on each side with a table in the intermediate space, at which four persons, with some difficulty could sit, and were in all other respects the most ill-calculated and unfit vessels that could possibly

be imagined for such an expedition." (1) In this connection it is interesting to note that Galiano and Valdez considered the "Chatham" "very ill-shaped", although the "Discovery" was "a ship fitted for the object of her voyage". The Spaniards informed Vancouver that Quadra was waiting at Nootka to restore the disputed territory to the British representative. The "Sutil" and "Mexicana" were really part of the scientific expedition of Malespina but they had sailed from Acapulco before the schooners.

Relations between the two expeditions were very friendly, and the parties worked together until the 13th. of July. At every point small boats were sent ashore in charge of Vancouver, Broughton, Mudge, Puget, Baker, Whidby and Johnson, and much minute and valuable detail was collected. Valdez and Galiano left Vancouver at Desolation Sound, "begging leave to decline accompanying them further as the powers they possessed in their miserable vessels were unequal to a co-operation with the English, and being apprehensive their attendance would only retard progress."

On parting Vancouver and Galiano exchanged copies of their charts, and sailed with mutual expressions of good will. The Spaniards had done most valuable work, and carried out their instructions excellently. They obtained little recognition however, their achievements being overshadowed by the greater glory of the British enterprise. The "Sutil" and "Mexicana" were at San Blas on the 23rd. of November that same year, and returned from there to Apapulco. It is

(1) Vancouver, "Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean", Page 313.

interesting to note that both Galiano and Valdez commanded Spanish ships of the line, fighting against the English in the Battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805, Galiano the "Bahama" with seventy four guns, and Valdez the "Neptuno" having eighty four. The British captured both frigates, but only the "Bahama" arrived safely at Gibraltar as a prize. The "Neptuno" was wrecked in a gale at the close of action between Rota and Catolina, and many lives were lost. (1)

The voyage of the "Sutil" and "Mexicana" was the last exploring expedition of the Spanish on the coast, and the only one whose results were published by the Spanish Government at the time. Malaspina's name was omitted from the journals at the date of publication because he was under considerable shadow in Spain. Malaspina left Nootka 25th. of September 1791, and after calling at Monteray, crossed the Pacific. After a long voyage he returned to Cadiz by way of Cape Horn, but did not reach port until late in September 1794. the Spanish Government became suspicious of him, and he was imprisoned at Corunna for political reasons until 1803, when Napoloen secured his freedom. Malaspina, then banished from Spain, went to Milan, where he was offered - and refused - an important position by the Italian Government. He died six years later at Lunigiano. The account of Malaspina's voyage was edited by an officer of the navy, and published nearly a century later - 1885 - at Madrid.

On the 12th. of July 1792, Johnson and Swayne returned from an exploring expedition, and reported to Vancouver (1) Walbran, "British Columbia Coast Names", Page 196.

that the channel to the northward led to the ocean. It was not until this point that Galiano decided the British ships had better proceed alone. The expeditions separated next day, but it was the fifth of August before Vancouver entered Fitzhugh or as it was afterwards known - Queen Charlotte Sound. The next day the "Discovery" grounded on a shoal of sunken rocks. For a time the situation of the ship was precarious, but fortunately the rising tide lifted her off, "without having received the least apparent injury." On the evening of the seventh a similar incident befell the "Chatham" and a heavy fog caused much anxiety, although happily no ill consequences followed, the "Chatham" being also freed by the tide. Vancouver then made for Nootka, and anchored at Friendly Cove on August 28th. 1792. Galiano and Valdez arrived two days later, having safely navigated the difficult passages between Vancouver Island and the mainland. The Spaniards only stayed long enough to examine their ships' bottoms, and left to map the coast from the Strait of Juan de Fuca to Monteray.

An interesting, although highly botanical, account of the expedition appears in Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's voyage, and throws some interesting side lights on Vancouver's own character. The account covers the whole duration of the voyage. Archibald Menzies was a Scottish botanist, explorer and traveller, the former surgeon of the "Prince of Wales" on her voyage to the north west coast. He was appointed by the British Government as naturalist on the "Discovery". He was later called upon to extend medical services, owing to the

sickness of the "Discovery's" surgeon, and Vancouver spoke highly of his work in this connection.

Sir Joseph Banks gave Menzies his instructions, which were briefly to investigate the whole natural history of the countries which he visited. Vancouver was asked to give him every assistance as his work was "materially connected with some of the most important objects of the expedition." Banks rather anticipated despotic behaviour on the part of the commander, and he wrote to Menzies, (August 10, 1791), "How Captain Vancouver will behave to you is more than I can guess, unless I was to judge by his conduct toward me - which was not such as I am used to receive from persons in his situation -- as it would be highly imprudent in him to throw any obstacles in the way of your duty, I trust he will have too much good sense to obstruct it." (1) At first Vancouver and Menzies were on good terms, and Vancouver permitted him to erect a glass frame for his plants upon the quarter deck as Banks had wished. Trouble began when the captain demanded Menzies' journals, and the latter refused, on the grounds that by his instructions Banks and the Admiralty had to give their consent before he could surrender them. Menzies was much handicapped by an arbitrary act of Vancouver, who took the man tending the botanical plants, and placed him before the mast. As a result Menzies lost many of his best specimens, and on complaining he was arrested for "insolence and contempt". Vancouver's personal work was excellent, but investigation shows him to have been a somewhat peremptory commander. It may partly have

C.F.
 (1) Newcombe, "Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage",
 W.H. Cullin, Victoria, B. C., 1923, Page X.

been explained by his poor health at the time.

Nootka, when Vancouver arrived, presented an animated scene, and several ships rode at anchor. "His Catholic Majesty's brig 'Active' bearing the broad pendant of S  nor Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, commandant of the Marine establishment of San Blas and California", and new commandant of Port San Lorenzo de Nutka, was among them. The British store ship "Daedalus" had arrived safely, and lay beside the "Three Brothers", a small merchant man of London, commanded by Alder, a former lieutenant of the Royal Navy. Lieutenant Richard Hergest, the officer in charge of the "Daedalus" had been murdered at Woahoo in the Sandwich Islands, and Lieutenant James Hanson was appointed in his place.

The Spanish and English saluted each other's flags with an equal number of guns, following which Vancouver called upon Bodega y Quadra, and was received with great hospitality. The two great colonizing powers of the Pacific seaboard had met, and Quadra observed with sorrow "this meant so much to Spain". Early next morning an unfortunate incident occurred. Maquinna, the chief of Nootka Sound, tried to visit the ships about daybreak, and the guard failing to recognize his rank, turned him away. Maquinna in consequence was deeply insulted, and made no secret of his disapproval of the change of ownership. Quadra went out of his way to soothe the chief, trying to explain it was all a mistake, and that the English would treat him and his subjects just as well as the Spaniards. Vancouver was much struck by the way the Spanish had gained the

good will and confidence of the people. Quadra was noted up and down the coast for his hospitality, and entertained the English royally.

A deadlock ensued on the question of surrendering the territory. Quadra maintained that the agreement implied only part of the beach of Friendly Cove and a small piece of land behind it. Vancouver claimed the whole port. Quadra supported his stand by citing the arguments of the Nootka Sound Controversy, 1790, while Vancouver insisted that the facts did not concern the commissioners, whose duty was solely to execute the provisions of the treaty. In their private capacities the two men were in complete accordance, in their official positions they could agree on nothing. Vancouver finally offered to regard Nootka as a "Spanish Port", and asked "permission" to carry on the necessary activities on shore, while he wrote to London reporting the result of the Conference, and asking for further instructions. Both leaders then prepared to sail south for the winter, and Quadra left first on the "Active", September 21, 1792, having given a farewell dinner to the English the night before.

Vancouver was much impressed by the extent of the settlement at Friendly Cove, which included a hospital, officers' quarters, barracks, storehouses and other buildings. Agriculture and farming was practised on a considerable scale, and there was an abundant supply of poultry, black cattle and pigs. Had it not been for the Nootka Sound Convention, the Spanish Government fully intended to make a permanent settlement.

On October 13th. 1792, the English ships sailed for the Sandwich Islands, carrying with them two Hawaiian girls whom they were returning to their native land, having been taken from the Islands by Captain Baker of the "Jenny". The "Daedalus" was detailed to examine Gray's Harbour, while the "Discovery" and "Chatham" surveyed the Columbia. The latter undertaking was not successful, due to unfavourable weather, which resulted in the loss of one small boat and its crew. The three ships met at Monteray, where Bodega y Quadra showed them every kindness before they finally left for the Sandwich Islands.

After an uneventful winter, Vancouver sailed for Nootka on the 30th. of March 1793. Lieutenant Broughton had left previously for England with dispatches from Vancouver and Lieutenant Peter Puget received the command of the "Chatham". The "Daedalus" also sailed some time before, for Port Jackson (Sidney) in New South Wales. The "Discovery" made the north west coast in latitude 41°, and during their landing Mr. Menzies discovered a Spanish cross on a hill, where Quadra had taken possession in 1775. Proceeding to Nootka, the ship arrived on the 20th. of May, but found that the "Chatham" had sailed two days before, having been in port since the middle of April. Changes had taken place at Nootka, and the Spanish now had an imposing fort on Hog Island, boasting eleven nine pound guns. Senor Don Ramon Saavedra arrived with the "San Carlos" shortly after Vancouver, with orders to relieve Fidalgo, the governor of the fort, and the latter announced his willingness to forward dispatches to England for Vancouver after he

reached San Blas. Fidalgo's offer was gladly accepted.

Vancouver waited four days at Nootka, and then concluded his time would be more profitably spent in continuing the survey near Calvert Island, where he had left off the previous year. Sailing north he met the "Chatham" in Queen Charlotte Sound, and the ships continued the task together - curiously enough working in the exact locality where Alexander Mackenzie arrived "from Canada" the following month. Besides careful surveying, Vancouver took detailed notes of the appearance and habits of the Siwash Indians of the district. The ships kept north, and Vancouver named Port Essington in the latitude of the Skeena River, although he missed the river itself. In latitude $54^{\circ}45'$ he reported the discovery of a large opening which was marked on Camaano's chart as De Fonte's Strait. It was later known as the Portland Canal. Serious trouble arose with the Indians in Behrn Canal, who under the guise of trade surrounded the small boats, and incited by an old woman tried to seize everything movable. Vancouver had finally to fire on them to save his sailors' lives - and did not do so until two of the latter had been severely wounded.

The expedition turned south in latitude 56° , and examined the western shore of the Queen Charlotte Islands in detail, before anchoring at Nootka on the 5th. of October 1793. After a three day pause Vancouver left for Monteray, a little disappointed that the "Daedalus" had not returned from Port Jackson, but luckily encountered her on the voyage. Their

treatment at Monteray was very different from that of the previous year. Quadra was no longer in control, and the new commandant Senor Arrillaga insisted on the supervision of their every action by a Spanish officer while on shore. Every one was obliged to return to the ships at sundown, and even the observer was not exempt from this rule. Vancouver was also requested to make all possible speed with his preparations, and he indignantly left the Californian coast at the earliest opportunity. The first three months of 1794 were spent charting the Sandwich Islands and the "Discovery" and the "Chatham" did not sail for the north west coast until the middle of March. The "Daedulus" had previously set off on a second visit to Australia.

Vancouver reached the north west coast in latitude 55° and sailing on, reached Cook's River on April 12. The work centered round this area, including Prince William's Sound and the coast of Alaska. This ended Vancouver's survey of the north west coast. It was finished by the end of August, in commemoration of which he named the last point of call Point Completion - a touch typical of Vancouver. Once more Vancouver made for Nootka, and found that Brigadier General Don Jose Manuel Alava had just arrived as new Governor, on the "Princessa". This change had been caused by the death of Bodega y Quadra at San Blas in the previous March - news which was received with the deepest regret by the English expedition who sincerely admired him. Alava was expecting the necessary instructions and credentials to terminate the Nootka negotiations,

so Vancouver waited at Friendly Cove, hoping that English despatches would arrive by the same ship, as he had had no communications for two years. Six weeks were spent in dallying and making small repairs, after which Vancouver decided it was useless to stay longer, and the "Discovery" and the "Chatham" weighed anchor on the 16th. of October 1794. They arrived in London in October of the following year. Vancouver began preparing his Journal for the press, but died just before the completion of his task at the "Star and Garter" Inn, Surrey, - May 10, 1798 - and the work was finished by his brother. At the time of his death Vancouver was not quite forty one, and had been selected for the leadership of this important enterprise at the age of thirty four. He justified his appointment, although the actual surrender of Nootka had not taken place. The survey of the north west coast alone was a most excellent and valuable piece of work.

The Nootka difficulty was finally settled by a Convention in Madrid, held on the 11th. of January 1794. The agreement reached provided that commissioners of both nations should meet as soon as possible at the location of the former British buildings, and exchange declarations and counter declarations. The former was a full restoration of the British property seized in April 1789, and the latter a formal acknowledgment that the restoration was complete and satisfactory. "Then the British officer shall unfurl the British flag over the land thus restored as a sign of possession, and after these formalities the officers of the two crowns shall retire their

people respectively from the said port of Nootka. And their said majesties have furthermore agreed that the subjects of both nations shall be free to frequent the said port as may be convenient, and to erect there temporary buildings for their accommodation during their residence on such occasions. But neither of the two parties shall make in said port any permanent establishment, or claim there any right of sovereignty or territorial dominion to the exclusion of the other. And their said majesties will aid each other to maintain their subjects in free access to the said port of Nootka against whatever other nation may attempt to establish there any sovereignty or dominion." (1) It ended the last controversy between England and Spain on the north west coast.

Lieutenant Cosme Bertodano was appointed as Spanish commissioner, and Lieutenant Thomas Pierce, of the Marines, was named as the English representative. Bertodano sailed from San Blas in charge of the "Activa", accompanied by Pierce, on the 13th. of January 1795. The "Activa" called at Monteray, where General Alva, who had apparently wintered in California, came aboard. The ship reached Nootka on the 22nd. of March, and the restitution took place next day - March 23, 1795. The Spanish dismantled the fort on Hog Island, (known to them by the more poetic name of San Miguel), and the ordinance was transferred, part on board the "Activa", and the rest on the "San Carlos". Lieutenant Pierce and the Spanish authorities were perfectly satisfied with the fulfilment of their commissions, and General Alva ordered his troops to embark. The

(1) Bancroft, "History of the North West Coast", vol. I, 1543-1800, pp. 300-301.

place was then deserted by all Europeans, and before the following year Maquinna and his tribe had moved their village to the site of the abandoned Spanish fort.

Chapter IX."THE LAST THREE YEARS OFTHE EARLY TRADE."

(1792-1794)

In spite of rising prices the sea otter trade was at its peak, and 1792 was a record year for the number of vessels visiting the coast. John Boit, in his "Log of the 'Columbia'", gives the last account of the ship and her consort the "Adventure", after the launching of the latter in February 1792, and their departure from Clickselecutsee Cove (1) on the 25th. of March. The "Adventure", a sloop of about forty five tons, was the third vessel to be built on the north west shore, and Robert Haswell was appointed master. The ships spent the season trading up and down the coast. The "Columbia" sailed for the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and after passing a few days continued south, meeting Vancouver on the way. A serious fight took place in May between the "Columbia" and the natives of Buena Esperanza Sound (Nasparti Sound). The Indians arrived at Nootka on the 3rd. of June to complain to Quadra of the treatment they had received. The guilt was fixed on Gray because of their indications that the ship's captain squinted, a noted characteristic of that trader. The Indians said the vessel had attacked them, killing seven and wounding others, and took all their furs by force because they had been unwilling to accept the price offered. Apparently (1) Clickselecutsee Cove was in Clayoquot Sound.

when no satisfactory rate of exchange could be reached, the Europeans resorted to high handed methods.

Considerable friction had arisen between Captain Gray and his supercargo John Hoskins. Hoskins finally wrote to his owners from Nootka Sound, August 21, 1792, saying his position was unbearable, since Gray accused him of keeping a spy, both upon the vessel's trade and the officers' domestic life. Every obstacle was placed in the way of keeping the ship's books - Gray dismissed the matter saying the "books were of no use nor myself (Hoskins) neither" and objected to the latter's method of accounting. Hoskins replied it was the system employed by Joseph Barrell, which brought the rejoinder: "Damn Jo Barrell he does not know how to keep books or anything else, except his damn mean ways, of setting his damn clerks to overlook people and the like." No doubt Hoskins made the most of his case, but even so his position must have been a most uncomfortable one. (1)

The "Columbia" later made for the southern shores of the Queen Charlotte Islands, where on the 24th. of August 1792 she met Haswell. Gray and Haswell took the opportunity to grave the "Adventure", as Gray planned to sell her to the Spaniards on the return to Nootka. The Spanish purchase was completed on the 28th. of September 1792, and the following day the "Adventure" sailed for Acapulco under Spanish colours. Gray received seventy two prime sea otter skins in payment, and left for China by way of the Sandwich Islands. The "Columbia" sold her furs to the Hong merchants for ninety

(1) F. W. Howay, "Second Voyage of the Columbia", Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. XXIV, 1923, Pages 141-147.

thousand dollars, and took on a cargo of teas with a small proportion of sugar and China porcelain. Gray reached Boston on the 25th. of July 1793, and neither he nor the "Columbia" visited the north west coast again.

An English squadron under Captain William Brown arrived early in the season, consisting of the "Butterworth", the "Jackal" and the "Prince Lee Boo". Brown, or his company, did not intend to risk everything on the uncertainties of the fur traffic, and intended to combine the fur trade with sealing and whale fishing off the South American coast. It is quite likely that the ships came out by way of Cape Horn and that Brown made some sort of temporary establishment at Staten's Land (1) to serve as a base for further operations. (2)

The "Butterworth " was formerly a French frigate of thirty guns which had been captured, and now sailed from London as a British ship of three hundred and ninety two tons commanded by William Brown. (3) The "Jackal" was a British

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- (1) Staten's Land, now called Staten Island, is off the eastern point of Tierra del Fuego, on the direct route around Cape Horn.
 - (2) Ralph S. Kuykendall, "A North West Trader at the Hawaiian Islands", Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. XXIV, Page 112.
 - (3) The logs of these ships are not known to be in existence, and consequently the movements of the squadron are rather elusive. The three vessels were under the leadership of Captain Brown, who for the seasons 1792 and 1793 sailed on the "Butterworth". At the end of this time the "Butterworth" went to England, and until 1799 returned no more to the sea otter regions. Captain Brown did not accompany her, but left with the "Jackal" (of which he assumed command) and the "Prince Lee Boo" for Macao, and returned to the north west coast in 1794 with both vessels. Captain Brown and Captain Gordon of the "Prince Lee Boo" were both killed at the Sandwich Islands, by natives, the 1st. of January 1795, after which the ships continued to China. They did not return to the north west coast, and further record is lost.

schooner, also of London, with Alexander Stewart as master. Ingraham of the "Hope" describes this curious ship which he encountered in the middle of July off the Queen Charlotte Islands. The "Jackal" flew the English colours and "showed a tier of ports fore and aft, the greater part of which were false, or only painted, yet they made a good appearance, and at a distance we thought for some time she was a King's cutter or tender to some man of war." (1) Stewart had been on the coast before, as second mate to Captain Duncan of the "Princess Royal", and remembered the occasion when the natives had tried to seize the ship in the inner channels of the island maze. Duncan, according to Stewart, was now employed by the North West Company of London, to endeavour to find a north west passage. Stewart had no doubts of his success, but Ingraham was not so optimistic. The "Prince Lee Boo" was a small sloop between thirty and forty tons. Ingraham gives her master as Sharp, and John Boit in the Log of the "Columbia" as Gordon. (2) The "Butterworth", "Jackal" and "Prince Lee Boo" all belonged to a company of London merchants, "the principal of which was Alderman Curtis", and claimed to have a grant from the British government to make a settlement or rather establish a factory on some part of the coast. They are not recorded as being licensed by the East India Company.

Ingraham met the "Butterworth" and the "Jackal"

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- (1) Joseph Ingraham, "Voyage of the 'Hope'", Transcription in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., Page 178.
 - (2) John Boit, "A New 'Log of the Columbia'", Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, 1921, Page 46. Entry for 11 August 1792.

again on the 7th. of August 1792, and Brown complained bitterly of the fierceness of the natives of Clayoquot, who had attacked his boats with small arms, killing one man and wounding two others very badly. Mr. Lamb of the "Margaret", an American ship encountered next day, had a very different version of the affair. According to his tale the English had landed at Wickananish's village to rob the Indians, and actually cut several skins off the Indians' backs. When the inhabitants tried to defend themselves they were fired upon, but nothing daunted, the warriors tried to follow the whale boats in their canoes. Captain Magee, anxious to keep the peace, fired a cannon shot between them. This act caused a later coolness between the "Butterworth" and the "Margaret", since the former firmly believed the cannon had been aimed at them, and not between their ship and the natives. The Indians exulted in their success in driving the English off, but the latter took ample revenge. Soon after the "Butterworth" cleared the port she fell in with some fishing canoes and Captain Brown seized their occupants, causing them to be whipped unmercifully by the Sandwich Islanders he had on board and then flung into the sea. The English ship "Jenny" was astern under Captain Baker, and ended the tragedy by firing at the drowning natives. A garbled account reached Wickananish shortly afterwards, but he believed the Indians had merely been detained on board, and besought Maquinna to intercede with Quadra to get them released. Quadra's sympathies were at once roused, but it was too late to do anything.

Quadra was helpless, for disciplining the traders was a task too herculean for the waning power of Spain. The Brown squadron were not financially successful during this first season.

Vancouver noted an English merchant brig "The Three Brothers", on his first visit to Nootka, commanded by Lieutenant William Alder of the Royal Navy. Alder was engaged in building a small tender at Nootka for trading operations, while Bodega y Quadra gave permission and all assistance to the undertaking. As consort to his ship, Alder had a few months later the "Prince William Henry", a British schooner of London, with Ewen as master. These ships were licensed by the East India Company to enable them to trade in China, and chanced seizure by the South Sea Company while collecting their furs. The "Prince William Henry" only arrived at the end of the season, October 11, 1792, and intended to winter on the coast. It is more than probable she did so, but the details are not known.

The British brig "Venus" payed a second and authentic visit, and met the "Sutil" and "Mexicana" on the 9th. of August 1792. She had sailed from Bengal under the same master, Captain Henry Shepard, and carried a small crew. "The Brig had only twenty two men, mostly negroes of Jalo, wretchedly clad, and very slow for work on board. Nevertheless nothing could be more simple and better arranged than the work of that ship, which happened to have a very graceful appearance. All round on the gunwales a net was drawn about

two yards high, to prevent surprise by the Indians, and had some swivel guns and four cannons well placed." (1) The ship anchored, and the natives paddled out to trade, exchanging in the ratio of two skins for a sheet of copper weighing fourteen pounds. Despite his "thrift and economy" Shepard complained that his profits were miserably small.

The exchange ratio of copper had fallen, and prices of skins rose in proportion to the increased consumption and competition of buyers. Maquinna said he had bought copper from Captain Meares in 1788 at ten skins per sheet, while now a sheet weighing twelve and a half pounds only brought one skin of prime quality. Valdez found in trading with the Indians of Juan de Fuca Strait in 1792 that they would not take two sheets of copper weighing twenty five pounds for three skins of ordinary size and quality. The traders objected, on the grounds that such prices involved them in serious losses.

The "Pheonix ", another British brig from Bengal, made her first appearance, under Captain Hugh Moore. Nothing is known of her movements, and no known record exists. Judge F. W. Howay terms her "a mystery ship of the trade", with a story yet to be constructed. A three masted British schooner, the "Jenny" a seventy eight ton vessel of Bristol, was also on the coast. She belonged to Sidenham Teast, a wealthy ship-owner of that port, and carried James Baker as master. The "Jenny" left Bristol on June 18, 1791, and reached the north west shore about a year later. Sailing up the coast, she

(1) "Voyage of the 'Sutil' and 'Mexicana'", Typescript, Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., II, 103.

visited Murderer's Harbour, which Baker not realizing it had been named before called "Port Sidenham". Baker secured a few skins, and was much impressed by the savage disposition of the natives, who threatened to kill and eat the crew if they came ashore.

Vancouver stated there was no foundation for the tales spread by the American traders that their English rivals brought natives from the Sandwich Islands and sold them to the coast Indians for fun. Vancouver admitted that the stories were so plausibly told that he believed them on first hearing, especially in connection with Captain Baker of the "Jenny", who was reputed to have had two young girls on board, and sold them in this manner. Just at this time the "Jenny" turned up at Nootka -, October 7, 1792, with the two girls, aged fifteen and nineteen on board. Baker requested Vancouver to return them to the Sandwich Islands, as he saw no prospect of visiting that vicinity in the near future, and claimed that he had sailed without knowing they were on board. The girls said they had visited the ship with several of their countrywomen, and that while the others had been permitted to return, they had been forcibly detained below. Vancouver restored the girls to their home a few weeks later, but made no effort to excuse Baker for his conduct.

Broughton met the "Jenny" in November, in Baker's Bay, (1) which was named after the captain. She had had a bad season, collecting only three hundred and fifty skins in all, but the want of success was due largely to the poor

(1) Baker's Bay is at the mouth of the Columbia River.

quality of her trading goods. The "Jenny" was licensed by the South Sea Company to enable her to trade in their preserves, and took her furs back to England to sell. Mr. Teast was not daunted by her financial failure, changed the "Jenny" from a schooner to a ship, and profiting by experience, sent her back in September with a more suitable cargo.

All the vessels flying the Portuguese flag in 1792 were believed to have been British. They were the "Fenis and St. Joseph", the "Felice", the "Florinda", and the "Iphigenia". The "Fenis and St. Joseph" was a brig from Macao, under a master named by Vancouver as John de Barns Andre de, and others, Joseph Andrew Tobar. She carried Robert Duffin as supercargo, who had formerly sailed with the "Felice" and the "Argonaut". After spending the season in trade she sailed for China on October 1, 1792, having secured a cargo of about two hundred skins, (1) accompanied by Lieutenant Mudge bearing despatches from Vancouver. Little is known of the snow "Iphigenia", save that she was commanded by Captain Viana, according to Captain Vancouver. Menzies listed this same captain in charge of the "Felice Adventurer", and Judge Howay suggests they may have confused the same ship.(2) The "Florinda", also from Macao, was commanded either by William Coles (Ingraham) or Thomas Cole (Haswell). The ship was first seen on the coast on July 12 1792, when Haswell described her as "The most miserable thing that ever was formed in imitation of the Ark". Vancouver did not list the "Felice

(1) E. S. Meany, "A New Vancouver Journal" Washington Historical Quarterly, vol VI, 1915. Page 50.

(2) Howay, "Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade", 1775-1784," Page 125.

"Adventurer" among the vessels he noticed on the coast, but her name appears in Menzies' Journal. (1) The Spaniards Valdez and Galliano mention the ship as being at Nootka on June 4, 1792, with a cargo of five hundred skins. The "Felice Adventurer" had left Macao on the 4th. of May, 1791, and made for Prince William's Sound, but here she lost a number of her crew and finally arrived at Nootka with exhausted provisions. The "Felice" was also supposed to be captained by Vianna. According to Haswell's Second Log, the British ship "Mercury" was again on the coast, still masquerading under Swedish colors as "Gustavus III". There are no records of her actual course, but she had the same commander, Barnett.

The trading route Boston to the north west coast - Canton- Boston was fairly established by 1792. The "Margaret" and the "Jefferson" were among those who secured the largest profit, the former bringing her owners about ten thousand dollars for each one-eighth share for her voyage 1791-4, eighty thousand dollars profit. The "Jefferson" did not do quite so well, but traded between 1791-95. The ships were both from Boston, and had the same owners, T. H. Perkins, James Magee, J. and T. Lamb, R. Stuzes and E. Johnson. The "Margaret" was a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons, carrying James Magee as master. Even before 1793 there was a distinct foreign minority in the crews of the trading ship, and this was true of the "Margaret" who had two Swedes, a Dutchman, and sixteen Americans before the mast. (2) The "Margaret" sailed from Boston on October 24 1791, and made the Queen Charlotte Islands

- (1) Newcombe, "Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage", Page 124.
 (2) Morison, "Maritime History of Massachusetts", Page 107.

on April 26th. of the following year. During the season she collected between eleven and twelve hundred sea otter skins, and took them to China via the Sandwich Islands. Mr. Howell sailed on the "Margaret" to write a history of the voyage. The "Jefferson" did not appear on the coast until the following year. Captain Crowell and the "Hancock" made a return visit, sailing from China early in 1792 with the "Grade" and the "Hope". The "Hancock" did a considerable trade at the Queen Charlotte Islands. The "Grace", under Captain R. D. Coolidge was making her third trip, but Ingraham recorded that she had no legal papers, and was keeping well to the northward to avoid capture.

Captain Ingraham and the "Hope" of Boston left China on April 26 1792, for the north west coast, in company with two fellow Americans, the "Grace" and the "Hancock". They encountered William Coles and the "Florinda" two days later, who although sailing considerably earlier had got no further. The voyage was otherwise uneventful, and the "Hope" sighted Washington's Island on the 2nd. of July 1792. Ingraham made at once for Cunneyah's Sound, but was a little disappointed to find he was the sixth visitor of the year, Captains Viana, Moore, Magee, Haswell and Coolidge having preceded him. Trade opened at once, but the Indian demand had changed considerably. Instead of iron collars they wanted table-spoons - articles which were not accepted as a gift the previous season. Only one skin was offered for a collar, while a variety of daggers which Ingraham had gone to considerable trouble to make were

practically rejected. Copper was much in request, but that carried by the "Hope" was turned down as being too thin. The market for leather suitable for war dresses was limited, and Ingraham found the situation very different from last year. One practical custom was now introduced - that of firing a gun at night as a signal for the natives to leave the ship. The "Discovery" considered that copper was the most valued article on the coast in 1792, closely rivalled by blue cloth. Next came all kinds of cloth of woollen manufacture, large yellow metal buttons, copper tea kettles and cooking utensils, and for small articles, European food, especially bread. (1)

The "Hancock" with Captain Crowell arrived the following day - July 3rd., and the ships greeted each other with shouts of welcome. Captain Crowell had left one of his men to collect furs among the natives, and took an Indian as hostage for his safety. The savage was now returned, but Crowell found that his man had left by the first brig which called that year - a Portuguese ship under Captain Viana. This plan was first tried by James Strange in 1786, who left John McKay at Nootka, but it was not successful either then, or in the case of other captains. Invariably it resulted in one vessel sowing and another reaping, for the sailor on every occasion tired of his voluntary exile, and left before his employer's return, on the first ship which would take him and the fruits of his labor.

The Americans celebrated Independence Day by roasting a sixty pound hog on the "Hope", and the captains

(1) Meany, "A New Vancouver Journal", loc. cit., VI, 63.

co-operated to scrape and grave the bottoms of their vessels. Trouble developed between the sailors and the Indians, when the former went ashore getting wood. They accused the natives of stealing their axe, and seized furs by way of compensation. The furs were returned, but an Indian had been wounded in the struggle, and the captains apparently anticipated revenge. The ships were now seaworthy, so they decided to seek trade elsewhere. Ingraham had first been told that an old chief of the coast, named Kowe, (1) with whom he was friendly, had died in his absence. He later heard that this was not so, and that Kowe had merely moved his tribe to Kycunnee. Far from being dead, he had acquired three wives, and it was reputedly very stout. The "Hope" rounded Rose Point, the extreme north west of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and anchored almost at once. Trade was not good in this district, as the chief, Skitkiss, was just leaving with ten canoes to war on a neighboring tribe. About thirty furs were offered to Ingraham.

The next anchorage was set as Cumshewa's Harbour, further south still, and on the way they met Captain Coolidge with the "Grace". The ships greeted each other with cheers and Coolidge reported that he just come from the Harbour, where he had been obliged to leave many skins, since he did not have the trade with which to purchase them. Ingraham met his old friend Skatze, the chief of the Cumshewa tribe, but found trade very poor, and the Indian prices exorbitant.

(1) Kowe must not be confused with Koyah, chief in the extreme south of the present Norseby Island, Queen Charlotte Island. Kowe's territory lay much further to the north.

The "Hope" visited the village of Kleiw and Kushwat, where trade was moderately good, and then made for Port Ucah and Koyah Sound. Port Ucah was practically deserted, as the chiefs were engaged in business of their own in another part of the island. By this time the vessel was almost at Cape St. James, and in this vicinity the "Hope" met a ship of curious appearance, the "Jackal" of London, of which an account has been previously given. Ingraham considered his best chances of trade lay in returning to Cumshewa Harbour. Cumshewa and Skatze both required a present before they would trade, and then amazed the Americans by describing the arrival of the "Jackal" further down the coast, and enumerating her exact articles of trade. It was a revelation to Ingraham regarding the ways news travelled. He secured a few more furs, but complained again of the high prices, saying that no profit could be made at such a rate, and that the traders would be utterly ruined if it went any higher.

Ingraham now shaped his course for Nootka Sound hoping to get some moose hides there, which could be sold to the Haidas for war garments. The "Hope" reached Breakers' Point, when the captain learned from the Indians that there were two Spanish ships and two English already in Friendly Cove. Ingraham considered discretion the better part of valour, and anchored instead at Kyoquot Sound. The next day the Indians made an apparently unprovoked attack on the ship, and this breach of friendly relations made him leave the Sound without delay. Meeting some natives at its entrance,

he asked the meaning of such behaviour, and received the usual answer, that the offenders were of another tribe. Ingraham changed his mind about calling at Nootka, and on July 31, 1792, the "Hope" entered the Sound to get news. The Spanish received the Americans with much kindness, who were greatly impressed by their cultivation and established settlement. The Spaniards told them many of the buildings were temporary, as it was uncertain how long Nootka would be numbered among their possessions. A frigate of forty guns had just sailed for San Blas, carrying articles with them, in anticipation of the evacuation of the port. (1). Ingraham met Bodega y Quadra and conceived a great admiration for him. When Ingraham sailed for the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Quadra gave him a letter of introduction to the commanding officer of Neah Bay, and a general pass to all Spanish commanders. He also sent the captain a present consisting of forty salmon, fresh pork, eggs, butter, fifty loaves of bread, wine, brandy, cabbage and salad. Well might Quadra be renowned for his hospitality!

At Nootka the Indians were continually asking for Captain Kendrick, because he had always been kind to them. Ingraham's own interpretation was that Kendrick gave them more exorbitant prices than any other trader, and hence his popularity. Just outside Nootka Ingraham met Captain William Brown of the "Butterworth" and a little later the "Margaret" of Boston. Her captain, James Magee, was very ill, and the chief officer Mr. Lamb, asked Ingraham to come on board and

(1) Joseph Ingraham, "Voyage of the Hope", Transcript, Page 200.

advised him what to do. While on the "Margaret" Ingraham got considerable side lights on Brown's methods of trading with the Indians, and the coolness which now existed between the two ships as a result of the "Margaret's" intervention. The English went as far as to hint that the near arrival of the English men of war might end all American flags in these waters. Needless to say, Vancouver had "too much sense to interfere in anything of the kind". (1).

Ingraham made a short trip to the Queen Charlotte Islands in the middle of August, but found furs scarcer than ever. They met various ships, the "Jackal", the "Felix", the "Adventurer", the "Adventure", The "Butterworth" and the "Prince Lee Boo". Returning to Nootka, the "Hope" found Vancouver had arrived with the "Discovery" and the "Chatham". Captain Magee was not recovering, and had stayed at Nootka while sending the "Margaret" north under Mr. Lamb. Magee also testified to Quadra's generosity, "his hospitality knew no bounds or distinction of nations, but his study seemed to be to make everyone happy".

Captain Magee was still very ill, and wished to go to China as a passenger on the "Hope". He approached Ingraham on the matter of taking his skins as freight- the "Margaret" had twelve hundred in all. Ingraham agreed, but said that freight charges would amount to three dollars a skin, making a total of thirty six thousand dollars for the cargo. Apparently Magee considered this exorbitant, and three weeks later declared that he was taking the pelts to Macao himself on the

(1) Joseph Ingraham, "Voyage of the Hope", Transcript, Page 244.

"Margaret". Ingraham was rather annoyed, and considered that Magee had just been playing with him. On September 12, 1792, the "Margaret" and the "Hope" left for China, and the "Jenny" for Bristol. The "Butterworth" and "Prince Lee Boo" and the schooner "Prince William Henry" still lay at Nootka, and announced their intentions of wintering on the coast. Vancouver was sailing immediately for San Francisco, leaving the traders, and the Spanish frigates to their own devices. Ingraham had a quaint manner of referring to the "Chatham" and the "Discovery", as "H. B. Majesties'ships". The "Hope" set her course for the Sandwich Island, going from ~~there~~ to Macao, and home to Boston. The voyage was a complete financial failure resulting in a net loss of about \$43,821.00, most of which was owed to the Hong merchant of Canton, Conseequa. (1)

Captain Charles Barkley made a second trip to the north west coast in 1792, but his voyage was confined wholly to Alaskan waters. The brig "Halcyon" and the cutter "Venus" were jointly purchased and equipped by Barkley, and a Mr. Lambart of Calcutta, a merchant of the firm of Lambart and Ross. The expedition when first planned was intended for the South Seas, although Kamschatka and Japan were included in the route, and was to carry a cargo of sugar and arrac and other products. The arrival of Captain Barkley's brother put a stop to this scheme, because the latter persuaded Barkley that it was very derogatory in him to become a country captain. The idea was abandoned, although Mrs. Barkley

 (1) Nellie B. Pipes, "Later Affairs of Kenrick: Barrell Letters", Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. XXX, 1929, Page 99.

believed it would have brought a large fortune, and the ships' destination became the north west coast. The vessels were "very paltry" and bought at great cost." They were far inferior to the "Imperial Eagle", indifferently officered and worse manned, and the sailors chiefly Lascars, unused to cold climates or the dangers and difficulties to be anticipated in such an undertaking." Mrs. Barkley thoroughly disapproved of the whole undertaking, but insisted on accompanying her husband, with her two children, a boy and a girl, the latter a babe in arms.

The "Venus" was entrusted to Captain Henry Shepard, her former captain, a man whom Mrs. Barkley described as "a great rascal". The original plan was that the "Venus" should go to the north west coast of America, while the "Halycon" visited Kamschatka, the Kunle Islands and Japan meeting her later at Nootka. On the actual voyage Barkley altered his own route to include the present Alaskan shore.

The ships left Calcutta on the 29th. of December 1791, but were too late for the regular trade wind, and hence had to follow an unfrequented path through the Sooloo Archipelago. The passage was extremely rough and difficult - one storm lasted for ten days, and drove the Lascars below almost drowned. The "Venus" suffered even more - it appeared "completely the sport of the waves", and was nearly overwhelmed on several occasions. All the ports had to be closed because of the torrents of rain, while the intense heat of the tropics made conditions almost unbearable. By February 1792,

the ships were off the coast of Sumatra, where they managed to obtain fresh fruit, but their troubles had only begun. The ships encountered another terrible tempest soon after leaving, and the "Venus" main mast was struck by lightning and splintered. A little later Captain Barkley fell ill of some strange disease, suffering "excruciating pain" fever and distortions", and his small daughter Patty caught the infection. She had not the strength to resist it, and died on "Halcyon", the day before her first birthday, April 15, 1792. Her remains were placed in a leaden casket, and the course was changed for the Isle of Celebes, so that she might be buried in consecrated ground. After much difficulty and high payment the Dutch resident allowed the burial to take place, but would not permit the parents to land and join in the last ^{rites} rights. The "Halcyon" and the "Venus" parted company shortly afterwards to follow their respective routes, and Mrs. Barkley repeated her denunciation of Shephard, saying he was "a great brute to his people, and turned out to be a great Rascal".

The "Halcyon" made the Kunle Islands on the 17th. of June 1792, about which time Mrs. Barkley fell severely ill, being much affected by the cold. While running north they met a Russian galliot "very antique in her build, very bulky and misshapen, and without any ornament whatever, the bare planks showing without paint or even tar, and her sails if possible more awkward than her hull." (1) The Russian ship came from Avatcha Bay, and Barkley visited her, trading some sables for English porter and dogskins great coats for the

(1) Francis Barkley, "Diary", Original MSS. in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., Page 36.

Lascars. There were several Russian women on board, whom Mrs. Barkley was very anxious should visit her, but their captain "uncouth as the bark he commanded" would not allow it. The "Halycon" anchored in Avatcha Bay on the 20th. of June. The village was described as being a very poor appearance, but the harbour magnificent. It was guarded by a few men, who "looked more like bears than men," being clad in the skins of that animal".

The Russian governor was very hospital, but forbade any trade to take place with the Kamschatkans. He sent the English a present of two salmon (which had been buried for several days "to fit them for eating") and invited them to dine. Considerable entertaining was done on both sides, but the trading ban was not removed. For a short time barter was carried on by stealth, and boats crept out at night, laden with skin bags stuffed with sables. These nefarious practices were soon discovered, and effectively stopped by the Russians, although it apparently had no effect on the friendly relations of the two nationalities. Barkley stayed quite a while longer, and social activities continued undisturbed.

A Russian frigate of eight hundred tons arrived on the 27th. of July from Ocotch, and anchored in the harbour. She was commanded by an Englishman, Captain Wall, who had been brought up in the Russian service and impressed Mrs. Barkley as "rather a low bred man". The frigate belonged to a Russian exploring expedition, under the leadership of another

Englishman, Captain Billings, who was then exploring the Bering Straits by land. Two frigates with special store ships were engaged in the undertaking - the exploration of the Bering Sea- but they had been separated on the voyage from Russia. The ships entertained each other, but Mrs. Barkley remarked that on leaving, the "Halycon" rejoiced in flying the Union Jack, for they had seen "enough on board the Russian to bless God we were not under its sway".

Barkley now made for the north west coast and reached Benny Bay on the 16th. of August, from where both Mt. St. Elias and Mt. Fairweather could be seen. Fishing canoes soon visited the ship, some of which had women on board. " They appeared most disgusting objects, covered with greasy sea otter skins, with the fur to the skin, and the leather tanned red, and beyond description dirty." (1) The women wore lip ornaments - "if such frightful appendages can be called ornamental." In size the object which was large as the bowl of a tablespoon, and it was " nearly the same shape in appearance, being concave on the inside of the lip, which it presses out from the gum, thereby showing the whole of the teeth and gums, a frightful sight at best, but still worse when the teeth are black and dirty, and generally uneven and decayed." (2) While the "Halycon" was at anchor, a strange brig hove in sight, which all hoped might prove to be a fellow countryman. Presently a boat with four sailors approached, saying they were from the American ship "Hancock," Captain Crowell, and had been sent to get relief as they were very

(1) Frances Barkley, "Diary", MSS. Page 40.

(2) Ibid, Page 40.

short of provisions. The "Hancock" was on her way to Prince Williams Sound, according to the sailors, but she never waited to hear the result of their mission, and disappeared in the night, leaving the men on Barkley's hands. Barkley felt the only course open to him was to include them in his crew.

The "Halcyon" anchored next in Norfolk Sound, where the trading prices asked by the Indians were very high. The commodities most in demand were powder and shot--there were two or three muskets in every canoe--after which came blankets, cooking utensils, tools and other iron weapons. The Indians themselves were very bold and troublesome, making it difficult to avoid disputes. They stole everything in sight, stripped any of the crew who ventured on shore, and upon the slightest offense presented their firearms, with the use of which they were perfectly familiar. Captain Barkley fired the ship's guns once or twice to try to impress them, but without effect. The natives also made one unsuccessful attack.

Scarcity of provisions, due to the extortions in Kamschatka, made it impossible for the "Halcyon" to winter on the coast, although if she had, an excellent cargo of sea otter skins might have been obtained. The ship made for the Sandwich Islands, hoping to run across the "Venus", but was disappointed. Barkley met the "Margaret" of Boston, who told him that the "Venus" had arrived on the coast in the latter part of June and later traded at the Queen Charlotte Islands. The ship was reported to be in excellent health. The "Margaret" and the "Halcyon" kept together for mutual

security for a short time while at the Sandwich Islands.

The log of the "Halcyon" gives some interesting information concerning the wages paid to her crew, which probably forms a very fair index of the rate expected during 1792. The first mate received seventy dollars a month, the second mate fifty, the third mate thirty, skilled labourers (the boatswain and the carpenter) twenty, five seamen twelve, and five ten, (depending no doubt on experience), and three Chinese six. Six colored servants were paid one dollar a month. The Log also contains a list of the rations allotted to every man. The Europeans and Manilla men were allowed one pound of meal daily, six pounds of bread a week, two drams per day, half a pound of flour four times a week, quarter of a pint of callavances three times a week, six pounds of sugar a month, one pound of tea a month and half a gallon of water a day. The Chinese consumed between the three of them six pounds of rice, two salmon, a pound and a half of meal, and half a gallon of water, daily. Then they were given three pounds of tea and eighteen pounds of sugar in monthly allowances. (1) It is interesting to note the small quantity of liquid the Chinese were allotted-only a pint and a third of water a day compared with the four pints provided for the rest of the crew who had also a liquor allowance.

One of the earliest ships on the coast in 1793 was the American brig "Amelia" from Providence, Rhode Island, under Captain Trotter. She was a newcomer to the trade but lost some of the advantages of her early arrival-May 4, 1793-

(1) Charles Barkley, "Log of the Halcyon", Original in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., **Appendix** to Log.

being handicapped by a crew, with two exceptions, completely scurvy-stricken. The "Jefferson" recorded meeting her at Nootka in the end of June, and added that the vessels sailed together for six days towards the Atlaskan coast.

The exact behaviour of the "Butterworth" and the "Jackal" after leaving the north west coast in the autumn of 1792, before reaching the Hawaiian Islands in February 1793, is a little uncertain. Bancroft cites documents which show that they most probably touched at the Californian shore both going and coming-thus causing considerable uneasiness to the Spanish authorities. (1) No mention is made of the "Prince Lee Boo" at the Islands during the winter 1792-3, and the belief is favoured that she remained on the coast. (2) The two other ships did not sail together, and the "Jackal" arrived a number of days ahead of the "Butterworth". Captain Brown's relations with the natives during his visit had an almost immediate influence on the fur trade, and became one of the factors which encouraged its decline. Captain Brown was one of the worst offenders in the matter of selling firearms and ammunition to the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, and also of inciting the chiefs of the various Islands to war against each other. It led to frightful depopulation of the Islands, and universal starvation. The Sandwich Islands really made the sea otter trade possible, by supplying fresh food and provisions, as well as able seamen, which could not be obtained on the north west coast. In these serious wars crops were destroyed, and practically all the livestock wiped

(1) Bancroft, "History of the North West Coast," I, 294.

(2) Kuykendall, "A Northwest Trader at the Hawaiian Islands, Page 113.

famine

out. As a result, raged by 1795, and another burden was laid on the trader who could no longer obtain the supplies so necessary for the checking and prevention of scurvy.

During February 1793, Brown sold ammunition to both camps in the inter-island struggle, exchanging them for provisions. On one single occasion the natives bought no less than thirty muskets. A great many of these firearms were defectively made, and burst on first firing, although properly loaded, resulting in many bad accidents. As well as this, the gun powder was usually mixed with an equal if not a larger proportion of pounded sea or charcoal. Vancouver and Menzies both vigorously denounced the practice. "The putting of firearms into the hands of uncivilized people is at best very bad policy, but when they are given in an imperfect and insufficient condition for a valuable consideration, it is not only infamously fraudulent, but barbarious and inhuman." (1)

The three vessels of Captain Brown's squadron spent the trading season of 1793 on the north west coast. Vancouver met the trio at the Queen Charlotte Islands on June 20 1793. A storm was blowing up, and the "Discovery" was seeking shelter when she met a whaleboat of the "Butterworth" who offered to lead her to a commodious harbour nearby where their ships were already anchored. Vancouver accepted the suggestion, and soon the four ships were riding at anchor together. Brown saluted the "Discovery" with seven guns, and the warship replied with five, after which ceremony he visited the English frigate. Brown reported that he had been a considerable

(1) Kuykendall, "A North West Trader at the Hawaiian Islands," Page 117.

time in the neighborhood, trading with fair success. The "Batterworth" had remained stationary while the smaller vessels collected furs in various directions, particularly the north west, and this plan was found to be very satisfactory. Brown's chief information was that he had sailed up a large opening, whose southern entrance was in latitude 54° 45'. Vancouver later explored it, and named it "Brown's Passage". It was in this vicinity that Brown had found occasion "to chastize the natives by cannonading their village." When the "Discovery" arrived the village was quite deserted; while "the holes where the shot had made its way through the houses proved it to be the identical place". (1) At the end of the season all three of Brown's ships visited the Sandwich Islands. Brown dispatched the "Batterworth" to England by way of Cape Horn with instructions to fish for whales and seals in passing through the Pacific Ocean, while he himself went to Canton on the "Jackal" accompanied by the "Lee Boo".

Two French ships were among the visitors to the coast, quite a record, considering the rarity of their appearances. They were "La Flaira" ^{via} and "L'Emilie". "La Flaira" ^{see Amelia's letter 278} after spending the season of 1792 on the shores, had wintered at Kamchatka, and now called at Nootka during the summer of 1793. She had a very valuable cargo of European commodities which she meant to trade at Kamchatka for Russian furs, but so far the returns had fallen short of their expectations. The "La Flaira" ^{via} spent the season trading on the coast before finally sailing for Canton, her avowed destination when (1) Vancouver, "Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean", vol. II, Page 374.

She left Kamschatka earlier in the year. Her crew had proved very mutinous while at Nootka, disagreeing with the captain's sentiments in favor of the French king. Captain Magon had almost to resort to force to make them obey, but they finally appeared more reconciled, and the ship set off for China with every appearance of tranquility.

The " L'Emilie" was a brig of one hundred and fifty tons flying the American flag, and commanded by an American captain Owen. Peron in his "Memoires" gives the reason for this saying that just as he was on the point of sailing from the Isle of France, two French ships docked with the news that war between England and France was hourly expected. Fearing for the safety of the vessel on the north west coast under such conditions, the owners sought to make her appear American, manning "^{L'EMILIE} ~~La Flaria~~" with a crew half French and half American and naming an American as master. The "^{L'EMILIE} ~~La Flaria~~" left on the 31 of July 1792, and spent the season of 1793 on the north west shores going in the autumn to China. Captain Owen died on the passage, and his place was taken by another officer, Mr. Trotter. The camouflaging tactics of the French availed them little, and the brig was captured by the British as soon as she reached Macao. see
also
Amelia-
Trotter
p 223-9

Many of the seasoned returned for furs, and familiar ships are recorded in logs, although their actual routes are not known in detail. The "Hancock" after wintering at the Sandwich Islands where she narrowly escaped capture by a party of renegade sailors, was seen as early as the 18th. of May.

The "Iphigenia" returned also, but nothing is known of her course.

Another Bostonian made her first appearance in July 1793, the "Jane" owned by Ebenezer Dorr, with Elias Newberry as master. She traded at some length on the Queen Charlotte Islands, and met the "Jefferson" near Cloak Bay on July 20. At the end of the season she left for Macao, going from there to Boston, where she arrived on the 10th. of August, 1794, after a voyage of five and a half months. The "Jefferson", a hundred and fifty two ton ship of Boston, owned by the same firm as the "Margaret", J. Lamb and his associates, had left the Massachusetts coast late in November 1791. She was commanded by Josiah Roberts, with Bernard Magee as first officer, and Solomon Kendrick, son of Captain John Kendrick, as second officer. The "Jefferson" rounded the Horn in March 1792, but spent a year hunting the fur seal before continuing to the north west coast. During August and September of 1792 she secured thirteen thousand pelts at St. Ambrose Island, and by November arrived at the Marquesas Islands. The "Jefferson" carried the frame of a small ninety ton schooner, which was built at these Islands, and launched as the "Resolution" in February 1793. The ships reached the Hawaiian Islands in March 1793, and the north west coast in latitude $45^{\circ}15'$ on the 14th. of May. Considerable difficulty was experienced even in getting fresh provisions at any of the Spanish ports, as Spain was trying to bolster her tottering power by tightening the regulations in all her possessions.

The "Jefferson" traded on her way up the coast but not very successfully, and became separated from the "Resolution". At Clayoquot Sound Tatoochcoosettle, Wickananish's brother, told Roberts that a small vessel with two masts and black sides had arrived at Nootka, which it was concluded must be the "Resolution". Roberts met Wickananish himself at Port Cox, but the latter refused to come on board the "Jefferson" unless an American hostage was left on shore. His experience with the "Butterworth" had taught him to be careful of traders. Wickananish's version of the affair was that Brown had lent him an overcoat, and when he people would not pay for it, had ~~fire~~ on them. Here again, Kendrick seemed to be well liked by the Indians. Trade between the "Jefferson" and the natives took place on shore the brother of Wickananish having boarded the American ship as surety. The fur supply was limited, only eight or ten skins being offered a day. Roberts stayed until the 16th. of June, and found, like others before, that Meares' chart of Clayoquot Sound could not be trusted.

Passing on to Nootka Sound, Roberts met the "San Carlos" and the "Amelia" and learnt that the "Resolution" was trading further up the Sound. The latter carried Burling as master. Nootka was as usual a centre of activity, and arrivals came thick and fast. In the next few days they included Kendrick with the "Washington", and the "Three Brothers" under Alder. The "Jefferson" prepared for a northern trip, while Kendrick, leisurely as usual, remained at Nootka.

Roberts set his course for the Queen Charlotte Islands, and copying Ingraham's idea, made collars and large tin kettles on the way. The ship anchored in Koyah's Harbour, but the natives refused to accept anything but dressed moose hide, suitable for war dresses, for their furs. Trading was considerably better in the vicinity of Cunneah's Harbour, where sixty skins were secured. Roberts could have obtained three hundred if he had paid the Indians' prices, but considered them exorbitant. Every prime skin was bought for ten pounds of copper, and even the captain's sea trunk was sold for fine prime skin.

The "Jefferson" sailed north to the Alaska coast, and on to Bucareli Bay, where she found the "Amelia" and the "Resolution" had preceded her. The "Resolution" had collected a small cargo, consisting of five cutsarks, twenty five skins and twenty tails, which were transferred to the larger vessel, and Burling was dispatched to the Columbia River to collect tanned moose hides. The Indians preferred these and thick copper-of which Roberts had none-to everything else. The "Jefferson" stayed a month at Port Bucareli, but only purchased twenty four skins, each of which cost one musket and two pounds of powder, or one and a half yards of fifty four inch cloth as well as two or three iron collars. Two years ago, when the fashion for iron collars was new they could be relied on to bring anything up to five skins. Turning south, Roberts made for Barkley Sound, where he joined the "Resolution", who had made a remarkably quick and successful

journey. She has secured sixty three sea otter pelts, and twenty seven moose skins. Both ships prepared to winter at Clayoquot Sound and check the cargo for the season. Quite a fair amount of furs had been collected, numbering twenty one cutsarks, two hundred and thirty nine prime sea otter skins, seventy small ones, two hundred tails (exclusive of land otter and beaver), as well as ninety moose hides as commodities of barter. These moose hides were bought at the Columbia River for a musket each, and sold at the Queen Charlotte Islands for three prime sea otter skins.

The Americans occupied their time by making iron swords for the Columbia River traffic, and burning mussel shells to procure lime for tanning. Wickananish was very anxious to own a schooner, and Roberts agreed to sell him the "Resolution" in the spring for fifty prime skins. Prices in trade had truly risen alarmingly, and Roberts had to give forty toes for a prime skin which Dixon and Gray had formerly bought for a single toe. The "Jefferson's" supply of trading articles was nearly exhausted but the captain's Yankee ingenuity did not fail him. To fill the emergency he traded a pair of brass field pieces for two moose skins, and the cabin carpet for five more moose hides.

The "Margaret" and the "Three Brothers" both built tenders at Nootka during 1792, with the permission and assistance of Bodega y Quadra, but there is ^{no} known record of the names of either of them. The "Margaret" visited China in the winter of 1792, but returning to the coast spent the

season of 1793 collecting furs with her tender. The schooner which weighed about thirty tons, had been launched during her absence. Together they secured an excellent cargo, amounting to three thousand pelts of which the tender contributed one thousand. The "Margaret" then left for China and Boston, but the fate of her assistant is unknown.

The "Three Brothers" wintered at Nootka while building the tender, probably in company with the "Prince William Henry", but information concerning the ships is very scarce. Other ships mention encountering them fairly frequently, from which it may be gathered they traded fairly extensively on the coast, and the "Prince William Henry" particularly in the region of the Queen Charlotte Islands. At the end of the season the latter vessel sailed for China, and it was not in the fur trading regions again until 1795. Captain Kendrick also transacted his usual leisurely business on the coast, and occasional notes of his movements occur in the logs of other vessels.

In 1794 a British brig arrived on the north west coast by a new route. She was the "Arthur" of Bengal, under Captain Barber, and came by way of Port Jackson in Australia. Vancouver met her on July 15 1794, at Cross Sound in Alaska, where one of her boys, Charles Lee, deserted, and was later included in the crew of the "Discovery".

Simon Metcalfe and the "Eleanore" were not engaged in the sea otter trade during 1792 or 1793, directing their attention instead to sealing at the Island of Desolation

(Kerguelen Land). At Kerguelen's Land they found letters recording the arrival of Captain Cook and Kerguelen, as well as a note showing that the "Phoenix" had also called. Metcalfe's venture was disappointing for although there appeared an abundance of seals, few of them were the fur seal species whose pelts were valuable in China, and the "Eleanore" was obliged to content herself with the cargo of oil. The ship returned laden to the Isle of France "Mauritius" for whence she had sailed, March 17 1793, and Metcalfe probably went to Macao- although there is no actual record of this. Metcalfe and the "Eleanore" were on the north west coast for the season of 1794, where the brig was captured by the Indians of Koyah's Sound (Houston Stewart Channel), Queen Charlotte Islands, and all but one man massacred, including the captain's younger son, Robert Metcalfe.

More successful Indian attacks seemed to have been carried out in 1794 than in any other year. There was considerable reason for the animosity of the natives. A sea captain rarely made more than three trips, and in many cases the ship had a new master every time. Conduct was regulated entirely for the moment, with no thought for future traders who might, - and did - reap the reward of present action. The traders made no secret of their resort to force when it suited them. Seasoned visitors like Mears and Gray were no exceptions, while Brown's methods were almost a byword. By 1794, this, coupled with the Indians' natural hostility and love of revenge, had created a precarious situation, rendered

doubly dangerous by the fire-arms with which the natives were now amply supplied.

During 1794 the Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands captured three vessels, and murdered their entire crews with the exception of two men. The first prize was taken by Koyah, chief of the tribe at Houston Stewart Channel, which appeared to be an unidentified British ship. Bishop, in his "Log of the 'Ruby'" gives the rumour current at the time. "A large ship, supposed to be English and to belong to London, put into a sound at the south end of the Queen Charlotte Islands, some time last winter with the loss of some of her masts. The natives for several days traded very peacefully with them, but from the distressful situation of the ship, several of the crew sick, and others on shore providing new masts, they took their opportunity and cut off the vessel, killing the whole crew." Boit noticed the rigging of a large ship in Koyah's possession a little later, which he took to be French, and would seem to lend evidence to this tale.

The second capture was that of the "Eleanore" - also effected by Koyah. Boit records that Metcalfe had anchored in Koyah's Sound, and begun to trade. He foolishly allowed a large number of natives on board at once, and they seized the opportunity, to gain possession of the ship, stabbing every man on board with the exception of one who sprang into the shrouds. The Haidas spared his life, but he had good reason to regret it later. After mutilating the bodies of the dead

sailors, they took the unfortunate white man to the village, and kept him in the most abject slavery for about a year. At the end of this time a charitable Boston trader purchased his freedom and took the sailor to the Sandwich Islands. His existence for the past twelve months resembled a nightmare, although falling far short of the tortures practised by Cumshewa's tribe under similar circumstances. "In the winter and in the worst of weather amidst snow and ice, they would drive him into the woods to fetch logs and when he had got almost to the village with his load, he would be met by his taskmasters, who would disburthen him and drive him back after more, and when any vessel came into the harbour they would lash him hand and foot to a tree and keep him in that situation with a scanty allowance till she again sailed for fear that he might run away." (1)

Koyah had "two captures hanging at his belt" and this roused a spirit of emulation in Cumshewa, a strong chief further north, also on the eastern side of the Island. Cumshewa got his opportunity that same summer, and made a successful attack on the "Resolution", the tender to the "Jefferson". The "Jefferson" began trading early in 1794, but all her cloth was gone, and Roberts was reduced to:- moose skins, haiqua (slender shells), sixty sheets of copper, four hundred iron swords, iron collars, a few muskets and pistols, and a little powder.

Just before the ships left their winter quarters, a canoe was stolen from the "Resolution". "The canoe was

(1) F.W. Howay "Indian Attacks Upon Maritime Fur Traders of the North West Coast 1785-1805"
Canadian Historical Review 1925 vol 6. p.298.

demanded, and on threats of vengeance returned, whereupon to punish the Indians for this and other thefts the traders fired on the natives, killing three and wounding two others. The remainder fled for safety from civilized man to the wild woods. Then the traders rummaged and ransacked the Indian houses, took a great quantity of their dried fish, some toes, bits of copper, a musket and some powder, tore down a number of their houses, stole six of the best canoes, and demolished some of the larger ones---. It was incidents like this which caused the so-called unprovoked attacks of the natives."(1)

The "Resolution" was sent to the Columbia River in April, and the "Jefferson" saw her no more. Roberts went straight to the Queen Charlotte Islands, and traded moose skins for sea otters. Articles such as tin kettles, toes, and daggers, only brought fish. By the end of May the sea otter supply had increased considerably-over eleven hundred pelts were now on the market. Roberts' trading supplies were almost exhausted, and he sold his last moose hide for six skins. Ingenuity and originality were essential qualities for a trader, and Roberts secured four hundred furs by trading everything detachable on the ship;- spare crockery, worn-out stud sails, an old Japanese flag, seal oil, old clothing of officers and men, the cabin looking glass, the officers' sea trunks, the captain's carpet, a deep sea line, and ten rockets. As a final coup he traded nine sea otter skins for the middle stay sail made into women's garments. Roberts' only regret was

(1) F. W. Howay, "A Yankee Trader on the North West Coast 1791-1795", Washinton Historical Quarterly, April 1930, Page 89.

that he had neither cloth nor thick copper, with the help of which he could easily have obtained between a thousand and fifteen hundred. The arrival of the "Resolution" with more "clamons" (moose hides) was eagerly awaited, but she never came. Roberts filled in time by making iron bangles for the women, selling twenty for a sea otter fur.

The "Resolution" meanwhile, had come to an untimely end. Returning from the Columbia River she anchored at Cumshewa's village in July 1794, at which time she was manned by a crew of eleven. The natives came off in large numbers, overpowered the ship, and killed the men at once. A single sailor was below filling powder into cartridges, when the yells of the savages announced their victory. The man ~~was~~ Bears by name, a native of Newport; terrified hid in the hold, while the Indians were dragging the dead body on shore. He was not discovered until they began to rifle the vessel, when he was found in a cask. Bears hoped for, and expected, instant death- which would have been greatly preferable to the fate in store for him. Instead he was taken ashore in chains where he witnessed his headless companions being brutally mutilated by the squaws. That night Bears was forced to lie on the scalped heads of his former shipmates and next morning dragged their dead bodies on board the vessel. The Indians then set fire to the "Resolution", and "she sank at her anchors with the ashes of her unfortunate crew"-a modern viking's funeral.

A life of torture and basest degradation began for

the unfortunate survivor. Bears was made the slave of the Indians' slaves, and forced to live in a totally naked condition. Once or twice he twisted a rush "maro" around his waist, but it was immediately ripped off. Whenever a ship came in sight Bears was hurried to the wood and chained to a tree until she had passed on. So the winter passed in abject slavery. Through the most severe cold he was forced to cut wood and make fires for the Indians, after which he was ruthlessly driven from the hut, and forbidden even to approach the slaves' fire. Bears was forced to wait, even on the slaves.

The first rumours of the fate of the "Resolution" reached Roberts on August 1 1794, when he met the "Jenny" of Bristol now under Captain Adamson, outside Cloak Bay. The "Jefferson" had had a very successful year, having on board fourteen hundred sea otter skins, besides tails and skins of land animals. Roberts had reduced everything to currency- a large pitch pot, sixty pounds of rope and twenty nine trunks made to order by the carpenter. The tragic end of his tender seemed to concern him little, and no efforts were made to investigate the matter. Instead preparations began for the voyage to the Sandwich Islands, enroute to China. The "Jefferson" reached Canton on November 25 1794 where she took on a cargo of peas and nankeens and sailed for Boston. Roberts arrived safely, after an absence of three years and nine months, having made a very profitable voyage.

Fortunately for Bears there were more humane

captains on the coast the following season-the summer of 1795. Captain Bishop of the "Ruby" (owned by Mr. Teast of Bristol) first heard the story that Cumshewa was holding a ^{chief} white man prisoner from the Kowe of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Kowe had no doubt an ulterior motive in retailing this information, as he was considering warring on Cumshewa in the immediate future. Captain Bishop expressed great indignation and joined forces with the British ship "Mercury," Captain Barnett, now flying American colours, to demand the release of Bears. It was not achieved without a severe struggle, during which the British seized Cumshewa's son, his brother and his brother's family, and held them as hostages. These tactics finally brought about his release. Bishop recorded that Bears came aboard in a pitiable state, so worn by grief and cruelty that he had scarcely strength to ascend the side of the ship. He showed no signs of joy at his rescue, but " squatted on the deck on his hands like an native and expressed his feelings in a broken manner with a mixture of his own and the natives' language, and it was not for some time afterward that he was able to give an account of his captivity".(1)

It is possible that the "Fairy" under William Rogers, made a second trip to the fur regions. The evidence of this rests on a statement of Peron's, who said that the ship arrived at the Island of Amsterdam on September 23 1793, bound for the north and west coast and the sea otter. There

 (1) Charles Bishop, " Voyage of the Ruby to the North West Coast", Original in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., Page 123.

is no record of her on the coast, but as the "Fairy" did not appear again until November 29, 1794, when she turned up at Canton, there is just time for the trip to have been made. Collecting seal skins and seal oil was now quite ordinarily combined with the sea otter trade. The "Nancy" a ship from New York spent a season engaged in the former pursuit, and appeared at the Sandwich Islands early in 1794. Vancouver met her at Niihau in March 1794, when she stated her intention of continuing to the north west coast for furs, but there is no actual record that she ever did.

The "Pheonix", the "Mystery Ship" of Bengal, was seen on several occasions. She left Bengal about January 1794, making straight for Sitka (Norfolk Sound). The "Jefferson" met her later at Cloak Bay in the Queen Charlotte Islands, and both ships anchored for about ten days. Captain Hugh Moore reported that Kendric was still at Norfolk Sound, but had collected quite a good cargo. The "Pheonix" next went to Nootka, where Vancouver saw her on August 2 1794. On the whole she had a poor season, so instead of leaving the coast, wintered on the Columbia and began trading again early in May 1795. Traders began to winter on the coast from 1791 on, instead of sailing to the Sandwich Islands, the "paradise of the Pacific". The earlier ships chose Nootka or Clayoquot Sound for this purpose, and it is believed that Captain Moore was the first to go to the Columbia. There was an additional motive in selecting the Columbia, as an excellent trade could be done with the natives, exchanging iron swords for elk hides, which brought

a high price in the Queen Charlotte Islands as leather war dresses.

The "Prince William Henry" was engaged in the fur trade again during 1794. On September 29, 1794, Vancouver visited a new anchoring place in Nootka Sound, which the Indians called Mowenna. It was on the western side of the Sound, four or five miles north of Friendly Cove and further from the sea, but offering better advantages in the way of security and accommodation. Mowenna was now much favoured by the traders, especially the Americans. The harbour was small, but protected from winds and little affected by the swell, so that several vessels might ride together in perfect safety. There was also a good channel out in a southerly direction, making it possible to leave whenever there was sufficient land wind to pull them out of the Sound. Departure from Friendly Cove was much more difficult, since it was necessary first to warp a considerable distance, and then anchor in deep water which had a rocky and uneven bottom. Should the wind change, the ships were in a most uncomfortable position. In summer it was fairly easy to leave, but often very dangerous in winter, since the Cove was too close to the ocean and insufficiently protected. Yet Friendly Cove had one advantage over Mowenna, in that nothing could enter or leave the Sound without being observed. (1)

The first voyage of the "Jenny" 1791-3, was not a financial success, but her owner Mr. Teast was philosophical over his losses, and sent her back changed from a three mast schooner to a brig-rigged ship. The "Jenny" was licensed by (1) Vancouver, "Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean", III, 314.

both the South Sea and East India Companies this time, to enable her to find a more profitable market for her furs, and obtain a different cargo for the return voyage. John William Adamson was appointed master, a man of considerable experience in the maritime fur trade of the north west coast. In 1788 he had been with Meares on the "Iphigenia", and from 1791-2 with Captain Crowell as second mate of the "Hancock". (1) The "Jenny" sailed in October 1793, and reached the sea otter regions and the Columbia River on May 11, 1794. Adamson visited Nootka, and then passed straight to the Queen Charlotte Islands where he spent the greater part of the season. On September 29th. the "Jenny" was again at Nootka, and Vancouver stated that she had collected upwards of two thousand skins.(2) Adamson then left for the Hawaiian Islands en route for China, where he sold the furs, and took a freight cargo of teas to England for the East India Company. The second enterprise had been a financial success.

Captain John Kendrick made his third and last voyage to the north west coast in 1794. He spent the season in trade, and after repairing the "Washington" at Nootka, where Vancouver met him in September, left for the Hawaiian Islands en route to Macao. On December 12, 1794, Kendrick anchored in Fairhaven Harbour, Oahu (Honolulu) and encountered the English ship "Jackal". Kendrick desired that the vessel should return his salute, which she did, but the gun miscarried, tearing a hole in the side of the "Washington", killing the captain and wounding many others. He was succeeded by his clerk, John (1) F.W.Howay and T.C.Elliot, "Voyages of the 'Jenny' to Oregon", Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXX, 1929, Page 204. (2) Vancouver, "Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean", III, 315.

Howell, who took the "Washington" to China, and sold her for thirteen hundred dollars in partial satisfaction of accumulated debts. Howell incidentally bid the vessel in on his personal account, intending to go to the north west coast later in his own interests and those of some Chinese merchants.

Howell had not a high opinion of his fellow employees, and wrote to Joseph Barrell, May 11, 1795 from Canton, "except Mr. Hoskins, (the supercargo of the 'Columbia'), I hardly ever saw a man in your employ who was not either fool or rogue, and your commanders united both characters. I shall, gentleman, at a future period, unfold some of their conduct to you, which, if you had not long since ceased to wonder, will make you wonder in good earnest." (1) American credit had fallen very low in China, and in the same letter Howell urges: "It is absolutely necessary to take some steps to retrieve the character (financial) of the Americans here. Such villainies have been practised as have sickened the Chinese from having any dealings with them on that liberal scale they would otherwise adopt." (2) As an example, he cited the "Hope's" debt of over forty three thousand dollars which was still unpaid.

The "Jackal" commanded by Captain Brown, and the "Prince Lee Boo" under Captain Gordon left Macao for the north west coast on February 24, 1794. The "Jackal" made Alaska in the vicinity of Mount Fairwaether on the 30th. of June, and intended to sail straight for Cross Sound, but was prevented by bad weather. Vancouver met her near the Sound on

(1) Pipes, "Later Affairs of Kendrick: the Barrell Letters", loc. cit, XXX, 100.

(2) Ibid, XXX, 99.

the 3rd. of July. The ships traded all summer, mostly to the north of Nootka, although the "Lee Boo" called at Friendly Cove during August and September. Vancouver met Brown and the "Jackal" again at Nootka on the 5th. of October 1794, when Brown informed him he had upwards of a thousand prime sea otter skins, and several of inferior quality. The "Jackal" and the "Lee Boo" then sailed for China by way of the Hawaiian Islands, and anchored in Fairhaven Harbour (Honolulu) on November 21 1794. Within the next six weeks the harbour was the scene of many tragic events - the death of Captain Kendrick and the deaths of Captains Brown and Gordon.

Kendrick was buried on shore with due ceremony, and the natives, who had never seen anything like it before, mistook the service for "an act of sorcery to procure the death of Captain Brown." (1) Captain Brown, however, brought his doom upon his own head. Brown entered into one of the tribal wars, and assisted Kalanikupule, the king of Oahu against his enemy Kaeo. The various accounts of the payment agreed upon are very diverse, but apparently difficulty arose between Brown and the natives as to its exact extent when the time came for settlement. This resentment, coupled with motives of cupidity, inspired the natives to plan the capture of both ships. It was carried out on the 1st. of January, 1795, when the majority of the sailors were on shore salting pork, and the rest of the crew and an officer were away securing an additional supply of salt. The vessels were practically deserted except for the two captains, and the attack was

(1) Kuykendall, "A North West Trader at the Hawaiian Islands", loc. cit., XXIV, 126.

entirely successful. Both Brown and Gordon were killed, and the surviving crew were obliged to fit the ships for sea and anchor them in Waikiki Bay where the chiefs prepared for a feast on board. Mr. Bonallack, mate of the "Prince Lee Boo" and Mr. Lamport, mate of the "Jackal" devised a desperate plan for retaking the vessels the next night. Fortune favoured them, and, possibly from its very unexpectedness, the sortie carried, leaving the English once more in possession of their ships. The voyage to China was then continued.

During the first decade of the fur trade, 1785-1794, England had the largest number of ships on the coast, most of whom tried to avoid the licence regulations. ⁽¹⁾ A few registered with one company and not the other. The Alder ships were licensed by the East India Company, allowing them to trade in China, and chanced seizure by the South Sea Company while collecting the sea otter. The "Jenny" 1791-3 had a permit from the South Sea Company and took her cargo back to sell in England. Captain Bishop of the "Ruby" (1784-6) was licensed by both, and his endeavours to abide by their requirements excellently illustrate the old adage "virtue is its own reward". Many traders simply went without, and flew false colours, thereby avoiding many galling regulations, which offered no corresponding benefits. Among these were the Brown squadron, who had no licenses, although flying the English flag, and Captain Barnett of the "Mercury" who first flew the Swedish and later the American colours. Meares is perhaps the best known example

of such duplicity, and his vessels sailed under the Portuguese

(1) In this connection it is interesting to note that licenses were not always procurable. On November 17, 1785 the East India Company "refused to grant the request of Mr. John Thompson for permission to send a ship to the north west coast, and also a similar request from Isaac Rigg". Information supplied by E. H. Fitchard, Fullman, Washington, quoting H. M. S. India Office Committee of Correspondence: *Minutes* (1784-1803) I. July 11, 1785. (Information arrived too late to be included in Thesis)

flag. Even licensed ships were not permitted to take on Oriental goods for England, the East India Company forbade competition, and only occasionally permitted them to act as common carriers for its merchandise. Thus the English ventures were severely handicapped in competition with their American rivals, as it became almost impossible to carry on trade unless profits were increased by importing Oriental articles. In the end the Americans won, as a survey of the figures 1785-1814 show, but their victory was achieved beyond the limits of the period under consideration. (1)

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

The numbers are significant, and to all intents and purposes the British dropped out by 1801. The English traders could no longer compete under such conditions, - joint stock monopolies, bad markets, high prices of barter and low of trade, uncertainty, Indian attack, and finally the closing of one of the principal centres of provisions - the Hawaiian Islands.

During the next ten years the trade passed almost entirely into American hands, and was enlarged to include many commodities such as sandalwood, pearls, walrus tusks and seal skins. It developed gradually into the "trade" of the west coast, not the "sea otter" or even the "fur" trade. The Americans continued because of more favourable conditions. The United States wished to build up a merchant marine, and fostered it by law, so that the traders received every encour-

(1) F.W. Howay, "An Outline Sketch of the Maritime Fur Trade", Canadian Historical Association, Report, 1932, Page 7.

agement at home. There were no monopolies to prevent them taking eastern goods back to America, and making a respectable profit. Considerable gains were also made by trading various commodities up and down the coast itself. The arrival of the inland fur traders, the North West Company, insured Britain's claims to the coast, but the American hold was not shaken until the War of 1812-14. The Hudson's Bay Company did not enter the field until after 1821.

The reluctance of the East India Company to take any effective part in the sea otter traffic may have been purely the conservatism of a large and wealthy corporation. It is possible that this attitude of indifference was increased by other factors. The bursting of the South Sea Bubble, although occurring an odd sixty years before, (1720), was an excellent example of what happened to joint stock companies who overestimated their abilities. The memory of the disaster might well have discouraged another joint stock company from indulging in such risky speculation as the voyage of James Strange had undoubtedly shown the fur trade to be. Strange's expedition was not a formal investigation of the possibilities of the sea otter traffic by the East India Company, and hence cannot be taken as evidence of their interest. Strange was certainly in their employment, but the venture was his own unaided idea, for the carrying out of which he was granted only leave of absence, not financial assistance. Strange paid the expenses himself, and became bankrupt in the process. There was undoubtedly the implication that were the expedition a

financial success, the East India Company might be interested, but that was all. The evidence surrounding the departure of the "Lark" (sailing for the north west coast in 1786), proves conclusively that she belonged to the East India Company, but beyond that nothing is known of her exact mission. Available evidence would hence show that the East India Company's interest in the early maritime fur trade was practically non-existent. The findings of Strange did nothing to increase it. He reported that the fur supply could not be depended upon and hence great uncertainty must surround the ventures, and proved also that the large ships of the East India Company were quite unfitted for the trade.

Strange's vessels, the "Captain Cook" and the "Experiment" were respectively three hundred and fifty and a hundred and fifty tons. The "Captain Cook" had the tonnage of a typical East Indiaman, and Strange found that the overhead expenses on such a large vessel made profit impossible. The "Experiment" was not an East Indiaman, but a new ship straight off the stocks. Strange believed that the fur trade might produce good profits, if pursued in a vessel of this size. His estimate was surprisingly accurate - the early ships on the coast were all large, varying from 400-200 tons, but the later ships who made the largest profits were much smaller, notable the "Margaret" and the "Jefferson" each of a hundred and fifty tons. The "Princess Royal" who secured perhaps the largest returns for her owners of any ship on the coast, was only fifty tons. Strange's voyage had shown that

if the East India Company wished to enter the maritime fur trade, new ships would have to be purchased, not merely old ones temporarily transferred. This consideration, coupled with the uncertainty of gain even if the new enterprise was started, may well have turned the Company from thoughts of active participation.

At the opening of the maritime fur trade British Columbia was merely a fog bound shore with a wind which blew continually down the coast. Due partly to this characteristic, and its general unattractiveness, the Spaniards for many years had been content to let it remain "a northern mystery". To Eastern Canada, British Columbia was "the west beyond the west" and so distant that it offered little incentive for exploration. Then with the discovery of the sea otter furs by Captain Cook's expedition, the north west coast, the "land of boisterous seas" leapt into sudden prominence in the eyes of the world - a veiled Eldorado offering fabulous wealth to all who came. English, French, Russians and Americans were all active on the north west seaboard, and amid the "swirl of the nations" the true outline of the coast was properly established. The matter of its ownership became an international issue, which nearly resulted in European war. Undoubtedly some merchants made considerable profits, such as Hanna on his first voyage, Dixon and Portlock, Meares and his later ventures, the second voyage of the "Jenny", and the Boston ships the "Margaret" and the "Jefferson", but there were countless others who had nothing but pecuniary losses to show for their pains. The first venture

of a new company was very often a financial failure - Strange's expedition with the "Captain Cook" and the "Discovery", Meares first voyage in 1786 with the "Nootka" and her consort the "Sea Otter", the first visit of the Americans in the "Columbia" and "Washington", the voyage of the "Hope", the first trips of the Bristol ships "Jenny" and "Ruby" were all examples of such. The "Lark" and Captain Tipping's "Sea Otter" involved yet greater losses to their owners, being wrecked on their first trips. Even Barkley's returns from the "Imperial Eagle" came far below the expectations of his backers. There were many who "fell by the way side" in spite of the number who secured reasonable profits and the lucky few who made large fortunes.

Chance and uncertainty were large factors in the trade. A captain might, and often did, find another ship had just preceded him, leaving nothing but the pickings for his cargo. The fickleness of Indian taste made it very hard to select trading goods which would be acceptable to the natives, as what was all in demand one season would be utterly refused the next. The characteristics of the trade changed considerably as its proportions increased. At first the ships sailed along the coast at a distance of one or two miles, sometimes as much as eight or ten, and fired a gun to attract the attention of the natives, who then paddled out to barter for their furs. This plan worked well when the traders were few and pelts plentiful, but with increased competition the vessels were forced to enter the little harbours and get into actual

touch with the villages. Ingraham was the first to do so with the "Hope" in 1791, and stay there for several weeks. The Indians preferred this practice, and casual visitors had no chance at a centre where there was what might be called a resident trader. Ingraham claimed that by keeping one anchorage he got more than fourteen hundred sea otter skins in forty nine days while the "Columbia" and the "Hancock" during the same period secured only between five and six hundred furs. This was the nearest the traders ever came, with the exception of Meares, who had the backing of an organized company, to establishing trading posts. The reason was obvious - the economic instability of the individual. Single enterprise could not undertake projects necessitating the money and backing of a big company. To the very end the British usually maintained the rule of trading over the ship's side, and permitted none but the chiefs and persons of authority on deck. The practice broke down with the Americans, and they soon allowed all bargaining to take place on board. It created an air of friendliness and intimacy, but made the way very easy for Indian assaults on the ships. With the exception of Hanna's first trip, there is no record of a British ship being attacked or captured by the Indians, although it frequently happened in the case of the Americans.

In the beginning ships were usually sent in pairs, as recommended by Lieutenant King, such as the "Captain Cook" and the "Experiment"; the "King George" and the "Queen Charlotte", and the "Columbia" and the "Washington". There

were others of course who sailed singly, such as Captain Hanna and the "Sea Otter", and Barkley with the "Imperial Eagle". After 1791 there was a much more definite tendency, particularly among the Americans, for each ship to sail as a separate venture, although the same company might have two ships on the coast during the same season. The "Margaret" and the "Jefferson" in 1793, belonged to the same firm of Boston merchants, but made no effort to cooperate in the north west regions. On reaching the coast the ships frequently constructed tenders. This plan was practised by the "Columbia", the "Margaret", the "Hancock" and the "Jefferson", and these mosquito crafts had the advantage of being able to penetrate narrow inlets and unknown waters where the larger vessels dare not venture. These ships varied in size from the "Resolution" of ninety tons, to the unnamed tender of the "Hancock" which was only twelve. The others came midway between these extremes. The "North West America" was forty, the "Adventure" forty five, and the unnamed tender to the "Margaret", thirty tons. (1) The small boats also doubled the capacity of the larger ships for trade. Meares and Alder of the "Three Brothers" were the only Englishmen known to have constructed tenders. On the whole the American ships were commanded by much younger men than the merchantmen of other nations. "It seemed that the generation of Revolutionary privateersmen was so quickly absorbed by the expanding merchant marine as to call the youngest classes to the colours." (1) The postscripts added

(1) Morison, "Maritime History of Massachusetts", Page 73.

by Hoskins, the supercargo of the "Columbia", on the letters he sent his owners speak for themselves. " Sir, you'll please let my mama know that I am well, Mr. Boit (the fifth mate- age seventeen) also requests you'll let his parent know he is in health." On the question of Indian maltreatment the American traders seem to be the prime offenders. They made no difficulties about supplying the savages with guns, which Strange, Dixon and Portlock, and Barkley had all refused to do, although Mears was not so strict. Firearms soon became one of the most fundamental articles of trade, with serious consequences. With the exception of Brown of the "Butterworth" it was principally the American traders who had skirmishes with the Indians, where considerable damage was done to native life and property.

The maritime fur trade was really only a looting of the coast, and its constructive accomplishments were purely accidental. It introduced Oriental labor to America- a doubtful benefit- and brought the first direct trade with the Sandwich Islands and the Far East, giving them an idea of western wealth. The traders did not do as much as is generally claimed towards making the north west coast known. They made certain maps it is true, but usually these were jealously guarded for their own use, and not noted for their accuracies. Vancouver complained that he was nearly wrecked through depending on one of Gray's charts, while Meares' map of Clayoquot Sound lead many astray. Sometimes the errors were intentional,

aimed to deceive and confuse other traders into whose hands they might fall. The surveys which established the true nature of the coastline were done by Cook, Vancouver, and the various Spanish explorers, whose aims were purely scientific and official, and did not aspire to enter the fur trade. The traders collected information about the Indians in their records, and made vocabularies of the native tongues. Various attempts were made to stock the island with domestic European animals and fowl, and also to plant gardens, but nothing permanent was achieved. The Spanish explorers and the fur traders brought smallpox, tuberculosis, and other European diseases to the Indians, and by 1795 a remarkable decrease was noticeable in the native population. The maritime fur trade was an enterprise of individual effort and rivalry, and did not lend itself to any systematic development of the country. No attempt was ever made at permanent settlement or habitation. Meares claimed that he intended to with his scheme for Fort Pitt, but was stopped by the Spaniards. Others contemplated it, -- Portlock and Dixon, and Captain William Brown both had orders from their companies to make establishments, but nothing came of it. "As the maritime traders pass off the stage of history, we realize that they failed utterly to take advantage of their opportunities, or to leave one mark of civilization, save perhaps its vices, upon the coast. -- in a word leaving it the worse and poorer for their presence there. "(1)

 (1) Howay, "An Outline Sketch of the Maritime Fur Trade",
 loc. cit., Page 14.

APPENDIX 1.

Extract from Meares' "Voyages" (J.Walter, London, 1790)

Appendix 1. "Instructions of the Merchant Proprietors to John Meares, Esquire, commanding the 'Felice' and 'Iphigenia' "
China, December 24 1787.

Among the orders to secure certain specific furs and articles occurs the phrase "Hurst or nourse skins are to be procured in abundance, their value here is twenty Spanish dollars per hundred." (1)

The exact nature of these skins remains a mystery, all efforts to identify them having been so far unsuccessful. Professor Harold Innes of Toronto offers two leads on the matter, but doubts if either furnishes the correct solution. "'Morse' is an early term used for walrus, but I do not remember whether walrus were taken in the Pacific. 'Nurse' is a term for dog-fish or sharks. There was a dog-fish fishery near the entrance to Barklay Sound." (2) Judge F.W.Howay has ascertained that the terms do not occur in Tolmie and Dawson's "Indian Vocabulary". (3)

- (1) The pages of the Appendix are unnumbered. This extract occurs three lines from the top of the fourth side of paper.
- (2) Letter received from Professor Harold A.Innis, University of Toronto, March 10 1934. This information arrived too late for the earlier part of the thesis, and so is included as an appendix.
- (3) Letter received from Judge F.W.Howay, New Westminster, B.C. March 20 1934.

APPENDIX II.

Condition under which the East India Company
Permitted Licensed Ships to Trade. (1)

Note: Captain Charles Bishop gives the restrictions placed on the "Ruby" in his Log of that vessel 1794-6. It is a most illuminating document.

1. The East India Company has by various acts of Parliament the exclusive right to trade in the Indian Ocean and Pacific from Cape Horn west, to the Cape of Good Hope.
2. They give licences for 3 years under the following restrictions, commencing from the 17 September 1794.
 - I. That the business of our voyage shall in no instance interfere to the prejudice of their trade.
 - II. That on the ship's arrival at Canton or any other place within the Empire of China we are to obey all orders and instructions we may receive from the East India Company 's supercargo or agents with respect to our behavior to the natives.
 - III. That they must give a faithful manifest of our cargo before we attempt to dispose of it to the supercargo, any stores, provisions, etc., not contained in the manifest to be liable to seizure.
 - IV. We are not to obstruct their searching the ship when they please. None of the crew are to be left behind without permission of the supercargo.
 - VI. We are not permitted to sell anything but the produce of the North West coast of America.
 - VI. All gold and silver we receive from the Natives is to be paid into the company's treasury, taking their bills at the usual rate of exchange.
 - VII. We must not go to the Southward and Westward of Canton nor to the Westward of New Holland.
 - VIII. We are not to ship any goods or merchandize without the express licence of the supercargo.
 - IX. We are answerable for any ill behaviour towards the natives to the supercargo, and must submit to his decision.
 - X. We must return direct to Great Britain at the expiration of our licence.

(1) Charles Bishop, "Log of the 'Ruby', 1794-6", Original in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C., Pages 4-6.

- XI. We must within 14 days of our return to England deliver to the East India Company the original Log Book and Journal of the voyage, which are not to be made public without our permission.
- XII. For the true and faithful performance of these we give bonds of \$25,000.

APPENDIX III.Cargo Carried by Ship "Ruby" (Captain Charles Bishop)Trading on North West Coast of America 1794-1796.

Note: The "Ruby" was equipped at Bristol in the summer of 1794, and her cargo represents what were considered necessary articles for the north west fur trade during that year. The ship did not actually arrive on the scene of operations until 1795, although leaving England in September 1794. Her log reveals the most exhaustive list of a ship's trading goods available for this period.

	£.	s.	d.
23 half barrels powder @ 72/6	83	7	6
64 muskets @ 15/-	48	0	0
15 pistols 8/-	6	0	0
5000 flints	1	10	0
54½ sheets Plated Copper	136	5	0
8 Rings Brass Wire	18	11	3
25 copper tea kettles	9	9	0
6 brass Guinea Kettles @ 6/6	1	19	0
5 Brass nuk Mannilas 3/-		15	00
7 Pewter screw jugs 7/6	2	12	6
1 Pewter quart tankards 2/8		2	8
3 Pewter 3lb. basins 2/6		7	6
2 Hangers 3/6		7	6
2 do. silver mounted 10/6	1	1	0
95½ bars Swede iron 5/-	23	15	0
82 large iron pots 3/4	13	15	0
2 pie pans and covers 5/4		10	0
95 small iron pots 1/6	7	2	6
55 gals. ½ punchen rum 3/-	8	5	0
1 cwt. lead shop and ball 28/-	1	8	0
1249 dozen common hats 1/1	7	15	9
1 pair Indian shoes 5/-		5	0
857 yards cloth 4/6	192	16	6

(Forward)

 566 0 8

	£.	s.	d.
334 yards baize 9d.	12	10	6
71 blankets 4/6	15	19	6
150 stone jars 7½d.	4	13	9
19 dozen looking glasses 3/-	2	17	0
79½ dozen knives 2/6	8	13	9
11 dozen mugs 1/6		16	6
8 leather war dresses 7/6	3	0	0
7 leather trunks	10	11	6
8½ dozen files 4/9	2	0	4½
3 dozen gilt framed looking glasses	3	9	0
16½ dozen mane combs 1/6	1	4	9
225 dozen buttons 9½d.	8	18	1½
1 dozen scissors 8/6		8	6
1 dozen tin powder flasks 10d.		10	0
6 leather spring do. 3/9	1	2	6
6 leather shot belts 3/6	1	1	0
3 coopers adze belts 3/-		9	0
8 hatchets 1/6		12	0
136 copper rods 1/-	6	16	0
32 dozen fevsetts belts 7d.		19	6
10 pairs buckets 9½d.		8	0
7 hats 13/-	4	11	0
17 dozen pewter spoons 15/-	1	1	3
(Carried Forward)	566	0	8
	<u>£ 658</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>

APPENDIX IV.

The Wages paid to the crew of the "Halcyon"
and the Supplies allotted to each Man.
1791-3. (1)

<u>Captain Barkley</u>		<u>Wages per month.</u>
Robert Robson	1st. mate	\$70
Richard Redman	2nd. mate	50
William Tilley	3rd. mate	30
John Reader	Boatswain	20
Charles Tall	Carpenter	20
Johnson	Seaman	12
Linnett Chapman	do.	12
Joseph Catanov	do.	12
Philip Senteagur		12
Francis Booriyall		12
Manuell Satoney		10
+ 4 do.	@	10
3 Chinese	do.	18

Servants.

Mrs. Barkley's Papinyon	1
her son do.	1
servant girl do.	1
Tom do.	1
a blackwoman do.	1
a black boy do.	1

Citations seem to be in American dollars.

(1) Captain Charles Barkley, Log of the "Halcyon",
 Original in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.

Rations on board the "Halcyon".

Rations of each man per day - Europeans and Manilla Men.

1 lb. meat
6 lbs. bread per week
2 drams per day
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. flour 4 times a week
 $\frac{1}{2}$ pint Callavanus 3 times a week
6 lbs. sugar a month
1 lb. tea a month
 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon water per day.

Three Chinese.

3 - 2 lbs. rice daily
3 - $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. meal daily
2 salmon do.
3 lbs. tea monthly
18 lbs. sugar monthly
 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon water daily.

APPENDIX V.

The Sale of Meares' First Cargo of Furs,
at Canton, April 4 1788, as Reported by
Captain George Dixon. (1)

Result of the Fur Sale.

	<u>Dixon's</u> <u>Figures</u>	<u>Actual</u> <u>Figures</u>
50 prime sea otter skins	70	3500
52 2nd.	50	2600
58 3rd.	35	2030
31 4th. - large, half worn	20	620
50 5th. - worn skins	15	750
26 old and very bad	5	130
	<u>\$9,030</u>	<u>\$9,430</u>
12 large pieces and flips	10	120
17 smaller	5	85
	<u>\$ 205</u>	<u>\$205</u>
37 sea otter tails	2	74
31 inferior	39 do.	39
	<u>\$ 113</u>	<u>\$ 113</u>
14 very bad beaver skins	3	42
27 martins	14	14
	<u>\$ 56</u>	<u>\$ 56</u>
48 land otter, bad and good	6	
	<u>\$ 228</u>	<u>\$288</u>
	<u>\$ 9,692</u>	<u>\$ 10,152</u>

Besides these there were 50 prime sea otter skins sold in Canton for \$91 each - realizing \$4550. This made a total of 357 sea otter skins, with a grand total of \$14,242.

Total cargo: 357 skins - \$14,242 or rather \$14,702.

(1) Dixon, "Voyage Round the World", Page 319.

APPENDIX VI.Identification and Location of Some Traders' Place Names.Vancouver Island.

Wickanashish Sound) } - Clayoquot Sound.
 Hancock's Sound)
 Bulfinch's Sound - Chickleset Sound.
 Port Cox - situated on Clayoquot Sound.
 Port Effingham - situated on Barkley Sound.
 Clickscleculsee Cove) - situated on Clayoquot Sound.
 Adventure Cove)
 Lance' Islands - Scott Islands.
 Hog Island - San Miguel.

Coast of British Columbia.

Buena Esperanza Sound - Nasparti Sound.
 Pintard Sound)
 Fitzhugh Sound) - Queen Charlotte Sound.
 Lane's Bay)

Queen Charlotte Islands.

Ucah's Harbour - Skincuttle Inlet.
 Washington's Island - Queen Charlotte Islands.
 Barrell Sound)
 *Ibberton Sound)
 Koyah's Sound) - Houston - Stewart Channel (since 1853).
 Coyah's Sound)
 Coyour's Sound)
 Hancock's River - Masset Inlet.
 *Magee Sound - May be Big Bay.

American Coast.

Murderer's Harbour) } - Tillamook Bay, or near it.
 Port Sidenham)

Alaska.

Port Mulgrave - port in Yakutat Bay, Alaska.

* Information supplied by Judge F.W.Howay.

Alaska.

- * Admiralty Bay)
- * de Monti Bay) - Makatat Bay, Alaska.
- Norfolk Sound) * Sitka.
- Guadalupa Bay)
- Port Banks - a little south of Sitka.
- Mount San Jacinto - Mt. Edgecumb.
- Port Remedios)
- Bay of Islands) - Cross Sound.

Abroad.

Isle of France - Mauritius.
Sandwich Islands - Hawaii.

APPENDIX VII.List of Ships Visiting North West Coast 1741-1794.

1741. Russian. 1. Vitus Bering "St. Peter" Sailed from
Steller- crew of 77 Avatcha, Kamsch-
naturalist atka, June 4,
1741. July 16,
1741-sighted
land in region
of Kadiak Island
long. 59 49'.
2. Alexei Chirikoff "St. Paul" July 17- land-
crew of 76 ed in region of
Sitka Sound
lat. 57
- Both ships 80X20X9 feet - brig-rigged -
14 guns.
1774. Spanish. Juan Perez "Santiago" Sailed from San
Padres: crew of Blas January 25,
Crespi 89 1774. Sighted
Pena land 55 off
Queen Charlotte
Islands. Santa
Margarita Point,
July 20th. Anchored
at San Lorenzo
Harbour, near
Nootka Sound,
August 8, 1774.
1775. Spanish. 1. Don Bruno Heceta "Santiago" Took possess-
Perez as Q. M. (corvette) ion at Port
Padres: Grenville
Benito de la Sierra lat. 47 20'
Miguel de la Campa Later separ-
ated. Hecata
in vicinity
of Nootka
Sound. Saw
land in lat.
49 30'
Home.
2. Bodega y Quadra "Sonora" Quadra named port
Maurelle pilot. (schooner) Bucareli in lat.
crew of 14-2 55 17', and got
36X12X8 feet to lat. 58

- 1775 Spanish 3. Don Miguel Marique "San Carlos"
despatch boat.
- 1778 English 1. Captain James Cook "H.M.S. Resolution"
Lieutenant James King crew of 93+20 marines
John Webber - artist = 113. Explored
George Gilbert-seaman western coast of
America from 43°-70°
N. Missed Strait of
Fuca and mouth of
Columbia. Discovered
Nootka. Began fur
trade.
2. Captain Charles Clerke "H.M.S. Discovery"
Lieut. John Rickman crew of 69+11 marines
W. Ellis - assistant =80. 300 tons.
surgeon. received for furs
£2,000.
- 1779 Spanish 1. Ignacio Arteaga "Princesa" Charted Port
Bucareli. Exam-
ined resources
etc. Went north
for a month.
Looked for
North West passage.
2. Bodega y Quadra "Favorita" Reached Mt. St.
Maurelle 2nd. Elias. Claimed
in command. Regla Island
- 1785 English Captain James Hanna "Sea Otter" Sailed from
60 ton Macao, April
brig. 15, 1785. Re-
turned December
1785. Crew of
30. 560 skins,
sold for
\$20,600.
- 1786 English Expedition of James Strange
1. Henry Laurie "Captain Cook" 350 tons.
crew of 60.
2. Guise "Experiment" 150 tons.
crew of 35.
- Sailed from Bombay, December 8, 1785.
"Experiment" at Macao, November 15, 1786.
"Captain Cook" at Macao, December 1786.
Secured 604 skins - sold for \$24,000.
- 1786 French Expedition of La Perouse
1. La Perouse "La Boussole" frigate - 85
2. De Langle "L'Astrolabe" frigate - 87
Sailed from Brest, France, August 1, 1785.
Secured 600 skins - sold for either £2,000 or
£2,083. Expedition wrecked 1788.

- 1786 English Captain James Hanna "Sea Otter" 120 ton snow.
Sailed from Macao in May 1786 - returned
February 8, 1787. Crew of 30. 100 skins,
300 pieces - \$8,000.
- 1786 English Captain Peters "Lark" Sailed from Macao in
July 1786, and wrecked on copper island before
reaching north west coast. 220 ton snow.
Crew of 40.
- 1787 English Captain Charles Barkley "The Imperial Eagle"
Henry Folger-1st. officer 400 tons.
William Miller-2nd. officer Sailed from
John Beale - purser. Ostend November 23
Barkley was an ex-officer 1786. 800 furs.
of E.I.C. Sold for \$30,000.
- 1786 English John Meares, R.N.
"The Bengal Fur Society" - sailed from Calcutta.
1. John Meares, R.N. "The Nootka" 200 ton snow.
Crew of 50. Left March 2, 1786. Arrived on
coast August 1786 - near Cook's River by
September 20th. - then to Prince William's
Sound. Wintered on coast 1786-7.
2. William Tipping, R.N. "The Sea Otter" 100 tons
Left February 1786. Reached Prince William's
Sound September 5, 1786. Lost at sea making
for Cook's River September 1786.
1787 - Second Season on Coast.
357 skins. Sold at Canton, April 4, 1788 for
\$14,702.
- 1786 English "The King George's Sound Company".
1. Captain Nathaniel Portlock, R.N. "King
Left September 2, 1785. George"
Arrived on coast July 1786. 320 tons.
At Cook's River. Wintered in Crew of
Sandwich Islands. 59.
2. Captain George Dixon, R.N. "Queen Charlotte"
200 tons. Crew of 33.
1787 - Second Trip. At Prince William's Sound.
Reached Montague Island, April 23, 1787.
Got 2552 skins - sold for \$54,857.
1787 3. Captain James Colnett, R.N. "Prince of Wales"
Outfitted at London, left England, September
1786. At Nootka July 1787.
4. Captain Duncan "Princess Royal" 50 ton
crew of 15. sloop.
Summer of 1787 - at Queen Charlotte Islands.
Wintered at Sandwich Islands.
1788 - Second Trip - Colnett to Prince William's Sound.
Duncan - Nootka, Queen Charlotte
Islands Princess Royal
Islands. Then to China,
1788.

- 1788 English Second Expedition - left Macao January 22, 1788.
1. Captain John Meares "Felice" 230 tons.
crew of 50.
 2. Captain William Douglas "Iphigenia" 200 tons
crew of 40.
- Built
3. Captain Robert Hunter "North West America"
Launched, September 20, 1788.
All ships flew the Portuguese flag.
- 1788 American 1. Captain John Kendrick "Columbia" 250 tons
Gray sold "Columbia's" cargo, January 1790,
for \$21,400. (700 skins
(300 pieces
Kendrick got (320 skins
(60 garments
(150 pieces
2. Captain Robert Gray "Washington" sloop
First American on coast - 100 tons.
September 16, 1788.
- 1788 American Captain Simon Metcalfe "Eleanore" 190 ton brig
From New York. Visited coast in 1788.
- 1789 Spanish 1. Don Stephen Joseph Martinez "Princesa"
2. Gonzalez Lopez de Haro "San Carlos"
3. Don Jose de Canizares "Aranzuzu" packet
boat.
- 1789 American 1. Captain Simon Metcalfe "Eleanore" 190 ton
Crew of 55: 16 Americans and brig.
45 Chinese.
2. Captain Thomas Humphrey Metcalfe "Fair
Owned by "a trading company in American"
New York." T.H.M. aged 18. 26 ton
Crew of 5. schooner.
- 1789 British John Henry Cox "Mercury" 152 ton snow.
From London. Spent two weeks of October and
November 1789 at Unalaska on her way to China.
Not known to have traded. Later became
"Gustavus III" - flew Swedish flag.
- 1789 English "Associated Merchants Trading to North West
Coast of America" - joint stock company.
1. Captain Hudson "Princess Royal"
Reached coast on return from China - June
15, 1789, at Nootka. Seized by Spanish
 2. Captain Colnett "Argonaut"
Carried 58 persons. Arrived July 2, 1789.
Seized by Spanish and sent to San Blas as
prize.

- 1789 English "Associated Merchants Trading to North West Coast of America."
 3. Captain William Douglas "Iphigenia"
 Returned to coast from Hawaii May 20, 1789.
 Seized by Spanish, but returned.
4. Captain Robert Funter "North West America"
 Also wintered at coast. Captured by
 Spanish. Sent on cruise down coast under
Captain David Coolidge (late of the
"Washington") as the "Gertrudis", with a
 Spanish crew.
- 1789 American Captain John Kendrick "Columbia"
Captain Robert Gray "Washington"
 Spent season in trade.
- 1790 Spanish Lieutenant Francisco Elisa.
 1. Francisco Elisa "Conception" frigate
 Arrived April 5, 1790, at Nootka.
 2. Salvador Fidalgo "San Carlos" snow
 3. Manuel Quimper "Princesa Real" alias
"Princess Royal". Sent to explore Strait
 of Juan de Fuca.
 4. Lieutenant Fidalgo "Filipino"
 Later sent on exploration. Reached Russian
 settlements in Cook Inlet - claimed Prince
 William's Sound.
- 1790 English Colnett "Argonaut" Released July 1790 -
 collected furs for rest of season, wintered
 at Clayoquot Sound and returned to Nootka in
 February 1791.
- 1790 American Captain Simon Metcalfe "Eleanore"
 Evidence depends on reference in log of
"Jefferson".
- 1790 American Captain William Douglas "Grace" 85 tons.
 Douglas had formerly sailed with the "Iphigenia"
- 1790 American Captain William Douglas "Polly"
 Douglas may have been owner, not commander,
 or else the ships may be the same.
- 1790 English Captain Barnett "Gustavus III"
 Flying Swedish flag. Meares states that she
 was on the coast, but there is no other evidence.
- 1791 English Colnett "Argonaut"
 Left early in the year for Sandwich Islands -
 where she anchored March 1791. Then sailed
 for China.
- 1791 American Captain Robert Gray "Columbia" Second voyage
 from Boston.

- 1791 American Captain Simon Metcalfe "Eleanore"
Believed to have traded at Queen Charlotte Islands.
- 1791 American Captain William Rogers "Fairy"
English snow, but American owned. Belonged to William Douglas.
- 1791 English "Felice"
Said by Valdez and Galiano to have left Macao in May 1791 for north west coast.
- 1791 English Thomas Barnett "Gustavus III"
Owned by John Henry Cox and Company. "Mercury" flying Swedish colours.
- 1791 American (William Douglas "Grace" Douglas died on voyage - succeeded by Coolidge.
(R.D.Coolidge)
- 1791 American 1. Captain Samuel Crowell "Hancock" 157 tons
From Boston: stopped off at Staten Island on way to kill seals. Sailed for China in autumn.
2. Anderson Tender to "Hancock" 12 tons
Built at Queen Charlotte Islands.
- 1791 American Joseph Ingraham "Hope" 70 ton brig.
From Boston. Traded chiefly in Queen Charlotte Islands. Arrived June 29, 1791.
- 1791 French Etienne Marchand "La Solide" 300 tons
Crew of 50. Sailed from Marsailles. Sailed for China, September 7. Visited coast from Sitka to Barkley Sound.
- 1791 American Kendrick "Washington"
Left China March 1791. Traded at Queen Charlotte Islands and later bought land at Nootka Sound.
- 1791 English William Hervey "Venus" 110 ton brig.
Of London. Evidence rests on entry in Ingraham's log.
- 1791 Spanish 1. Elisa "San Carlos"
Left Nootka May 5th. to continue explorations. Surveyed to the south of Nootka, and then Haro Strait, and part of Gulf of Georgia.
2. Jose Maria Narvaez "Santa Saturnina"
or "Horcasitas"
Accompanied Elisa.

- 1791 Spanish Don Alejandro Malespina.
 1. Alejandro Malespina "Descubierta"
 (Discovery)
 Exploring expedition left Cadiz July 30, 1789.
 Reached Alaska coast June 23, 1791. At
 Nootka August 13, 1791.
 2. Jose Bustamente y Guera "Atrevida"
 (audacious)
- 1792 Spanish Lieutenant Jacinto Caamano "Aranzazu"
 Left San Blas - reached Nootka May 14 -
 Surveyed Port Bucareli and part of coast.
- 1792 Spanish 1. Don Dionisio Galiano "Sutil" 45 tons,
 brig rigged.
 Crew of 17, increased to 24 before survey-
 ing in Gulf of Georgia.
 2. Don Cayetano Valdes "Mexicana" 45 tons
 Crew of 17, also schooner-
 increased to 24. rigged.
- 1792 Spanish Bodega y Quadra arrived as Spanish commissioner.
 1. Bodega y Quadra "Activa" brig.
 2. Alfonso de Torres "Gertrudis" frigate
 36 guns
 3. Francisco Elisa "Conception" frigate
 36 guns.
- 1792 Spanish Salvador Fidalgo "Princesa"
 Making preparations to transfer Spanish
 settlement to Neah Bay.
- 1792 American 1. Gray "Columbia"
 Wintered in Clickselecutsee Cove; traded on
 coast all season - then to Macao. Cargo
 sold for \$90,000. Last trip to Boston,
 arrived July 25, 1893.
 2. Haswell "Adventurer" 45 tons.
 Traded on coast. Sold, September 28 to
 Spanish. Sailed September 29 for Acapulco
 under Spanish colours.
- 1792 English 1. William Brown "Butterworth" 392 ton frigate
 Formerly French frigate. From London.
 Ill-treated Indians.
 2. Alexander Stewart "Jackal" schooner
 Traded up and down coast, also at Queen
 Charlotte Islands.
 3. (Captain Gordon "Prince Lee Boo" sloop
 (Sharp 30-40 tons
 John Boit in Log of the "Columbia" quotes
 the master as "Gordon", and Ingraham of
 the "Hope" as "Sharp".

- 1792 English 1. Lieutenant William Alder "The Three Brothers"
Built small tender at brig
Nootka.
2. Ewen "Prince William Henry" schooner
Arrived at end of season, October 11, 1792.
- 1792 French Captain Magon "La Flaira"^{via} 600 tons
Sailed from Port l'Orient - objects: trade
and information about La Perouse. Did heavy
trade in intoxicating liquors at Nootka. Left
for China at end of year.
- 1792 English Captain Henry Shepherd "Venus" 110 ton brig
From Bengal. Second trip. Sailed with
"Halcyon". Crew of 22.
- 1792 English Captain Hugh Moore "Pheonix" brig
From Bengal. "A mystery ship".
- 1792 English Captain James Baker "Jenny" 78 ton schooner
From Bristol - only got 350 skins.
- 1792 English Joseph Andrew Tobar "Fenis and St. Joseph"
or brig
John de Barros Andrede
Sailed from Macao under Portuguese colours.
Believed to be English. Robert Duffin super-
cargo. Sailed for China October 1, 1792.
Cargo of about 700 skins.
- 1792 English William Coles "Florinda" sloop
or
Thomas Cole
From Macao under Portuguese colours. Arrived
on coast July 12, 1792.
- 1792 English Viana "Iphigenia" snow
Vancouver met ship at Nootka.
- 1792 English Viana "Felice Adventurer"
Left Macao, May 4, 1792. Visited Prince
William's Sound and later Nootka.
- 1792 English Barnett "Gustavus III"
British ship "Mercury" under Swedish colours.
- 1792 American Captain James Magee "Margaret" 150 tons
Left Boston in end of 1791 - made Queen
Charlotte Islands April 26, 1792. Got large
cargo 1100 or 1200 skins, sold in China that
fall.

- 1792 American Captain R.D. Coolidge "Grace"
Ship making her third trip to the coast. Had no legal papers.
- 1792 American Samuel Crowell "Hancock"
Making second trip to coast. At Queen Charlotte Islands, July 3, 1792.
- 1792 American Joseph Ingraham "Hope" 70 tons.
Making second trip. Sailed from Macao with "Grace" and "Hancock". Voyage lost \$90,000.
- 1792 English Captain Charles Barkley, R.N. "Halcyon" brig
From Calcutta. Crew of 25. Spent short season in Alaskan waters.
- 1792 English
1. Captain George Vancouver "Discovery" 340 tons
Crew of 100. Sailed April 1, 1791. Entered Strait of Juan de Fuca April 29, 1792. Circumnavigated Vancouver Island, Reached Nootka August 28, 1792. Diplomatic deadlock, September, October 13, 1792.
 2. Lieutenant William Robert "Chatham" 135 tons
Broughton.
Crew of 45.
 3. a) Lieutenant Richard Hergest "Daedalus"
b) Lieutenant James Hanson
The "Daedalus" was a transport ship, sailing later than the other two. Was to meet Vancouver at Nootka, where Hergest was to put himself under Vancouver's orders. Hergest murdered at Sandwich Islands on the way - Lieutenant James Hanson appointed in his place, when "Daedalus" reached Nootka. Sailed for Port Jackson, New South Wales soon after reaching Sandwich Islands at end of season.
- 1793 English
1. Captain George Vancouver "Discovery"
Arrived at Nootka May 20, 1793. Went and surveyed from Calvert Island north to latitude 56°, and western shores of the Queen Charlotte Islands.
 2. Lieutenant Peter Puget "Chatham"
Arrived at Nootka in middle of April - left May 18, 1793. Went North - met "Discovery" in Queen Charlotte Sound, and continued surveying together. Broughton had been sent to London as special envoy.
 3. Lieutenant James Hanson "Daedalus"
At end of season. Did not return to North West Coast in 1794, but sailed for Australia.

- 1793 Spanish Senor Don Ramon Saavendra "San Carlos"
Fidelgo - present governor of Nootka being
succeeded by Saavendra.
1. "Santa Casilda"
Sent to conclude and rectify surveys.
 2. "Santa Eulalia"
- 1793 American Captain Trotter "Amelia" brig
From Providence, Rhode Island. Arrived May 4,
1793.
- 1793 English Captain Brown "Butterworth"
Second trip.
Alexander Stewart "Jackal"
All met Vancouver at Queen Charlotte Islands.
Sharp or Gordon "Prince Lee Boo"
- 1793 French Captain Magon "La Flaria"
Wintered at Kamschatka - spent season of 1793
on coast. Second visit.
- 1793 French (Captain Owen "L'Emilae" 150 ton brig
(Captain Trotter
Sailed with half American crew and half French.
Owen died on way to China - succeeded by
Trotter. Captured by British at Macao.
- 1793 American Captain Crowell "Hancock"
- 1793 English "Iphigenia"
- 1793 American Elias Newberry "Jane"
From Boston. - owned by Ebenezer Dorr. Traded
at Queen Charlotte Islands. At end of season
to Macao, and then Boston. Arrived August 10,
1794.
- 1793 American 1. Josiah Roberts "Jefferson" 152 tons
From Boston. Collected 13,000 fur seals in
1792. 1794 on north west coast. Built
tender at Marquesas Islands - "Resolution"
2. Burling "Resolution" 90 ton schooner
crew of 11.
- 1793 American 1. Captain Magee "Margaret"
Total cargo of 3,000 skins. Then left for
China and Boston.
2. Tender to "Margaret" (name unknown) 30 ton
schooner.
- 1793 English 1. Captain Alder "Three Brothers"
Wintered at Nootka 1792-3.
2. Tender to "3Bs" (name unknown)
Captain Ewen "Prince William Henry"

- 1794 English Captain Barker "Arthur"
Came from Bengal by way of Australia. Met by Vancouver at Cross Sound, Alaska, July 15, 1794.
- 1794 American Captain Metcalfe "Eleanore"
Fifth season on north west coast. Captured by Indians of Koyah's Sound.
- 1794 American Captain Roberts "Jefferson"
Secured 14,000 skins. Left for China and Boston. Profitable voyage.
Captain Burling "Resolution"
Crew of 11. Captured by natives of Cumshewa tribe.
- 1794 American William Rogers "Fairy"
Evidence that this ship was on the coast rests on a statement of Peron's that she arrived in September 1793 at the Island of Amsterdam, bound for the north west coast. There is no other record, but the ship arrived at Canton November 29, 1794, which just allows time for the trip.
- 1794 American "Nancy"
Spent season of 1793 collecting seal skins. At Hawaii early in 1794, and stated she was leaving for north west coast, but no record of her on that shore exists.
- 1794 English Captain Hugh Moore "Pheonix"
Traded on coast, and wintered 1794-5 at the Columbia River.
- 1794 English Captain Ewen "Prince William Henry"
Again on north west shores.
- 1794 English Captain John William Adamson "Jenny" 78 ton brig
"Jenny's" second trip. Visited coast from Columbia River to Alaska - but did most of trading at Queen Charlotte Islands. Cargo of 2,000 sea otter skins.
- 1794 American Captain John Kendrick "Washington"
Traded on coast - his third voyage. Killed by miscarrying gun fired by "Jackal", December 12, 1794.
- 1794 English 1. Captain Brown "Jackal"
Collected 1000 prime sea otters - others inferior. Killed at Honolulu, January 1, 1795.
2. Captain Gordon "Prince Lee Boo"
Killed at Honolulu, January 1, 1795.

- 1794 English 1. Captain George Vancouver "Discovery"
 Surveyed from 55° on north, covering Cook's
 River, Prince William's Sound, and the coast
 of Alaska. Returned to Nootka September 2,
 1794.
2. Lieutenant Peter Puget "Chatham"
 Both ships left Nootka, October 16, 1794.
 Reached England October, 1795.
- 1794 Spanish Salvador Fidalgo "Princesa" brought
Don Jose Manual Alva
 New governor of Nootka. Arrived September 1,
 1774.

Also at Nootka

1. *Jose Tobar "Aranzazu"
 commanded ship to Nootka
 *John Kendrick, Junior
 commanded ship back to San Blas.
2. *Ramon Saavedra (probably) "San Carlos"

* Information supplied by Judge F.W. Howay.

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A. MS. Logs (including Transcripts).

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Original in Provincial Archives,
Victoria, British Columbia.

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Log of "Halcyon" 1791-1793.
Original in Provincial Archives,
Victoria, British Columbia.

A valuable record of wages paid and rations allotted to the crew.

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Transcription in Provincial
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Columbia.

Written when Mrs. Barkley was sixty six years old. Dated May 2nd. 1836. The first diary was destroyed by fire, which razed the dwelling of her grandson, Captain Edward Barkley, R.N., on November 22, 1809. No copy of it existed. The second version contains Mrs. Barkley's reminiscences as an old lady. A valuable source of historical material.

3. Bishop, Charles, "A Voyage of the "Ruby" to the North West Coast, 1794-95."
Original in Provincial Archives,
Victoria, British Columbia.

A most valuable source book, giving details of the monopolies, Chinese market, and exploits of traders, found nowhere else.

4. Browne, John Aisley, "Log of the 'Discovery' 1st. Jan. 1791 - 26 March 1795."
Transcript in Provincial Archives,
Victoria, British Columbia.

Contains no information beyond nautical observations and compass readings.

5. Gilbert, George, "Journal of Cook's Third Voyage".
Transcription in Provincial
Archives, Victoria, British
Columbia.

Written by one of crew of "H.M.S. Resolution". It is not very vivid, and one would imagine the writer had no very strong literary leanings. Does not differ from other accounts.

6. Hanna, James, "Log of the Sea Otter", 1785.
Original in Provincial Archives,
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7. Haswell, Robert, "A Voyage Round the World 1787-9".
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Transcription in Provincial
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14. Rickman, John. " Log of the Discovery" 16 March 1776 - 29 November 1779.
Transcription in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

A few remarks when in port, but chiefly nautical readings and weather observations.

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More interesting than most. Gives lines about daily happenings, visits of natives and minor misfortunes. Published in two volumes. The second, finished from 14 February 1779 - May 1779, by Charles Clerke.

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 By Order of the King. Madrid, Royal Printing Office, 1802.
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 Columbia.

Record of Spanish expedition to explore Gulf of Georgia. Much valuable information regarding fur traders of the period.

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Written by one of crew of "H.M.S. Resolution". It is not very vivid, and one would imagine the writer had no very strong literary leanings. Does not differ from other accounts.

6. Hanna, James, "Log of the Sea Otter", 1785.
Original in Provincial Archives,
Victoria, British Columbia.

Concerns the first voyage in 1785, but ends as soon as the coast of America is sighted. Hence of limited value.

7. Haswell, Robert, "A Voyage Round the World 1787-9".
Transcription in Provincial
Archives, Victoria, British
Columbia.

A detailed account of the visit of the first American traders to the coast.

8. Hoskins, John, "Narrative of Voyage to the North West Coast of America 1790-93."
Transcription in Provincial
Archives, Victoria, British
Columbia.

Performed in ship "Columbia Rediviva". A valuable account of the second voyage of the "Columbia", written in considerable detail.

9. Ingraham, Joseph, "Voyage of the "Hope" 1790-1793."
Transcription in Provincial
Archives, Victoria, British
Columbia.

Long and very detailed. Of great assistance in listing and identifying other ships.

10. Manby, Thomas, " Log of the Chatham" Sept. 27 1792 - 7 April 1795.
Transcription in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Purely nautical observations.

11. Meares, John, " Memorial" (Respecting seizure of vessels by Spaniards).
Transcription in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Gives some useful information concerning the period during which certain ships operated on the coast. Otherwise an extremely biased account of the Nootka incident.

12. Mudge, Zachariah, " Log of the Discovery" 4th. January 1791 - 1st. October 1792.
Transcriptions in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Kept by first lieutenant of " Discovery". Only nautical records.

13. Quadra, Bodega Y, " Expeditions in the Years 1775, 1779 towards the North West Coast of America."
Transcription in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Gives insight into daring and inadequate equipment of early Spanish expedition. Quadra was an intrpid leader, and later rose to much prominence on the coast.

14. Rickman, John. " Log of the Discovery" 16 March 1776 - 29 November 1779.
Transcription in Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

A few remarks when in port, but chiefly nautical readings and weather observations.

35. Sage, Walter N., " Seminar Outline in British Columbia History".
Mimeographed copy, Vancouver, B.C.

Contains most useful bibliography for all stages of the maritime fur trade.

36. Schafer, Joseph, " History of the Pacific North West".
Macmillan Co., Norwood, Mass. 1918.

A very brief outline of the most important voyages, but little detail.

37. Scott, Ernest, " Australian Discovery"
(vol. I. By Sea).
G. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.,
London, 1929.

On whole this subject does not concern this thesis, but includes a good summary of the aims of La Perouse's voyage.

38. Smith, Charles W., " Pacific North West America".
H. W. Wilson Co., New York,
1921.

A stock list of books and pamphlets relating to the history of the Pacific north west. A valuable book, but needs to be revised and brought up to date.

39. Thiery, Maurice, " Captain Cook, His Life and Voyages".
Geoffrey Bles, London, 1929.

Has an excellent map showing the routes of Cook's three voyages. The work, a translation from the French, is not very useful otherwise. It reads too much interpretation into the incidents of Cook's life by way of conversation.

40. Hill-Tout, Charles, " The Native Races of the British Empire"
Constable, London, 1907.

The introduction covers geographical influences of the coast on its native races. The different native races of Canada are also listed with their districts. On the whole the book is confined to the Dene and Salish Indians, and has little detail concerning the west coast tribes.

Names

41. Walbran, John T., " British Columbia Coast Natives".
Government Printing Bureau,
Ottawa, 1909.

A work based on much historical research and original manuscripts as well as personal knowledge and observations. Give many interesting details not found elsewhere.

42. Williamson, James A., " A Short History of British Expansion". vol. I.
Macmillan and Co., London, 1930.

Discusses Treaty of Tordesillas in considerable detail, the basis of Spanish claims to the Pacific Ocean.

43. Winsor, Justin, " History of America". vol. II.
Houghton Mifflin and Co.,
Cambridge, 1886.

A wide source of background material.

44. Chronology of Western Voyages. 1500-1800.
Copy in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.

No title page, but enclosed letter indicates that it originated from the United States Geographical Survey. A chronological statement of voyages and explorations to the west coast and interior of North America between 1500 and 1600. Useful, as a check.

45. Collection of Maps Relating to North West Coast of America.
Copy in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.

No title page. Shows a variety of the old ideas concerning the north west coast with the Straits of Anian much in evidence. Some as recent as 1764. An interesting collection but all dating prior to Captain Cook's Third Voyage.

46. The British Columbia Pilot.
Hydrographic Office, Admiralty, London, 1888.

Good map of Queen Charlotte Island.

47. Atlas of Canada.
Department of the Interior, January 1915.
Map of Vancouver Island. Page 53.
48. The Times Atlas of the World.
J. G. Bartholomew, "The Times", London, E. C. 4, 1920.
Map of Asia and America. Page 5.

PART III. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

1. Alexander, Mary H. T., "When the West Was Very Young".
The Canadian Magazine, Toronto,
February 1931.

A sentimental article in which facts are considerably distorted. For a better picture see "When Francis Barkley Came" by Perry.

2. Howay, F. W., "John Boit's Log of the 'Columbia'", 1790-93.
Oregon Historical Quarterly
vol. XXII, December 1921.
The Ivy Press, Portland,
Oregon.

An interesting account, filling in many blanks left by Hoskins' log, which terminates abruptly. Gives journal of the ship until she arrives at Boston, July 25, 1793.

3. Howay, F. W., "Letters Relating to the Second Voyage of the Columbia".
Oregon Historical Review,
vol. XXIV, 1923.

Hoskins' Letter of protest to Joseph Barrell, throws a new light on Gray's character.

4. Howay, F. W., " Some Additional Notes Upon Captain Colnett and the Princess Royal".
Oregon Historical Quarterly,
March 1925.

Article fills in gaps, but gives no new information regarding the fur trade and traders.

5. Howay, F.W., " Some Notes Upon Cook's and Vancouver's Ships 1776-80, 1791-95.
Washington Historical Quarterly,
October, 1930.
University of Washington Press,
Seattle, Washington.

Cook's "Resolution" was first named "Drake", but changed by order of the Admiralty. A few notes on the confusion caused by both Cook and Vancouver having ships named "Discovery". Gives all that is known about the various ships.

6. Howay, F. W., " Early Days of the Maritime Fur Trade on the North West Coast."
Canadian Historical Review,
vol. IV, 1923.
Published by University of
Toronto Press.

A short sketch of the development and growth of the fur trade up to 1818.

7. Howay, F. W., and Mathers, Albert, " Some Notes Upon Captain Robert Gray."
Washington Historical Quarterly,
January 1930.

Shows the extreme vagueness which surrounds Gray's life except for the few years he was on the north west coast.

8. Howay, F. W., " Early Followers of Captain Gray"
Washington Historical Quarterly,
January 1927.

Gives account of several ships, in particular "Ruby" of Bristol, Captain Bishop.

9. Howay, F.W., "Captains Gray and Kendrick -
the Barrell Letters."
Washington Historical Quarterly,
October 1921.

Explains the strained relations between Gray and Kendrick, and gives some insight into the causes of them.

10. Howay, F.W., "Indian Attacks upon Maritime
Traders of the North West
Coast 1785-1805."
Canadian Historical Review,
vol. VI, 1925.

Gives all known instances of such attacks, and some of the reasons which may have caused them.

11. Howay, F.W.,
Elliot, T.C., "Voyages of the 'Jenny' to
Oregon."
Oregon Historical Quarterly,
vol. XXX, 1929.

A good summary of all available information concerning the ship's two voyages.

12. Howay, F.W., "John Kendrick and his Sons."
Oregon Historical Quarterly,
December, 1922.

Throws further light on character and actions of Kendrick.

13. Howay, F.W., "An Incident in the Life of
Captain John Kendrick."
Washington Historical Quarterly,
vol. XX, 1929.

An account of the attempted seizure of the "Washington" by the natives of Koyah's Sound. (Houston Stewart Channel)

14. Howay, F.W., "Captain Simon Metcalfe and the
Brig Eleanore."
Washington Historical Quarterly,
vol. XVI, 1925.

A valuable outline of Metcalfe's wanderings both on the north west coast, and in Kerguelen's Land.

15. Howay, F.W., "An Outline Sketch of the Maritime Fur Trade."
Canadian Historical Association,
May 1932.

An effective account of the rise and fall of the fur trade, 1785-1825, with interesting and realistic touches of detail.

16. Howay, F.W., "Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade 1785-94."
Royal Society of Canada,
Section II, 1930. (Ottawa).

An invaluable record of the trading ships during this period - the first decade of the fur trade.

17. Howay, F.W., "A Yankee Trader on the North West Coast 1791-95."
Washington Historical Quarterly,
vol. XXI, April 1930.

Shows the condition of the fur trade, and the difficulties encountered in the second five years.

18. Kuykendall, Ralph S., "A North West Trader at the Hawaiian Islands."
Oregon Historical Quarterly,
vol. XXIV, 1923.

An interesting side light on the part played by the north west traders - in particular William Brown - in stimulating inter-island war among the Hawaiians.

19. Manning, W.R., "The Nootka Sound Controversy"
American Historical Association,
1904.

A monograph which was awarded the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association. A masterly treatment, based on much hitherto untouched material.

20. Meany, E.S., "John Boit: A New Log of the Columbia."
Ford, W.C.,
Washington Historical Quarterly,
vol. XII, 1921.

Publication of John Boit's Log, which is a valuable supplement to the official, and better known one of Hoskins. Gives many new details.

21. Meany, E.S., "A New Vancouver Journal"
Washington Historical Quarterly,
 vols. V and VI.

An anonymous account of the voyage of the "Chatham" beginning in 1792 on the north west coast, and covering that one season.

22. Mills, Lennox, "The Real Significance of the Nootka Sound Incident."
Canadian Historical Review,
 June 1925.

A much shorter treatment than Mannings. Deals principally with the diplomatic side of the question.

23. Perry, M.Eugenie, "When Francis Barkley Came."
Western Home Monthly, July 1929.

An excellent and well written article, based on the private diary of Mrs. Barkley.

24. Pipes, Nellie B., "Later Affairs of Kendrick: Barrell Letters."
Oregon Historical Quarterly,
 vol. XXX, 1929.

Settles date of Kendrick's death, and gives information regarding financial condition of "Washington" at this time.

25. Priestley, H. Ingram, "The 'Log of the Princessa', by Estevan Martinez".
Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. XXI.

Merely a comment on slight discrepancies between the accepted translation by Bancroft and the original Spanish of Martinez.

26. Sage, Walter N., "Spanish Explorers of the British Columbia Coast." Canadian Historical Review, December 1931.

A valuable summary of the Spanish epoch in British Columbia History, which clears up many confusing points.

27. "Vancouver Daily Province"
March 10, 1934. Picture of Chinese
medallion found in north-
ern British Columbia.
28. "The Victoria Daily Colonist" "Important Historic Relic
of Captain Cook Dug Up at
Kyuquot."

Article telling of discovery of bronze medallion
left by Cook at Nootka. - The first to be unearthed on
the north west coast.