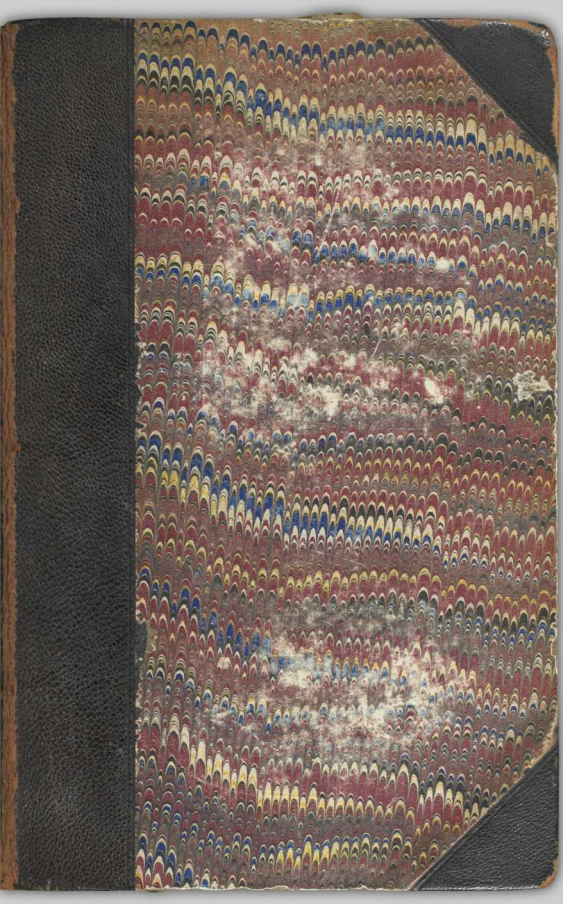

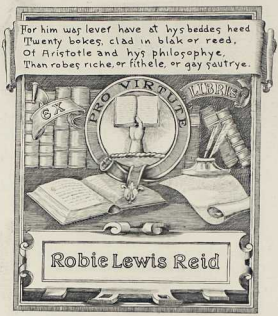

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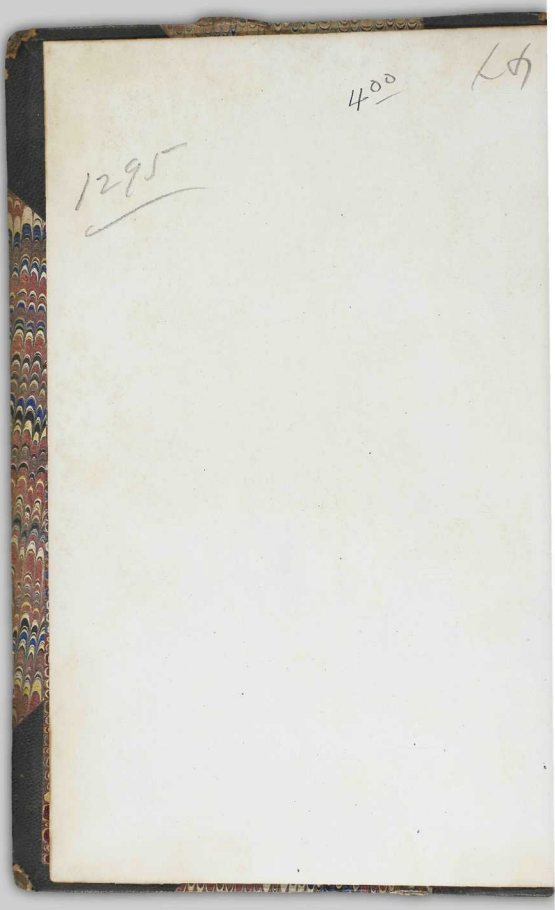
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THE

HISTORY

OF

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,

AND THE

OTHER TERRITORIES

ON THE

NORTH-WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA;

ACCOMPANIED BY A

GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW AND MAP

OF THOSE COUNTRIES,

AND A NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS AS

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HISTORY.

BY

ROBERT GREENHOW,

TRANSLATOR AND LIBRARIAN TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES; AUTHOR OF A MEMOIR, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL, ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, PUBLISHED IN 1840, BY DIRECTION OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"THE POSSIBLE DESTINY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AS A NATION OF A HUNDRED MILLIONS OF FREEMEN, STRETCHING FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC, LIVING UNDER THE LAWS OF ALFRED, AND SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE OF SHAKSPEARE AND MILTON, IS AN AUGUST CONCEPTION."

COLERIDGE'S TABLE TALK.

BOSTON:

CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.

1844.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1844,
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HISTORY

OF

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA.

TO

MY VENERABLE AND EVER KIND FRIEND,

MAJOR-GENERAL MORGAN LEWIS,

LATE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK;

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,

AS A MARK OF RESPECT AND GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE.

ROBERT GREENHOW.

PREFACE.

THE following pages are devoted, principally, to the description and history of the portion of North America bordering on the Pacific Ocean, between the 40th and the 54th parallels of latitude, which is traversed and in a great measure drained, by the River Columbia, and to which the name of OREGON is now usually applied. It has, however, been found necessary, for the objects of the work, to bestow almost equal attention on the regions embraced under the general appellation of CALIFORNIA, extending southward from the Columbia countries, to the arm of the Pacific, called the Californian Gulf; and also to take into consideration the coasts and islands north and north-west of those countries, as far as the Artic Sea.

The vast division of America, comprehending these territories, remains, with the exception of a few isolated spots on the coasts and on the margins of the larger streams, uncultivated and inhabited only by tribes of wandering savages. Its shores and some of the rivers have been examined with care, and their course may be found delineated with considerable minuteness on maps. Of the interior regions, some have never been explored, and are indeed apparently impenetrable by man; others, which offer fewer obstacles to the traveller, are only known through the vague and imperfect accounts of traders or missionaries; and in those which have been the most frequented by civilized persons, much remains to be effected by the aid of scientific observations in order to obtain satisfactory ideas of their geography and physical characteristics.

These territories, unoccupied, partially unexplored, and remote from all civilized countries, nevertheless present much that is interesting in their political history, as well as in their natural conformation and productions; and events are now in progress which seem calculated, ere long, to direct towards them the views of the governments and people of many powerful nations.

Every part of this division of America is in fact claimed by some civilized state as its exclusive property, in virtue either of discoveries or settlements made by its citizens or subjects, or of transfer or inheritance from some other state claiming on similar grounds, or of contiguity to its own acknowledged territories. On these points, the principles of national law are by no means clearly defined; nor is it easy to apply such as are most generally admitted, to particular cases; nor are governments ordinarily found ready to relinquish claims merely because they are proved to be unfounded: and disputes have in consequence arisen between different states asserting the right of possession to the same portion of Western America, which have more than once threatened to disturb the peace of the world. Attempts have been made to settle the questions at issue by negotiation; and certain lines of boundary have been agreed on by treaties between one and another of the claimant powers: but the arrangements thus made, can scarcely in any instance be considered definitive, as they have not received, and will probably never receive, the assent of the other parties interested.

In the mean time these territories are daily becoming more important from the advancement of the population of adjoining countries towards them; and from the constant increase of the trade and navigation of several of the claimant powers in the Pacific, which would render the undisputed possession of establishments on the coasts of that Ocean most desirable for each. The difficulty of effecting an amicable partition of the territories

thus becomes daily greater, and more urgent therefore is the necessity of endeavoring to attain that object without delay.

It was principally with the object of showing the nature, origin and extent, of these various claims, that the author of the following pages composed his "*Memoir, Historical and Political, on the North-West Coasts of North America and the adjacent Territories,*" * which was published by order of the Senate of the United States in 1840. He there endeavored to present a complete, clear and impartial view

* The circumstances under which the Memoir, here mentioned, was composed and published, will be made apparent by the following letters, and extract from the Journal of the Senate of the United States.

To the Hon. John Forsyth, Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, January 25, 1840.

SIR: I am informed that your department is in possession of much information relating to the territory of Oregon, its geography, resources, and the title of the United States to the same. If consistent with your duty, I would be pleased to be put in possession of such papers and documents as you may think proper to send me, requesting that you will mark such as you would rather not have printed or made public. Your obedient servant,

L. F. LINN,
Chairman of the Select Committee on the Territory of Oregon.

Answer. — To the Hon. Lewis F. Linn, Senator of the United States.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, Jan. 25th, 1840.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your letter of this day's date, asking for information relative to the territory of Oregon, its geography and resources, and the title of the United States to the same. Mr. Greenhow, the translator and librarian of this department, has been for some time past, by my direction, employed in collecting and arranging historical information on the subject of the north-western coasts of America; I send you the result of his labors, and submit it to the discretion of the committee to be printed or not, as they may think most advisable. Not having had the leisure to compare the statements in the Memoir with the various works and documents upon which they are founded, I can vouch only for the zeal, industry, and good faith of Mr. Greenhow, by whom they were prepared. I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTH, *Secretary of State.*

From the Journal of the Senate of the United States.

"Monday, February 10, 1840. On motion, by Mr. Linn,

Ordered, That a History of the North-West Coast of North America and the adjacent Territories, communicated to the Select Committee on the Oregon Territory, be printed, with the accompanying map; and that two thousand five hundred copies, in addition to the usual number, be printed for the use of the Senate."

of all the discoveries and settlements, made or attempted, in those countries by civilized nations, and of all the disputes, negotiations, and conventions, between different governments with respect to them, from the period when they were first visited by Europeans; founding his statements, as much as possible, upon original authorities. That Memoir is the only work hitherto published, approaching in its character to a history of the western portion of North America. The *History of California*,* printed at Madrid, in 1758, is devoted almost exclusively to descriptions of the Californian Peninsula, and to accounts of the missionary labors of the Jesuits, in that desolate region. The *Introduction to the Journal of Marchand's Voyage*,† which appeared in 1799, and the *Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes*,‡ published in 1802, are confined to the discoveries of European navigators on the North Pacific coasts of America, before 1793; upon which so many details have been made known, since the appearance of those works, that they are now entirely obsolete, and scarcely one of their paragraphs can be cited as correct. The Journals of Cook, La Pérouse, Vancouver, Mackensie, Krusenstern, Lewis and Clarke, Kotzebue, Beechey and Belcher, all contain important information as to the geography of the countries under consideration; but as regards the events, which lie within the province of the historian, we have only the accounts of the Astoria enterprise by Franchére, Cox, and Irving, all interesting, yet all limited to the occurrences of three or four years. In the most popular histories of other countries, and especially of Great Britain, the circumstances relating to North-West America, are in every material point, misrepresented, either from neglect on the part of the authors, or from motives less excusable; and these histories being universally read and received as true in England and in the

* See page 105. † See page 223. ‡ See page 241.

United States, it is not astonishing, that erroneous ideas should be generally entertained by the people of both nations, upon points, which have been and will continue to be, the subjects of discussion between their governments.

The Memoir, above mentioned, contains the outlines of the History now presented; for which the same authorities, with many others since collected, consisting of private and official reports, letters and accounts, journals of expeditions by sea and land, and histories and state papers of various civilized nations, have been carefully examined and compared. Many errors of fact as well as of reasoning in the former work, have by this means been corrected; and new circumstances have been brought to light, and new arguments have been founded upon them, of an important nature, and calculated perhaps materially to modify the views of those to whom the settlement of questions relative to North-West America may be hereafter entrusted. The principal object of the author has been to present the facts relative to the discovery and settlement of those countries, fairly; and to investigate, and judge the claims which have been deduced from them, agreeably to the immutable principles of right, and the general understanding of civilized nations: and although he fully appreciates, and endeavors in all cases to place in their proper light, the merits of his own countrymen, and the pretensions of his own government, he is not conscious that his desire to do so, has in any case led him to the commission of injustice towards other individuals, or nations, either by misstatements, or by suppressions of the truth. In order to unite the various parts into a regular narrative, and to preserve the remembrances of events which may be interesting, if not important at future periods, he has introduced circumstances not immediately tending to the attainment of the principal objects proposed; but he has omitted nothing voluntarily, which if made known might have led to conclusions different from those here presented. The dates

and the authorities will be found generally inserted, and always in cases where the circumstances related are new or material, or in which the accounts here given differ from those usually received; and he has appended a number of documents, extracts, and original notices as *Proofs and Illustrations* of the history. Among the latter, are some valuable papers never before published, others not commonly known, and others again which the reader will probably desire frequently to consult, including all the treaties and conventions between civilized nations, with respect to the countries forming the subjects of the history.

In the geographical view he has collected, compared, and endeavored to arrange in order, what appeared to be the most exact and striking details, presented by the numerous travellers who have visited the countries in question. The map has been composed, as far as possible, from the original authorities: being intended for the illustration of the history, it necessarily embraces a very large portion of the surface of the globe, and is consequently on a small scale; it will however be found sufficient for that purpose, and perhaps on the whole, more nearly correct than any other yet offered to the public.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY, 1844.

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OF THE

WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.

GEOGRAPHY

OF

THE WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.

GENERAL VIEW.

North America borders upon three great divisions of the ocean: the Atlantic on the east — the Arctic on the north — and the Pacific on the south and west — each of which receives, either directly or through its gulfs and bays, the superfluous waters from a corresponding great section of the continent.

These three great sections of North America are unequal in extent, and different in the character of their surface. At least one half of the continent is drained by streams entering the Atlantic; and of that half, the waters from the larger, as well as the more fertile portion, are carried by the Mississippi into the Mexican Gulf. Of the other two sections, that which borders on the Arctic Sea is probably the more extensive. The Atlantic and the Arctic sections present each a large proportion of surface nearly plane, and comparatively little elevated above the sea; and the line of separation between them is so indistinctly marked as to be, in many places, imperceptible. The Pacific section, on the contrary, is traversed in every part by steep and lofty ridges of highland; and it is completely divided from the other portions by a chain of mountains, extending, in continuation of the Andes of South America, from the Isthmus of Panamá, north-westward, to the utmost extremities of the continent in that direction.

Of the Atlantic coasts of America it is unnecessary to speak.

The Pacific coast extends from Panamá westward and northward, without any remarkable irregularity in its outline, to the tropic of Cancer, almost immediately under which is the entrance of the great Gulf of California, separating the Peninsula of California from the main continent, on the east. From the southern extremity of this peninsula, the coast runs generally north-westward to Mount St. Elias, a lofty volcanic peak, rising from the shore of the ocean under the 60th parallel; beyond which, the continent stretches far westward, between the Pacific on the south, and the Arctic Sea on the north, to its termination at Cape Prince of Wales, on Bering's Strait, the passage separating America from Asia.

The part of this coast south of the 49th degree of latitude pre-

sents few indentations, and the islands in its vicinity are neither numerous nor large. North of the 49th degree, on the contrary, the mainland is everywhere penetrated by inlets and bays; and near it are thousands of islands, many of them extensive, lying singly or in groups, separated from each other and from the continent by narrow intricate channels.

Bering's Strait is the only direct pass of communication between the Pacific and the Arctic Sea. Beyond it, the shores of the two great continents which it separates, run in opposite courses. The shores of Asia and Europe have been explored in their whole length on the Arctic Sea, though no vessel has hitherto made a voyage along them from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or *vice versa*. The north coast of America has been traced from Cape Prince of Wales north-eastward, to Cape Barrow, near the 71st degree of latitude, and thence eastward more than fifteen hundred miles, though not continuously to the Atlantic. The portion north of Hudson's Bay is still imperfectly discovered; and the interesting question whether the Arctic Sea there mingles its waters with those of the Atlantic, or is separated from them by the extension of the continent to the north pole, remains undetermined. Many circumstances, however, combine to favor the belief that a communication will be found between the two oceans, either through Fox's Channel, the northernmost part of Hudson's Bay, or through Lancaster Sound, which joins Baffin's Bay, under the 74th parallel of latitude.

The Pacific coast of America, in its whole length, from the southern extremity of California to Bering's Strait, is bordered by lofty mountains, which appear to form a continuous chain, partially broken in a few places by the passage across it of rivers from the interior. These mountains rise, for the most part, immediately from the sea-shore, above which they may be seen towering one, two, and even three, miles in perpendicular elevation: in some parts, however, the main ridge is separated from the ocean by tracts of lower country, as much as one hundred miles in breadth, traversed by parallel lines of hills. The peninsulas of California and Aliaska, the numerous islands which mask the coast of the continent, between the 49th and the 58th parallels, and the Aleutian Islands, which stretch in a line across the sea, from the southern extremity of Aliaska to the vicinity of the opposite Asiatic peninsula of Kamtchatka, may all be considered as prolongations of this chain through the Pacific.

The great chain of mountains which divides the streams emptying into the Pacific from those flowing into the other divisions of the ocean, runs through the northern continent, as through the southern, in a line nearly parallel with the shore of the Pacific, to

which it is also generally much nearer than to the Atlantic. Under the 40th parallel of latitude, where the western section of America is widest, the distance across it, from the summit of the dividing chain to the Pacific, is about seven hundred miles, which is not more than one third of the distance from the same point of the mountains to the Atlantic, measured in the same latitude.

The part of the dividing chain extending south of the 40th degree of latitude to Mexico, has received many names, no one of which seems to have been universally adopted. The *Anahuac Mountains* is, however, the appellation most commonly applied to it at present, and by which it will be distinguished in the following pages.

The portion of the great ridge north of the 40th parallel is generally known as the *Rocky* or *Stony Mountains*. From that latitude, its course is nearly due north-westward, and gradually approaching the line of the Pacific coast to the 54th degree, where the main chain turns more westward, and continues in that direction so far as it has been traced. Another ridge, called the *Chipewyan Mountains*, indeed extends, as if in prolongation of the Rocky Mountains, from the 53d parallel north-westward to the Arctic Sea, where it ends near the 70th degree of latitude: but the territory on its western side is drained by streams entering that sea, either directly or passing through the ridge into the *Mackenzie River*, which flows along its eastern base.

Among the Rocky Mountains, nearly all the greatest rivers in North America have their sources. Within a hundred miles of the point where that chain is crossed by the 41st parallel of latitude, rise, on the eastern side, the *Missouri*, the *Yellow-stone*, the *Platte*, and the *Arkansas*, the waters of all which are carried through the Mississippi into the Mexican Gulf, and the River *Bravo del Norte*, which falls into the same arm of the Atlantic; while on the western side are found the springs of the *Lewis* or *Snake*, the principal southern branch of the Columbia, which enters the Pacific near the 46th degree of latitude, and those of the *Colorado*, which terminates in the head or northern extremity of the Californian Gulf. In the same great chain, also, near the 53d degree of latitude, the northern branch of the Columbia runs from a lake, situated within a few feet of another lake, whence issues the west branch of the *Athabasca*, one of the affluents to the Mackenzie; and at a short distance south rises the *Saskatchawine*, which takes its course eastward to *Lake Winnipeg*, and contributes to the supply of Hudson's Bay.

Between the two great lines of mountains which thus extend along the eastern and the western borders of the Pacific section of North America, are other ridges, some apparently isolated, but the greater number connected with the above-described chains. The

most extensive of these intermediate ridges is called the *Snowy Mountains*, and is believed to stretch uninterruptedly from the Rocky Mountains to the westernmost range, nearly in the course of the 41st parallel of latitude, constituting the southern boundary of the territory drained by the Columbia River. Another ridge, called the *Blue Mountains*, runs northward from the Snowy Mountains, bounding the valley of the Snake or Lewis River on the west. A lofty range also extends from the westernmost chain, near the 48th degree of latitude, northward to the Rocky Mountains, near the 54th degree, separating the waters which flow into the northern branch of the Columbia from those of Fraser's River on the west, and forming another great natural line of boundary of the territory called *Oregon*, drained by the former river.

In the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, on the east, are several ridges, running generally parallel to the great chain, among which are the *Wind River* and *Long's* ranges, comprising some of the highest peaks in America, and the ridge separating the valley of the River Bravo del Norte from that of the Arkansas. Farther east the country becomes nearly level; and the central portion of the continent, extending from the foot of the last-mentioned ridges to the Mississippi, Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Sea, may be considered as forming one plain, so slight and gradual are the inequalities of its surface.

With regard to the geology of this section of America, — the Rocky Mountains consist, so far as they have been examined, entirely of primary formations; while the regions beyond them, especially those of the great chain, which runs nearest the Pacific coast, and the adjacent islands, exhibit everywhere traces of volcanic eruptions, and contain numerous volcanoes in constant action. The regions extending eastward from the Rocky Mountains, to a great distance, are mostly composed of a very saliferous sandstone, overlaid in some places by beds of clay, and near the streams by thin layers of alluvium. No signs of past or present volcanic action have been discovered, in any part of America, between the great dividing chain and the Atlantic, north of the tropic of Cancer.

The countries on the Pacific side of North America also differ materially in climate from those on the eastern side of the continent situated in the same latitudes, and at equal distances from and elevations above the sea. These differences are less within the limits of the torrid zone, and perhaps also beyond the 60th parallel of latitude; but in the intermediate space, every part west of the dividing chain of mountains is much warmer, and is less frequently visited by rain or snow, than places in the Atlantic or the Arctic sections, under the same conditions as above expressed.

Thus the north-westernmost regions of America appear to be almost as cold, and to receive as much water from the heavens, as those surrounding Baffin's Bay, or those in their own vicinity in Asia; but in the countries on the Pacific side, corresponding, in latitude and other respects, with Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, the ground is rarely covered with snow for more than three or four weeks in the year, and it often remains unfrozen throughout the winter. In the territories on the western coasts, opposite to Virginia and Carolina, the winter is merely a wet season, no rain falling at any other time; and in the Peninsula of California, which is included between the same parallels of latitude as Georgia and Florida, the temperature is as high as in any tropical region, and many years in succession pass without a shower or even a cloud. It is likewise observed that the interior portions of the Pacific section are in general more dry, and that the difference in temperature between the day and the night is much greater, than in the countries nearer the sea.

The central portions of the continent, immediately east of the Rocky Mountains, exhibit the same peculiarities of climate with those adjoining west of that chain, though in a less degree. The vast plains within several hundred miles east of the dividing chain of mountains, between the 38th and the 50th parallels of latitude, present a surface of rocks and sand; and except in the vicinity of the streams which cross them from the mountains, they produce nothing but stiff grass and shrubs. Descending towards the Mississippi, the climate becomes less dry, and gradually assumes all the characters of that of the Atlantic regions. North of the 50th parallel there is more rain at all seasons of the year; but the intensity of the cold and the length of the winter render the country almost every where uninhabitable by those who depend on agriculture for their support.

In consequence of this greater dryness of the climate on the western side of America, and the proximity of the dividing chain of mountains to the coast, the rivers on that side are generally neither so long, nor so abundant in water, nor navigable to such distances from their mouths, as those which fall into the Atlantic. The Columbia and the Colorado are the only streams flowing from America into the Pacific, which can be compared in any of those respects with several in the other sections of the continent; being both of them inferior to the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, the Amazons, the Plate, and the Orinoco. The rivers of Western America present, in fact, few or no facilities for commercial transportation. They nearly all run, in their whole course, through deep ravines among stony mountains; and they are frequently interrupted by ledges or accumulations of rock, producing falls and rapids, to

overcome which all the resources of art would probably be unavailing. East of the Rocky Mountains are many great streams flowing from that chain into the Missouri; but none of them seem calculated to serve as channels of communication between the eastern and the western sides of the continent.

Under circumstances of climate, soil, and conformation of surface, so different, it may be readily supposed that considerable differences must exist between the natural productions of the countries on the western side of North America, and those of the eastern section of the continent. Accordingly it is found that few species of plants, and indeed of animals, are common to the Atlantic and the Pacific territories; and that many genera which abound on the one side of the dividing chain of mountains, are rare, if not wanting, on the other side. Some vegetables acquire a greater development in the vicinity of the north-west coasts of the continent, than in any other part of the world; but on the other hand, large portions of the Pacific section are absolutely barren, and incapable of being rendered productive by art. In recompense, however, the rivers abound in fish, especially in salmon, which ascend to great distances in the interior, and form the principal food of the aboriginal inhabitants.

With respect to the aboriginal inhabitants of North America — the Arctic coasts are occupied by a peculiar race, called the *Eskimaux*, who are also found on the northernmost shores of the Pacific, intermingled with the *Tchukski*, the aborigines of Northern Asia. The remainder of the continent seems to have been inhabited, prior to the entrance of the Europeans, by one and the same race of men; the natives of the various portions differing from each other slightly, considering the differences of climate, soil, and modes of life. That some admixture with the races of Southern Asia may have taken place, is, however, not improbable, considering the fact that two vessels from Japan have been driven on the west coasts of North America since 1813.

The establishments of civilized nations in these countries are as yet all on a small scale. The *Russians* occupy the coasts and islands north of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes: their settlements are all under the control of the *Russian American Company*, a corporation enjoying the special protection of the imperial government, and are devoted exclusively to the collection of the furs and skins of the land and sea animals abounding in that quarter, great numbers of which are annually transported to Asia and Europe. The *British* and the *Citizens of the United States* are spread throughout the regions south and east of those occupied by the Russians, as far as California; and have been hitherto likewise chiefly engaged in the fur trade, though some agricul-

tural settlements have been formed, by the people of both nations, on the waters of the Columbia River: within the last two or three years, however, particularly in 1843, large bodies of emigrants from the United States have gone to those countries, respecting whom no precise accounts have been yet obtained. The British are all under the direction of the *Hudson's Bay Company*, which possesses, in virtue of a grant from the British government, the exclusive privilege of trading in all the Indian countries of America belonging to or claimed by that power, and they are restrained and protected by British laws, under an act of parliament, extending the jurisdiction of the courts of Canada over all those countries, so far as regards subjects of Great Britain. The citizens of the United States, on the contrary, are deprived of all protection, and are independent of all control; as they are not subject to British laws, and their own government exercises no authority whatever over any part of America west of the Rocky Mountains. On *the coasts of California*, south of the 38th degree of latitude, are many colonies, garrisons, and missionary stations, founded by the *Spaniards* during the last century, and now maintained by the *Mexicans*, who succeeded to the rights of Spain in that part of America in 1821: this country, though thinly inhabited by a wretched, indolent population, is the only part of the Pacific section of North America, which can be considered as regularly settled; which possesses an organized, civil and social system, and where individuals hold a property in the soil secured to them by law.

Each of these four nations claims the exclusive possession of a portion of the territory on the Pacific side of America north of the Californian Gulf; and each of them is a party to some treaty with another, for the temporary use, or definitive sovereignty of such portion. Thus it has been agreed by treaty, in 1819, between the United States and Spain, renewed in 1828 between the United States and Mexico — that a line drawn from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, in the course of the 42d parallel of latitude, should separate the dominions of the former power on the north from those of Mexico on the south. It was in like manner agreed in 1824, by convention between the United States and Russia — that the former nation should make no establishments on the coasts north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and that the latter should make none south of the same line; but this convention was neutralized, and in fact abrogated, by a treaty concluded between Russia and Great Britain in the following year, by which all the coasts and islands north of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and the whole territory west of a line drawn along the summits of the highlands bordering the western shores of the continent, from that parallel northward to Mount St. Elias,

under the 60th degree, and thence due north to the Arctic Sea, were declared to be the exclusive property of Russia, while all north and east of that line were to belong to Great Britain.

Thus we find on the western side of North America only two lines of distinct boundary or partition, as yet settled between the governments of civilized nations — the one between two powers, the United States and Mexico — and the other between two different powers, Great Britain and Russia — each line traversing the whole breadth of the Pacific section of the continent. Of the vast territory comprised between these two lines, no spot has yet been assigned by mutual agreement to any civilized nation. The United States claim the country northward from the 42d parallel, and Great Britain claims that extending south and east from the other line, each to a distance undefined, but so far as to secure for itself the whole, or nearly the whole, of the region traversed by the Columbia River; and, neither nation being willing to recede from its pretensions, all the countries claimed by either, west of the Rocky Mountains, remain, by convention between the two governments concluded in 1827, free and open to the citizens or subjects of both.

It would be improper here to omit to notice the group of the *Sandwich Islands*, or *Hawaiian Archipelago*, as they are sometimes called, which, from their peculiar position, within two thousand five hundred miles of the American coast, between the 19th and the 22d parallels of latitude, in the direct track of vessels crossing the ocean, as well as from the productiveness of their soil and the amenity of their climate, seem destined to be, to the countries bordering on the North Pacific, what the West Indies are to those on the North Atlantic; and probably to afford, to some maritime nation, the means of exerting a powerful influence, political as well as commercial, over the whole western division of America. They remain in the possession of their aboriginal occupants, who appear to evince considerable aptitude to receive instruction, and have, with the aid of some missionaries from the United States, established a regular government in the form of a hereditary monarchy, under constitutional limits. Their independence has, within a few years, been more than once threatened, and must always be in danger, from the jealousy or ambition of the great maritime powers of Europe and America; to one or the other of which they will doubtless be rendered subject, whenever the present peaceful condition of the world is broken by war between those powers.

Having presented this concise general view of the western section of North America, its divisions will now be examined in detail, beginning with the most southern, under the heads of CALIFORNIA, OREGON, and RUSSIAN AMERICA.

CALIFORNIA.

The name *California* was first assigned, by the Spaniards, in 1536, to the southern portion of the great peninsula which extends on the western side of North America, from the 32d degree of latitude to and within the limits of the torrid zone; and it was afterwards made to comprehend the whole division of the continent north-west of Mexico, just as that of *Florida* was applied to the opposite portion on the Atlantic side. At the present day, California is usually considered as including the peninsula, and the territory extending from it, on the Pacific, northward as far as the limits of *Oregon*, or the country drained by the Columbia River; Cape Mendocino, in the latitude of 40 degrees 19 minutes, being assumed as the point of separation of the two coasts. The Mexican government, however, regards the 42d parallel of latitude as the northern limit of California, agreeably to the treaty concluded between that republic and the United States of America in 1828.

California is naturally divided into two portions: the *Peninsula*, or *Old*, or *Lower California*, in the south, and *Continental*, or *New*, or *Upper California*, in the north; the line of separation between which runs along the 32d parallel of latitude, from the head or northern extremity of the Californian Gulf to the Pacific.

The Gulf of California, called by the Spaniards the *Sea of Cortes*, but more commonly the *Vermilion Sea*, is a great arm of the Pacific, joining that ocean under the 23d parallel of latitude, and thence extending north-westward between the continent on the east and the Californian Peninsula on the west, to its head or termination, under the 32d parallel, where it receives the waters of the Rivers Colorado and Gila. Its length is about seven hundred miles: its breadth, at its junction with the Pacific, is one hundred miles; farther north it is somewhat wider, and still farther, its shores gradually approach each other, until they become the banks of the Colorado.

The western, or peninsular coasts of the gulf are high and steep, offering very few places of security for vessels; and not a single river enters the sea on that side. Its eastern, or continental shores, are generally low, and the sea in their vicinity is shallow, which renders the navigation along them dangerous. The prevailing winds are from the south; a current, however, constantly sets out from the gulf, which is perceived by vessels passing at a considerable distance from its mouth.

The territory on the eastern side of the Californian Gulf includes two large political divisions of the Mexican Republic, of which the northern is called *Sonora*, and the southern *Sinaloa*, each extending from the coasts of the gulf, to the dividing ridge of mountains. These countries are as yet but thinly inhabited; they are, however, from the number and richness of their mines, the productiveness of their soil, and the salubrity of their climate, calculated to support an immense population, for which the gulf, and the many rivers flowing into it from the mountains, will afford the means of communicating with the rest of the world. The port of *Guaymas*, in Sonora, in latitude of 27 degrees 40 minutes, is said to be one of the best on the Pacific side of America. *Mazatlan*, in Sinaloa, at the entrance of the gulf, has been hitherto much frequented by vessels; but it is neither so secure as Guaymas, nor is the surrounding country so fertile and healthy. Farther south-east is *San Blas*, now the principal commercial port of Mexico on the Pacific; and still farther, in the same direction, are *Navidad*, *Acapulco*, and *Tehuantepec*, all of which have been at times the seats of considerable trade.

The PENINSULA OF CALIFORNIA is about one hundred and thirty miles in breadth, at its widest part, where it joins the continent, nearly under the same parallel of latitude with the city of Savannah, in Georgia. Thence it extends south-eastward about seven hundred miles, varying, though generally diminishing in width, between the Pacific on the west, and the Californian Gulf on the east, to its termination in two points — *Cape San Lucas* the southernmost, in latitude of 22 degrees 52 minutes, corresponding nearly with that of the city of Havanna — and *Cape Palmo*, sixty miles east by north of the other, at the entrance of the Californian Gulf. This country consists entirely of stony ridges and narrow sandy valleys, and is simply the prolongation through the sea, of the great maritime chain of mountains which borders the western coast of North America, from the Californian Gulf to the Arctic Sea.

The climate of the Peninsula is as hot and dry as that of Arabia. At its southern extremity the earth is occasionally moistened by a shower in summer; near its junction with the continent, rain is

never seen except in winter; and in the intermediate portion, many years in succession pass by without the appearance of a single cloud. Under such circumstances it may be concluded, that the springs of water must be rare and small, and the surface generally bare and free from vegetation. Yet wherever irrigation is practised the productiveness of the soil is extraordinary; and in the little *oases*, where a scanty stream runs through a narrow sandy valley, pine-apples, plantains, figs, grapes, oranges, and all other fruits of torrid climes, are yielded in abundance, and of the finest quality.

The aboriginal population of the peninsula consisted of four or five thousand savages, who derived their subsistence from the fish with which the surrounding seas are filled, and from roots growing on the borders of the rivulets. Until the beginning of the last century, all the attempts of the Spaniards to form establishments of any kind in the country, proved fruitless. At that time, however, the Jesuits, by permission of the King of Spain, undertook to convert the natives of the peninsula to Christianity, and to initiate them into the usages and arts of civilized life; with which view they formed a number of missions on the coast of the gulf, and, by untiring assiduity, they succeeded partially in their objects. In 1768 the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish dominions, and their establishments in California were confided to the Dominicans, who have ever since directed them, with little advantage in any way.*

The number of persons in the peninsula at present has been variously estimated; from the best accounts, it does not exceed five thousand, of whom a small proportion only are Mexicans, and very few are of European origin. The principal places now occupied by the Mexicans are — *Loreto*, the capital of Old California, a miserable village of about two hundred persons, situated near the gulf, opposite the small *Island of Carmen*, in latitude of 25 degrees 14 minutes — *La Paz*, on the *Bay of Pichilingue*, a little farther south, the port of communication with Mexico — and *Port San José*, near Cape San Lucas.

The east coast of the peninsula has long been celebrated for the size, beauty and fineness of the pearls found in the oysters which abound in the parts of the gulf adjacent; and the search for these precious stones has always formed the principal employment of the Spaniards in that quarter. The pearls are obtained, with much difficulty and danger, by Indians, who dive for them to the depth of twenty feet or more, and of whom a number are thus annually drowned or destroyed by sharks. The value of the pearls, procured by this means, appears to be small when compared with the

* See Chapter III. of the History.

time and labor spent in the search for them: in 1825, eight vessels engaged in the business, collected altogether five pounds of pearls, worth about ten thousand dollars; occasionally, however, a single stone is found of value sufficient to compensate for the losses and disappointments of many years of fruitless toil. In 1825, Lieutenant Hardy, of the British navy, was sent to the Californian coast from London with two vessels, carrying diving-bells, by the use of which it was expected that the pearl fishery might be conducted more profitably and with less danger: unfortunately, however, it was discovered that the oysters always lie in crevices of the rocks, at the bottom of the sea, to which no access can be obtained by means of the diving-bell; and the enterprise was in consequence abandoned.

On the west, or Pacific coasts of the peninsula, no settlement has ever been formed or attempted by a civilized nation. This coast offers many excellent harbors, but the want of fresh water in their vicinity must ever prove an effectual obstacle to their occupation. The principal harbors are — the extensive *Bay of La Magdalena*, in latitude of 25 degrees, separated from the ocean by the long island of *Santa Margarita*, which appears to stretch much farther inland than had been until recently supposed — the *Bay of Sebastian Vizcaino*, under the 28th parallel, east of the *Isle of Cedars* — *Port San Bartolomé*, called *Turtle Bay* by the British and American traders — and *Port San Quintin*, an excellent harbor, with fresh water near it, in latitude of 30 degrees 20 minutes, called by the old Spanish navigators the *Port of the Eleven Thousand Virgins*, and rediscovered in 1800 by Captain O'Kean, a fur-trader from Boston. At the distance of a hundred and twenty miles from this coast, under the parallel of 28 degrees 45 minutes, is the small rocky island of *Guadelupe*, the existence of which, after it had been denied by many navigators, has been ascertained.

CONTINENTAL, or NEW, or UPPER CALIFORNIA, extends from the peninsula about five hundred miles northward, on the Pacific, to Oregon, or the country of the Columbia, from which it is divided, naturally, by the Snowy Mountains, and politically, by the 42d parallel of latitude. Its boundaries on the east are not as yet determined in any way: some geographers consider as New California only the region immediately adjacent to the Pacific, between the coast and the summit of the nearest great chain of mountains; others extend its limits to the Colorado; while others include in it, and others again exclude from it, the whole territory drained by that river.

The country between the Pacific and the summit of the great chain of mountains running nearest the coast, is the only portion

of New California of which any distinct accounts have been obtained. This chain, which traverses the whole of the peninsula, thence continues northward, nearly parallel to the sea-coast, as far as the 34th degree of latitude, where rises *Mount San Bernardin*, one of the highest peaks in California, about forty miles from the ocean. Beyond that latitude the coast turns more westward, and the space between it and the mountains becomes wider, so as to exceed eighty miles in some places; the intermediate country being, however, traversed by ranges of hills, or smaller mountains connected with the main ridge. The principal of these inferior ranges extends from Mount San Bernardin north-westward to its termination, at the entrance of the Bay of San Francisco, near the 38th degree of latitude, where it is called the *San Bruno Mountains*. Another range, called the *Santa Barbara Mountains*, runs between the one before-mentioned and the coast, and terminates in the north at the Cape of Pines, on the south-west side of the Bay of Monterey. East of the Bay of San Francisco is the *Bolbones ridge*, between which and that of San Bruno is the long valley of *Tule*, containing several large lakes.

The southernmost part of New California resembles the peninsula in climate, being very hot and dry, except during a short time in the winter. Farther north the wet season increases in length, and about the Bay of San Francisco the rains are almost constant from November to April, the earth being moistened during the remainder of the year by heavy dews and fogs. Snow and ice are sometimes seen in the winter on the shores of this bay, but never farther south, except on the mountain-tops. The supply of water from the heavens, however, sometimes ceases for nearly two years in succession, even at the Bay of San Francisco; such a drought was experienced there in 1840 and 1841, during which the inhabitants suffered severely.

The prevailing winds on this coast are the *south-east*, which blows generally from April to November; and the *north-west*, which is almost constant during the remainder of the year. It is, however, remarked, that the north-west wind is more regular and violent north of *Cape Conception*, a point near the 35th degree of latitude, and the south-east, on the coasts south of that place.

Among the valleys in this part of California, are many streams, some of which discharge large quantities of water in the rainy season; but no river is known to flow through the maritime ridge of mountains from the interior to the Pacific, except perhaps the *Sacramento*, falling into the Bay of San Francisco, though several are thus represented on the maps. The valleys thus watered afford abundant pasturage for cattle, with which they are covered; there

are, however, but two tracts of country capable of supporting large numbers of inhabitants, which are, that west of Mount San Bernardin, and that surrounding the Bay of San Francisco; and even in these places, artificial irrigation would be indispensable for success in agriculture.

The animals originally found in California, were buffaloes, bears, deer, wild hogs, wild sheep, beavers, foxes, and many others not known elsewhere; sea otters were also very abundant in the bays of Monterey and San Francisco, but are now seldom seen. One of the scourges of this part of America is the *chapul*, a kind of grasshopper, which appears in the summer, especially after a long continuance of dry weather, in clouds, like the locusts of Southern Asia, destroying every vegetable substance found in their way. Cattle and horses were introduced into California by the Spaniards from Mexico during the last century, and have increased in an extraordinary degree, particularly in the plains and valleys between the coast and the mountains of the northern portion.

The aborigines of Upper California are generally considered less ferocious and violent, but more indolent and vicious, than those of the peninsula; they have, however, been placed, by those who have had the opportunity of studying their character and dispositions, with the Hottentots, the Patagonians, and the Australians, among the lowest of the human race. The first attempt to civilize these people, was made by the Spaniards in 1769, immediately after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the peninsula. With this object, a number of missions were formed near the coast, under the direction of Franciscan friars, forts being at the same time erected in various places, for the security of the missions and the occupation of the country. Towns were subsequently laid out and settled, and public farms were cultivated by the natives under the direction of the friars and soldiers. All these establishments have declined considerably since the overthrow of the Spanish government in Mexico, in consequence of want of funds and the diminution of the influence of the priesthood; of late years, however, the commerce of the country has increased, and many vessels, chiefly from the United States, now resort to its ports, laden with manufactured articles, for which they receive hides and tallow in return.*

In 1835 the number of the missions was twenty-one, and of the towns seven; to which were attached about twenty-three thousand persons, mostly of the aboriginal race; many of the missions have, however, been deserted since that time. These places are nearly all situated immediately on the coast, though some of the most extensive and flourishing are farther in the interior. For their

* See Chapters IV. and XVII. of the History.

government they are arranged in four districts, each bearing the name of the principal *presidio* or fortress on the coast, namely: *San Diego*, *Santa Barbara*, *Monterey*, and *San Francisco*.

San Diego, the southernmost settlement of any importance on the Pacific coast of California, and the first established by the Spaniards in that country, is situated on the north side, and near the entrance of an extensive bay, which communicates with the ocean by a narrow passage opening to the south, in the latitude of 32 degrees 41 minutes. The bay runs into the land about ten miles, and is separated from the Pacific by a ridge of sand; vessels of any size may enter it, and find safe anchorage and protection from all winds within a mile of the northern shore. The town of San Diego, the trade of which is probably greater than that of any other place in California, is a small village, situated about a mile north of the bay. The presidio is a mud fort, two miles farther inland; besides which, there are some fortifications capable of commanding the entrance of the port. The mission is distant seven miles from the presidio, in a valley, through which a torrent of fine water rushes during the rainy season. *San Juan* is a small, unsafe and inconvenient harbor, in latitude of 33 degrees 27 minutes, about sixty miles north-west of San Diego. Farther west is *San Pedro*, in latitude of 33 degrees 43 minutes, open to the south-west winds, but totally sheltered from the north-west. The country immediately around these places is sandy and barren, yielding little besides grass for cattle; in the interior, however, is the wide tract already mentioned, extending to Mount San Bernardin, which is said to be of great fertility wherever it is properly irrigated, producing wheat, vines, olives, and fruits of various kinds. In this tract, at the distance of thirty miles from the sea, stands *Pueblo de los Angeles*, the largest town in California, containing a thousand inhabitants; and near it is the *Mission of San Gabriel*, the vineyards of which formerly yielded a large supply of good wine.

From Port San Pedro the Californian coast runs westward more than a hundred miles to *Cape Conception*, a point situated in latitude of 34 degrees 22 minutes, which is as much dreaded by navigators, on account of the violence and frequency of the storms in its vicinity, as Cape Hatteras, near the same parallel on the opposite side of the continent. Opposite this part of the coast are the *Islands of Santa Barbara*, the only ones of any great extent on the eastern side of the Pacific, between the entrance of the Californian Gulf and the 49th degree of latitude. They are eight in number, of which four, called *Santa Cruz*, *Santa Rosa*, *Santa Catalina*, and *San Clemente*, contain from twenty to fifty square miles of surface each; the others being mere rocks.

Between the Island of Santa Cruz and the main land on the north, is the *Channel of Santa Barbara*, fifteen miles in width, on the north side of which stand the presidio, mission, and town of Santa Barbara: the harbor is an open roadstead, sheltered from the northerly and westerly winds, but affording little protection to vessels on the other sides; the surrounding country is a sandy plain, divided on the north by the Santa Barbara range of mountains, which extends along the coast to Monterey.

At the distance of a hundred miles north of Cape Conception the Santa Barbara range of mountains terminates on the shore in a point called the *Cape of Pines*, between which and another point, twenty-four miles farther north, called *Cape New Year*, is included the *Bay of Monterey*. This bay lies in an indentation of the coast almost semicircular; its southern part is, however, separated from the ocean by the Cape of Pines, and thus forms a cove or harbor, near the shore of which stands the town of *Monterey*, or *San Carlos de Monterey*, the seat of government of California. This is but a wretched village of two or three hundred inhabitants, mostly Indians; and although the surrounding country has a good climate and soil, and might, with little labor, be sufficiently irrigated by means of two small rivers flowing from the mountains, scarcely any article of food, except beef, can be obtained there. The mission stands three miles south of the town, in a valley watered by the River San Carmelo. The presidio, which is styled *a castle*, near the town, and the fort on the Cape of Pines, at the entrance of the harbor, are merely mud walls, with a few old guns, nearly all of them ineffective.

From the eastern shore of the Bay of Monterey, a sandy plain extends to the foot of the San Bruno range of hills, between which, and the Santa Barbara range, is a long valley, traversed by a river called the *Buenaventura*. This river rises in the south-east, and falls into the Bay of Monterey, though, on some maps, it is erroneously represented as flowing from a great distance in the interior. Across the maritime range of mountains, near the northern shore of the bay, is the *Mission of Santa Cruz*, to which vessels commonly resort for water and provisions; and a little farther in the interior is the incorporated town of *Branciforte*, having about three hundred inhabitants.

Cape Reyes, under the 38th parallel of latitude, the next remarkable head-land on the coast north of the Bay of Monterey, is composed of high white cliffs, projecting into the Pacific; and when seen from the north or the south, it has the appearance of an island, being connected with the main land on the east by low grounds. A few miles south of this point, are two clusters of rocky islets called *Farellones*, immediately east of which,

Port San Francisco, or the *Bay of Saint Francis*, joins the Pacific by a passage or channel two miles wide, and three in length, under the parallel of 37 degrees 55 minutes; that is, nearly in the same latitude with the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, and with the Straits of Gibraltar. From this passage the the bay extends north-eastward twenty miles, and south-eastward thirty miles, surrounded by ranges of high hills, and presenting one of the most beautiful and secure harbors on the Pacific, and indeed in the world.

The northern branch of the bay becomes contracted near the entrance into a strait, beyond which opens a basin, called the *Bay of San Pablo*, about ten miles in diameter. A second passage, called the *Strait of Carquines*, unites this basin to another, filled with islands, into which two or three rivers empty. The *Sacramento* is the only one of these streams, the course of which has been explored; it rises on the western side of the great range of mountains, along the base of which it runs from its sources, near the 41st degree of latitude, to its mouth, in the Bay of San Francisco, about three hundred miles, being navigable by small vessels for half that distance. The lower part of the country traversed by this river, is an alluvial plain, parts of which are prairies, while others are covered with forests of noble trees, principally oaks; and from all accounts it is well adapted for the support of a large population. Near the northern branch of the bay, are the missions of *San Francisco Solano* and *San Rafael*.

The southern branch of the bay extends about thirty miles from the entrance, and may be considered as occupying the bottom, or northern extremity of a long valley, which stretches between the San Bruno Mountains on the west, and the Bolbones range also communicating with the great Californian chain on the east. The presidio and mission of San Francisco are situated on the western shore of the bay, a few miles south of the entrance passage, at the termination of the San Bruno range of highlands; the principal place of anchorage for vessels is a cove, a little farther north, between the western shore and the *Island of Yerba Buena*, where a settlement has been commenced by the English and Americans, who conduct nearly all the trade of that part of California. This branch of the bay is about twelve miles in its greatest breadth; it terminates in the south, in a number of small arms, receiving streams from the valleys among the hills, one of which forms a communication, during the wet season, between the bay and the large *Lakes of Tule*, situated farther south. Of these lakes very little is known; they are said to be two or three in number, forming a chain about one hundred miles long, in the environs of which, is a large population of natives. Upon another

stream, entering the bay on the south-east, are the town of *San José*, and the contiguous mission of *Santa Clara*, in the midst of a delightful country, producing grains and fruits of all kinds in abundance, and affording pasture to numerous herds of cattle.

The excellence of the harbors afforded by the Bay of San Francisco, and the productiveness of the surrounding country, will doubtless render it one of the most important spots on the coasts of the North Pacific. It is already attracting the attention of enterprising individuals, as well as of the governments of maritime states in Europe and America; and there is but little risk in predicting that it will, ere long, be the subject of contention between one or the other of those states and its present possessors, who have neither the means nor the will to develop its advantages.

Immediately north of Cape Reyes, in the latitude of 38 degrees 33 minutes, a small bay, called *Port Bodega*, joins the Pacific, on the shore of the northern branch of which the Russians, in 1812, formed a settlement, chiefly with the view of supplying their fur-trading establishments with meat and other provisions. A few years afterwards another settlement of a similar kind, called *Ross*, was made by the same people, on the coast of the Pacific, about fifteen miles north of Bodega, near the mouth of a small stream, named by them the *Slavinka Ross*. Each of these places consisted of a stockaded fort, enclosing dwellings for the officers and magazines, and surrounded by other buildings, among which were shops for carpenters and smiths, and stables for numerous herds of cattle; and in the neighborhood of Bodega a farm was worked, from which several thousand bushels of wheat, besides peas and other vegetables, were annually obtained. These establishments of the Russians in California have been a constant source of annoyance to the Spaniards and to their Mexican successors; they have, however, it is said, been recently ceded to a company composed chiefly of Americans, who seem equally determined to dispute the authority of Mexico over the country.

Cape Mendocino, where the coasts of California and Oregon are united, presents two steep and lofty promontories, about ten miles apart, of which the highest is the southern, in latitude of 40 degrees 19 minutes — nearly the same with that of Sandy Hook, at the entrance of the Bay of New York. This cape is the most elevated land on the sea-shore of that part of America, and was formerly much dreaded by the Spanish navigators, on account of the storms usually prevailing in its vicinity; but those fears have passed away, and Cape Mendocino has, in consequence, lost much of the respect with which it was once regarded by mariners.

The interior of new California, east of the mountains which

border the coast, is but imperfectly known. According to the vague reports of the Catholic missionaries and American traders, who have traversed it in various directions, the northern portion is a wilderness of lofty mountains, apparently forming a continuous chain, from the range which borders the Pacific coast to the Rocky Mountains; and the southern division is a desert of sandy plains, interspersed with rocky hills, and with lakes and marshes, nearly all of them salt, and having no outlet to the sea. The heat of the sun in these plains is described, by all who have experienced it, as most intense; and from their accounts it seems to be certain that this region, with the exception, perhaps, of the portion immediately adjacent to the Colorado River, must ever remain uninhabited.

The *Colorado River* forms the only outlet of the waters of these territories. It is formed near the 41st degree of latitude, by the junction of several streams, rising among the Rocky Mountains, of which the principal are the *Sids-kadee*, or *Green River*, and the *Sandy River:* thence flowing south-westward it passes through a range of mountains where its course is broken by numerous ledges of rocks, producing falls and rapids; after which it receives the *Nabajo*, the *Jaquesila*, the *Gila*, and other large streams from the east, and enters the Gulf of California, under the parallel of 32 degrees. The country on both sides of this river, for some distance from its mouth, is flat and is overflowed during the rainy season, when the quantity of water discharged is very great; and a high embankment is thus made by the deposit of the mud, similar to those on the lower Mississippi. How far the Colorado may be ascended by vessels from the gulf is not known; but from some accounts it would seem to be navigable for three or four hundred miles.

Among the mountains west of the sources of Colorado River, between the 40th and the 42d parallels of latitude, are several lakes, which have no outlet, and the waters of which are, as a necessary consequence, salt.* The largest of these, formerly called

* As this physical fact is not as yet generally known, a few words may be here said in explanation. Whenever water runs on or through the earth for any distance, it finds salts, which it dissolves and carries to its final recipient or basin, either the ocean, or some lake or marsh having no connection with the ocean or any lower recipient; and as the water from this final recipient is taken away only by evaporation, which does not abstract a single saline particle, it is a necessary consequence, that the salt must be constantly accumulating there. Thus the Dead Sea, which has no outlet, is saturated with salts, while the Lake of Tiberias, from which it receives its waters through the Jordan, is fresh. In like manner the surfaces of countries, from which the water is not carried off either by streams or infiltration, are always impregnated with salt; of this the high plains of Mexico, and the valleys immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, offer examples; the soil of the parts, not regularly drained, being so salt as to render vegetation impossible, even where all the other requisites are furnished in abundance. The reverse is not always true; nevertheless, the saltness of a *large* body of water, or of a *large* extent of ground, affords strong reasons for suspecting that there is no regular drain from it into a lower recipient

by the Spaniards, *Lake Timpanogos*, but now generally known as the *Utah Lake*, is said to be more than a hundred miles in length and of great breadth; it is chiefly supplied by the *Bear River*, which enters it on the north-east, after a long and circuitous course through the mountains. Farther south, near the 39th degree of latitude, is *Ashley's Lake*, on the shores of which the American traders from Missouri formerly had an establishment.

OREGON.

The political boundaries of Oregon have never yet been determined by common consent of the parties claiming to possess it. In the United States they are considered as embracing the whole of America west of the Rocky Mountains, from the 42d parallel of latitude to that of 54 degrees 40 minutes. Some geographers have, however, regarded as Oregon only the region actually traversed and drained by the Columbia River, for which *Oregon* is supposed,* erroneously, to have been the aboriginal name; and the British government has always insisted on a still farther contraction of its limits.

Leaving the political question to be settled hereafter, the region of the Columbia River will be now examined.

The natural boundaries of this region seem to be as follows: *On the east*, the Rocky Mountains from the 42d parallel of latitude to the 53d; *on the south*, the Snowy Mountains, which are said to extend nearly in the course of the 42d parallel from the Rocky Mountains westward to the great chain bordering the Pacific, and thence to the ocean west; *on the west*, the Pacific Ocean from Cape Mendocino, or its vicinity to Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, near the 49th parallel; and *on the north*, the Strait of Fuca, from the ocean to its easternmost extremity, from which a ridge extends north-eastward to the Rocky Mountains, separating the waters of the Columbia from those of Fraser's River. It is impossible, however, to define those boundaries exactly, as the topography of the interior, and particularly the course of the great mountain chains, is but imperfectly known.

The territory included within the limits above indicated, and

* See page 142 of the history.

drained almost exclusively by the Columbia, is not less than four hundred thousand square miles in extent; which is more than double the surface of France, and nearly one half of that of all the States of the American Federal Union. Its southernmost points lie in the same latitude with Boston and with Florence; while its northernmost correspond with the northern extremity of Newfoundland and with Hamburg.

As the Columbia forms the most important geographical feature of the country, a particular description of that river will be presented first.

The great trunk of the Columbia, which enters the Pacific in the latitude of 46 degrees 15 minutes, is formed at the distance of more than three hundred miles from the ocean, by the union of two streams; one from the south-east, called the *Sahaptin*, or *Snake*, or *Lewis River*, and the other, usually considered as the main river, from the north-east. These two great confluents collect together all the waters flowing from the western sides of the Rocky Mountains, between the 42d and the 54th degrees of latitude.

The northernmost sources of the great river are situated in the Rocky Mountains, near the 53d degree of latitude. One of its head-waters, the *Canoe River*, rises in a cleft of the dividing chain, called by the British traders the *Punch Bowl*, within a few feet of the westernmost source of the Athabasca, one of the head-waters of the Mackenzie, which empties into the Arctic Sea. This cleft is the principal pass of communication for the British traders between the territories on either side of the ridge; it is described, by all who have visited it, as presenting scenes of the most terrific grandeur, being overhung by the highest peaks of the Rocky Mountains, one of which, *Mount Brown*, is not less than sixteen thousand feet, and the other, *Mount Hooker*, exceeds fifteen thousand feet, in height above the ocean level.

At a place called *Boat Encampment*, near the 52d degree of latitude, Canoe River joins two other streams, the one from the north, the other, the largest of the three, from the south; and the river thus formed, considered as the *Main Columbia*, takes its course nearly due south, through defiles between lofty mountains, being generally a third of a mile in width, but in some places spreading out into broad lakes. In the latitude of 48 1-2 degrees, it receives the *Flat Bow*, or *McGillivray's River*, a large stream, rising also in the dividing range; and a little farther south it unites with the *Flat-head*, or *Clarke River*, scarcely if at all inferior, in the quantity of water supplied, to any of the other branches of the Columbia. The sources of the Clarke River are in the Rocky Mountains, near the 44th degree of latitude, not far from those of the Missouri and of the Lewis; thence it runs north-

ward along the base of the great chain, and then westward, forming, under the 48th parallel, an extensive lake, some distance below which it falls into the Columbia over a ledge of rocks. After uniting with Clarke River, the Columbia turns to the west, and passes through a ridge of mountains, where it forms a cataract called the *Kettle Falls;* running thence in the same direction between the 48th and the 49th parallels it receives the *Spokan* from the south, and the *Okinagan* from the north; after which it resumes its southern course, and thus continues to its junction with the great southern branch, near the 46th degree of latitude. These streams are generally navigable by boats, the passage being however, interrupted in many places by falls and rapids.

Of the great southern branch of the Columbia, the farthermost sources are situated in the valleys or *holes*, as they are called, of the Rocky Mountains, near the 42d degree of latitude; within short distances from the sources of the Yellow Stone, the Platte and the Colorado of California. The principal head-waters are *Henry's River*, the most eastern, and the *Portneuf*, which flows from the vicinity of the Utah Salt Lake; below their junction the Lewis flows west, and then north-west, receiving on its way the *Malade*, or *Sickly River*, the *Boisé*, or *Reed's River*, the *Salmon River*, and the *Kooskooskee* from the east, and the *Malheur* and *Powder Rivers* from the west, to its union with the northern branch of the Columbia, near the 46th degree of latitude, about a thousand miles from its sources. These streams are all bordered, in most places, by steep mountains, generally of volcanic origin; and some of them rush violently, for long distances, through deep and narrow chasms. Like the northern branches of the Columbia, they also abound in cataracts, which must forever prevent their being used as channels for transportation by boats; though the country in the vicinity of the Lewis even now affords passage for wagons from the Rocky Mountains to the point of junction of the two great branches of the Columbia.

The width of the Columbia, at a short distance below the point of junction of its northern and southern branches, is about three-quarters of a mile. Thence it flows westward, gradually becoming narrower, to its falls in the chain of mountains which runs nearest the coast; receiving the *Walla-Walla*, the *Umatalla*, *John Day's River*, and a large stream called the *Fall's River*, (the *Towahnahiooks* of Lewis and Clarke) all from the south. This part of the Columbia is navigable by boats; but the passage is always attended with much danger, from the tortuous course of the river, and the number of the rapids and whirlpools. *The falls* are formed by ledges of rocks, over which the river is thrown with violence, between perpendicular walls of basalt. Four miles lower are *the dalles,*

great rapids formed by the passage of the water between vast masses of rock; and thirty miles below these are *the cascades*, a series of falls extending about half a mile, near the lowermost of which the tides of the Pacific are observable. All these cataracts have, it is said, been passed by boats descending when the river was at its floods; the navigation, however, according to all accounts, must be most perilous, and from the nature of the ground adjoining, it seems that no attempt to obviate, by art, the difficulties thus presented, would be successful.

The cascades are about one hundred and twenty-five miles from the mouth of the Columbia; near them, the *Clakamis River* joins the great stream from the south; and a little farther down, the *Willamett* or *Multonomah* comes in from the same direction by two mouths, between which is *Wappatoo Island*, thus named from a root much used as food by the Indians of the country. A few miles lower, the *Cowelitz River* enters from the north, below which the Columbia begins to widen; and, at the distance of ten miles from the sea, it spreads out to the breadth of several miles, forming, on its northern side, a cove called *Gray's Bay*, in honor of the commander of the first ship which entered the river. Finally all the waters, collected from these various sources, rush into the Pacific between two points, seven miles apart; namely, *Cape Adams*, on the south, and on the north *Cape Disappointment*, in latitude of 46 degrees 19 minutes, and longitude of 124 degrees west from Greenwich, or 47 degrees west from Washington.

The mouth of the Columbia is the only harbor for ships on the whole coast between the Bay of San Francisco and the Strait of Fuca; a distance equal to that from the mouth of Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, or from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Straits of Dover; and during the greater part of the year it is difficult and dangerous, and often impossible, for any vessel either to enter or quit the river, on account of the intricacy and variability of the channel and the violence of the breakers, produced by the collision of the river floods with the ocean billows. Many vessels have already been injured in attempting the passage, even under circumstances apparently the most favorable; and many have been lost, when nothing seemed to indicate the approach of danger, until they were violently thrown upon the bottom.

The coast south of the Columbia is most perilous to navigators at all times; as the shores are every where steep and rocky, and bordered by reefs, on which the waves of the Pacific are driven with fury by the prevailing north-west winds. Vessels not drawing more than eight feet, may, however, find a harbor in the mouth of the *Umqua*, a small stream falling into the Pacific in the latitude

of 42 degrees 51 minutes, immediately north of a remarkable promontory called *Cape Orford*, probably the *Cape Blanco* of the old Spanish navigators. Small vessels may also find anchorage in a cove or recess of the coast named by the Spaniards *Port Trinidad*, under the parallel of 41 degrees 3 minutes, about forty miles north of Cape Mendocino, and in some other spots; but no place on this coast can be said to offer protection to vessels against winds or waves.

At the distance of forty-five miles north of the mouth of the Columbia, under the parallel of 47 degrees, a small bay opens to the Pacific, which was discovered in May, 1792, by Robert Gray, of Boston, the captain of the ship Columbia, and named by him *Bulfinch's Harbor*, in honor of one of the owners of his vessel; it has also been called *Gray's Harbor*, and on English maps may be found generally represented as *Whidbey's Bay*, after one of Vancouver's officers, who surveyed it in December, 1792. The entrance is about three miles in width; thence the bay extends east, south and north, about six miles in each direction, receiving at its eastern extremity a small stream called the *Chekelis*. The harbor is however shallow, and its entrance is obstructed by bars of sand, effectually preventing the passage of all vessels drawing more than eight or ten feet. Besides Bulfinch's Harbor, there is no port or place of security for vessels between the mouth of the Columbia and the Strait of Fuca; and the only spot worthy of mention, on this part of the coast, is *Destruction Island*, near the continent, in the latitude of 47 1-2 degrees, so called by the captain of an Austrian trading ship in 1787, in consequence of the murder of a number of his men by the natives of the adjacent country.

The *Strait of Fuca* is an arm of the sea, separating a great island from the continent on the south and west. To this strait, considerable interest was at one time attached, from the supposition that it might be a channel connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific: it extends from the ocean eastward about one hundred miles, varying in breadth from ten to thirty miles, between the 48th and the 49th parallels of latitude; thence it turns to the north-west, in which direction it runs three hundred miles farther, first expanding into a long, wide bay, and then contracting into narrow and intricate passages among islands, to its reunion with the Pacific, under the 51st parallel. From its south-eastern extremity, a great bay, called *Admiralty Inlet*, stretches southward into the continent more than one hundred miles, dividing into many branches, of which the principal are *Hood's Canal*, on the west, and *Puget's Sound* the southernmost, extending nearly to the 47th parallel. This inlet possesses many excellent harbors, and as the country adjacent is healthy and productive, there is every reason to believe that

this part of America will, in time, become valuable, agriculturally, as well as commercially. There are many other harbors on the Strait of Fuca, of which the principal are *Port Discovery*, near the entrance of Admiralty Inlet, said by Vancouver to be one of the best in the Pacific, and *Poverty Cove*, called *Port Nuñez Gaona* by the Spaniards, situated a few miles west of Cape Flattery. That cape, so called by Cook, and afterwards named by Vancouver *Cape Classet*, is a conspicuous promontory in the latitude of 48 degrees 27 minutes, near which is a large rock, called *Tatooche's Island*, united to the promontory by a rocky ledge, partially covered by water. The shore between the cape and Admiralty Inlet is composed of sandy cliffs overhanging a beach of sand and stones; from it the land gradually rises to a chain of mountains stretching southwardly along the Pacific to the vicinity of the Columbia, the highest point of which received, in 1788, the name of *Mount Olympus*.

The great chain of mountains, already so often mentioned as extending along the whole western coast of the continent, runs through Oregon, generally at the distance of eighty or one hundred miles from the shore, as far north as the 49th degree of latitude, where the eastern extremity of the Strait of Fuca washes its base. Thence one of its ridges runs north-east to the Rocky Mountains, dividing the waters of the Columbia from those of Fraser's River; another ridge overhangs the sea-coast north-westward; and the islands of the *North-west Archipelago*, which border the continent from the 49th to the 58th parallels, may be regarded as another range stretching through the sea.

The part of this chain included in Oregon, has received several appellations, of which, no one is as yet universally adopted. It is called — the *Californian Mountains* — the *Clamet Mountains*, from a tribe of Indians inhabiting a part of the country on its western side — the *Cascade Mountains*, from the cascades or cataracts formed by the Columbia, in passing through it — and finally, a patriotic citizen of the United States, has proposed to call it the *President's Range*, and has assigned to some of the highest peaks, the names of chief magistrates of the Federal Republic.* One of these peaks, in the latitude of 44 degrees, received from Lewis and Clarke, who, first of all white men, beheld it in 1805, the name of *Mount Jefferson*; for which, the British traders have thought proper to substitute that of *Mount Vancouver*. The other principal points in this ridge, are — *Mount Baker*, near the 49th parallel, and *Mount Rainier* under the 47th; *Mount Saint Helens*,

* The author of these pages will venture to suggest one more name — *The Far-West Mountains*.

the highest, rising not less than fifteen thousand feet above the ocean level, due east of the mouth of the Columbia, for which the name of *Mount Washington* has been proposed; *Mount Maclaughlin* and *Mount Macleod*, so called by the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, in honor of two of their factors; *Mount Hood*, near the 45th parallel; *Mount Shasty* near the 43d, and *Mount Jackson*, a stupendous pinnacle, in the latitude of 41 degrees 40 minutes, which has been also called *Mount Pitt* by the British traders. Some of these peaks are visible from the ocean, particularly Mount Saint Helens, which serves as a mark for vessels entering the Columbia: they present, when seen from the summit of the Blue Mountains on the west, one of the grandest prospects in nature.

The country between the Pacific coast and this westernmost chain of mountains, consists of ranges of lower mountains, separated by narrow valleys, generally running parallel with the great chain, and with the coast. The climate of this region resembles that of California: the summer is warm and dry, and rain seldom falls between April and November, though during the remainder of the year it is violent and almost constant; snow is rarely seen in the valleys, in which the ground sometimes continues soft and unfrozen throughout the winter. The soil in some of these valleys is said to be excellent, for wheat, rye, oats, pease, potatoes and apples, fifteen bushels of wheat being sometimes yielded by a single acre; Indian corn, which requires both heat and moisture, does not succeed there or in any other part of Oregon. It is, however, evident, that with the peculiarities of climate, above-mentioned, the country can never be very productive, without artificial irrigation, which is practicable only in a few places. Hogs live and multiply in the woods, where an abundance of acorns is to be found; the cattle also increase, and it is not generally necessary for them to be housed or fed in the winter. The hills are covered with timber, which grows to an immense size. A fir, near Astoria, measured forty-six feet in circumference at ten feet from the earth; the length of its trunk, before giving off a branch, was one hundred and fifty-three feet, and its whole height not less than three hundred feet; another tree, of the same species, on the banks of the Umqua River, is fifty-seven feet in girth of trunk, and two hundred and sixteen feet in length, below its branches. "Prime sound pines," says Cox, "from two hundred to two hundred and eighty feet in height, and from twenty to forty feet in circumference, are by no means uncommon." The land, on which these large trees grow, is good; but the labor of clearing it would be so great as to prevent any one from undertaking the task, until all the other spots, capable of cultivation, should have been occupied.

The superficial extent of this westernmost region of Oregon, does not exceed forty thousand square miles; of which, a small proportion, not more than an eighth or a tenth, is fit for cultivation. The best lands are believed to lie around Admiralty Inlet, on the Chekelis River, which empties into Bulfinch's Harbor, on the Cowelitz, on the Willamet, and on the Umqua.

Settlements have been formed by individual Americans and by the Hudson's Bay Company, in each of those parts, as also at one or two places on the banks of the Main Columbia, of which those in the valley of the Willamet appear to give the greatest promise of success; but they are all on a scale so small, they have existed so short a time, and the accounts as yet received of them are so inexact and so much at variance with each other, that it is impossible to arrive at any definite opinion with regard to them.*

The region within about two hundred miles east of the westernmost or maritime chain of mountains, embraces several tracts of country, comparatively level, and some valleys wider than those west of the same chain; the soil is, however, less productive, and the climate less favorable for agriculture, than in the places similarly situated nearer the Pacific. The most extensive valleys in this region, are those traversed by the streams, flowing into the Columbia from the south, between the maritime range, and the Blue Mountains, which form the western wall of the great valley of Lewis River; the *plains*, as they are called, though they are rather tracts of undulating country, are on both sides of the northern branch, between the 46th and the 49th parallels of latitude. The surface of the plains consists generally of a yellow sandy clay, covered with grass, small shrubs and prickly pears; in the valleys farther south, the soil is somewhat better, containing less of sand and more of vegetable mould, and they give support to a few trees, chiefly sumach, cotton-wood, and other such soft and useless woods. The climate of this whole region is more dry than that of the country nearer the Pacific, the days are warm, and the nights

* That differences of opinion should exist as to the *quality* of lands, is not surprising; but it is not easy to account for the extravagantly erroneous assertions which have been made as to the *extent* of land in this part of Oregon, *possessing a soil superior to any in the United States*. Thus, it has been gravely stated, that the valley of the Willamet contains not less than *sixty thousand square miles, of the finest land*; while this whole valley is, in reality, merely an inconsiderable portion of the westernmost region of Oregon, the superficial extent of which, may be easily shown not to exceed forty thousand square miles. The Strait of Fuca, which bounds this region on the north, is in latitude of 48½ degrees; and assuming the 42d parallel, as its southern limit, its extreme length is 6½ degrees, or less than four hundred and fifty miles English; its breadth — that is, the distance between the Pacific shore and the great chain of mountains which forms the eastern boundary of this region — does not average eighty miles; and by multiplying these two numbers, thirty-six thousand square English miles appears as the utmost superficial extent of the westernmost region of Oregon.

cool; but the want of moisture in the air prevents the contrast of temperature from being injurious to health, and this country is represented, by all who have had the opportunity of judging by experience, as being of extraordinary salubrity. The wet season, as in the country nearer to the Pacific, extends from October to April; but the rains are neither frequent nor abundant, and they rarely occur at any other period of the year. In the southern valleys there is little snow; farther north it is more common, but it seldom lies long, except on the heights.

Under such circumstances it will be seen that little encouragement is offered for the cultivation of this part of Oregon. On the other hand, the plains and valleys appear to be admirably adapted for the support of cattle, as grass, either green or dry, may be found at all times, within a short distance, on the bottom lands or on the hill sides. The want of wood must also prove a great obstacle to settlement, as this indispensable article can only be procured from a great distance up the north branch of the Columbia, or from the Pacific region, with which the passages of communication through the mountains are few and difficult.

The country farther east, between the Blue Mountains and the Rocky Mountains, appears to be, except in a very few small detached spots, absolutely uninhabitable by those who depend on agriculture for subsistence. It is in fact a collection of bare rocky mountain chains, separated by deep gorges, through which flow the streams produced by the melting of the snows on the summits; for in the lower grounds rain seldom falls, at any time. North of the 40th parallel, the climate is less dry, and the bases of the mountains are covered with wood; but the temperature in most places is too cold for the production of any of the useful grains or garden vegetables: the parts which appear to be the most favorable for agriculture are those adjacent to the Clarke River, and particularly around the *Flat-head Lake*, where the hills are well clothed with wood, and the soil about their basis is of good quality. On the borders of the Lewis, and of some of the streams falling into it, are valleys and prairies, producing grass for cattle; but all the attempts to cultivate the esculent vegetables have failed, chiefly, as it is believed, from the great difference in the temperature between the day and the succeeding night, especially in the summer, which is commonly not less than 30, and often exceeds 50 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer.*

The territory north of the 49th parallel of latitude, and north-

* The thermometer was seen by Wyeth, at Fort Hall, on the Lewis, near the 43d parallel of latitude, at the freezing point in the morning, and at 92 degrees of Fahrenheit, in the middle of a day in August. Frosts occur at this place in nearly every month in the year.

west of that drained by the Columbia river, has been called *New Caledonia*, by the British fur-traders, who first established posts in it beyond the 56th parallel, in 1806. It is a sterile land of snow-clad mountains, tortuous rivers, and lakes frozen over more than two thirds of the year; presenting scarcely a single spot in which any of the vegetables used as food by civilized people can be produced. The waters, like those of the country farther south, however abound in fish, which, with berries, form the principal support of the native population. The largest lakes are *Babine*, communicating with the ocean by *Simpson's River*, and *Stuart's*, *Quesnel's* and *Fraser's Lakes*, the outlet of all which is *Fraser's River*, a long but shallow stream emptying into the Strait of Fuca, at its eastern extremity. The coast of this country is very irregular in outline, being penetrated by many bays and inlets, running up from the sea, among the mountains, which border that side of the continent; between it and the open Pacific lie the islands of the *North-West Archipelago*, which will now be described.

The North-West Archipelago is the general name for the remarkable collection of islands, situated in and nearly filling a recess of the American coast, about seven hundred miles in length and eighty or one hundred in breadth, which stretches from the 48th degree of latitude north-west to the 58th; that is to say — between the same parallels as Great Britain. These islands are in number many thousands, presenting together a surface of not less than fifty thousand square miles: they are, however, with the exception of nine or ten, very small, and the greater part of them are mere rocks. The largest islands are all traversed by mountain ridges, in the direction of their greatest length, from south-east to north-west; and the whole Archipelago may be considered as a portion of the westernmost chain of mountains, running through the sea, connecting those of Oregon on the south, with the northern range of which Mounts Fairweather and Saint Elias are the most prominent peaks.

Of the interior parts of the islands, no accounts have been obtained; and probably nothing can be said, except that they are rocky and barren. The coasts, like those of the continent in their vicinity, are very irregular in outline, containing numerous bays and inlets; and the channels among them are nearly all narrow and tortuous, forming a labyrinth of passages. These channels were minutely surveyed during the years between 1785 and 1795, by the navigators of various nations, chiefly with the object of finding some direct northern communication for ships between the Pacific and Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, and their true geographical character was thus ascertained; before that period, they were regarded as parts of the continent. The British, who,

under Vancouver, made the latest and most complete examinations of the Archipelago, bestowed names on the islands, channels, capes, and bays, which still retain their place on charts; several of these have, however, already fallen into disuse, and it is not probable that many of them will be retained, when the spots to which they have been assigned are occupied by a civilized population.

It has already been said, that Russia claims all the coasts and islands on the Pacific side of America, north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes; and as this parallel divides the north-west archipelago into two nearly equal parts, the islands south of that line will be considered as attached to Oregon. This southern division of the North-West Archipelago, embraces three groups of islands.

The southernmost group, situated between the 49th and the 51st parallel, embraces the large *Island of Quadra* and *Vancouver*, and a number of smaller ones, separated from Oregon on the south and east, by the channel already described as the Strait of Fuca. The main island, which received its present long and inconvenient appellation in 1792, in virtue of a compromise between a British and a Spanish commander, each claiming for himself, or his countrymen, the merit of establishing the fact of its separation from the continent, is the largest on the western side of America, being about two hundred and fifty miles in length, with an average breadth of forty-five miles, so that its superficial extent may be estimated at about ten thousand square miles. On its western side, are several large recesses containing islands, of which the principal are — *Nootka Sound*, opening to the Pacific in the latitude of 49 1-2 degrees — *Nittinat* near it, on the south-east — and *Clyoquot*, a little farther, in the same direction, north of the entrance of the Strait of Fuca. These places were formerly the principal rendezvous of vessels engaged in the fur-trade; at Nootka Sound, transactions occurred, in 1789, which gave to that bay much celebrity, and first rendered the north-west coasts of America the subject of dispute and convention between the governments of civilized nations.

Queen Charlotte's Island, named *Washington's Island*, by the early American fur-traders, who first ascertained its separation from the main land, forms the centre of another group, situated between the latitudes of 52 and 54 degrees, at a considerable distance from the continent, and from any of the other islands. The principal island is of triangular form, rather less in superficial extent than that of Vancouver and Quadra, though larger than any of the remaining islands of the Archipelago. Its north-western extremity received from the Spaniards, who discovered it in 1774,

the name of *Cape Santa Margarita*, but it is now generally known as *Cape North*; the north-eastern end was called *Cape Invisible*, by the Spaniards, and by the Americans *Sandy Point*; the southern termination is *Cape Saint James*, in latitude of 52 degrees. This island presents a number of good harbors, which received names, first from the American traders, and afterwards from the naval commanders of Great Britain and Spain; the principal of them are — on the northern coast, *Hancock's River* or *Port Estrada*, near Sandy Point, and *Crafi's Sound* or *Port Mazaredo*, a little farther west — on the eastern side, *Skitikis*, in latitude of 53 degrees, 20 minutes, *Cummashawa*, near the 53d degree, and *Port Ucah* and *Port Sturges*, farther south — on the west, or Pacific coast, are *Magee's Sound*, in latitude of 52 1-2 degrees, and *Port Ingraham*, near the north-west extremity of the island. The country around some of these harbors, particularly Hancock's River, and Magee's Sound, is described as fertile and beautiful, and the climate as much milder than that of other places situated farther north.*

The *Princess Royal Islands*, *Burke's Island*, and *Pitt's Islands*, form the third division of the north-west Archipelago, lying near to each other, and to the coast of the continent, between the 51st and the 54th parallels, immediately east of Queen Charlotte's Islands. They are all inconsiderable in extent, and nothing is known of them worthy of mention here.

Of the three above described groups, no part is at present occupied by any civilized nation, with the exception of *Douglas Island*, the northernmost of the Pitt group, on which the Hudson's Bay Company have a trading post.

To the aboriginal inhabitants of Oregon, it would be inconsistent with the plan of this work to devote much attention. They make no figure in the history of the country, over the destinies of which, they have not exerted, and they probably never will exert, any influence. They are all savages; different tribes differing from each other in habits and disposition only so far as they are affected by the mode of life, which the nature or the country occupied by them respectively, compels them to adopt. Thus, the people of the sea-coasts, who venture out upon the ocean, and attack the whale, are much bolder and more ferocious than those of the middle country, who derive their subsistence by the quiet and unexciting employments of fishing in the river, and digging

* Many curious particulars respecting this island, not to be found elsewhere, are contained in the interesting Journal of the voyage of the brig Hope, from Boston to the North Pacific, in 1791-3, which still remains, in the manuscript of her commander, Joseph Ingraham, among the archives of the Department of State, at Washington.

for roots. Among the peculiar habits of some of these tribes should be mentioned, that of compressing the heads of their infants by boards and bandages, so as materally to alter their shape; which induced the discoverers of the country, to apply to those people, the name of *Flathead Indians*. This custom appears to have prevailed chiefly among the tribes of the lower Columbia, and but little among those dwelling on the northern branches of the river, to whom the appellation of *Flatheads* is, however, at present confined.

The principal tribes or nations of Indians inhabiting the Columbia region, are — or rather were, for many of them are extinct — the *Clatsops* and *Chenooks* occupying the country on both sides of the lower part of the great river; the *Killamucks* of the Umqua; the *Classets*, of the territory on the Strait of Fuca; the *Enishurs*, marauders infesting the passes about the falls of the great river; the *Chopunish*, or *Nez-percés* of the Wallawalla, and Kooskooskee countries; the *Kootanies* of Clarke's River; and the *Shoshones* or *Snakes* of the Lewis. In the part of Oregon north-west of the Columbia, are the *Chilcotins* and *Talcotins*, between which tribes mortal enmity has always subsisted. The *Blackfeet*, so much dreaded by travellers in the middle region, belong to the country east of the Rocky Mountains, on the Yellow Stone, and the Missouri above its falls; and annually make inroads upon the Shoshones and the Chopunnish, whom they rob of their horses, their only wealth. The numbers of all these tribes and of all other persons inhabiting Oregon together, is supposed not to exceed twenty thousand.

Among these people missionaries of various Christian sects have long been laboring, with little profit, as it would seem, from all accounts. The Roman Catholics appear to content themselves with the administration of baptism, in which their success has been as great as could possibly have been expected; whole tribes submitting at once to the rite. The Methodists and Presbyterians are assiduously engaged in imparting a knowledge of the simplest and most useful arts, and have thus induced some of the natives to engage regularly in agricultural pursuits; but the poverty of the soil generally renders their efforts, in this way, unavailing. The last-mentioned missionaries also endeavor to convey religious and literary instruction to their pupils, through the medium of their own languages, into which books have been translated, and even printed in the country. It would, perhaps, be better to teach the natives to speak and read English. The other system has, however, been generally adopted, by the British and American missionaries, in all parts of the world.

The aborigines of the North-West Archipelago, are universally

described, as daring and ferocious in the extreme; but possessing great self-command, by means of which they conceal their intentions, until they are prepared to act. The history of the fur-trade in the North Pacific, presents innumerable instances of their cruelty and treachery, towards foreigners visiting their coasts; and many vessels have been taken by them, and all on board murdered in an instant, without the previous occurrence of anything calculated to excite suspicion. There are, also, many reasons for believing that these people are cannibals; though it seems probable, that they only eat the bodies of their enemies killed in war.

The civilized inhabitants of Oregon are, as shewn in the general view, all either citizens of the United States, or servants of the Hudson's Bay Company: the latter body enjoying, by special grant, the use, exclusive of other British subjects, of all the territories claimed by Great Britain west of the Rocky Mountains, and exercising jurisdiction, in virtue of an act of parliament, over all British subjects in those territories;* while the citizens of the United States are, as yet, independent of all authority or jurisdiction whatsoever. The Hudson's Bay Company's establishments in Oregon have been, until recently, devoted entirely to the collection of furs; but within a few years past, many farms have been laid out and worked, and large quantities of timber have been cut and sawed, and exported to the Sandwich Islands and to Mexico, for the benefit of the Company. The settlements of the Americans are all agricultural, and are on a very small scale; more than a thousand emigrants have, however, gone to that country from the United States, during the years 1842 and 1843, of whose movements and establishments no exact accounts have been yet received.

The Hudson's Bay Company's establishments west of the Rocky Mountains are called forts, and are all sufficiently fortified to resist any attacks which might be expected. They are, by the latest accounts, twenty-two in number, of which several are situated on the coasts. The furs are obtained partly by hunters and trappers in the regular service of the Company, but chiefly by trade with the Indians, who take the animals: they are sent, at stated periods, to one of the great depositories, either on the Atlantic or on the Pacific, whence they are carried to London in the vessels of the Company. The goods required for trade and for the supply of the forts, are received in the same manner; the interior transportation being performed almost entirely in boats on the rivers and lakes, between which the articles are borne on the backs of the *voyageurs*, or boatmen. In 1838, the Company em-

* See Proofs and Illustrations in the latter part of this volume, letter I, No. 3.

ployed six sail vessels, and one steamer, all armed, on the coasts of the Pacific, besides three large ships engaged in the transportation to and from London.* Of the persons in the regular service of the Company, the factors, traders, and clerks are, for the most part, Scotchmen or Canadians; the voyageurs are generally Canadians or half-breeds. The number of these servants, in the country beyond the Rocky Mountains, does not, probably, exceed four hundred; many Indians are, however, constantly employed in hunting and trapping, and as boatmen or porters.

Fort Vancouver, the principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, west of the Rocky Mountains, is situated near the north bank of the Columbia, at the distance of eighty-two miles in a direct line from its mouth, and about one hundred and twenty miles, following the course of the stream. The fort is simply a large, square, picketed enclosure, containing houses for the residence of the factor, traders, clerks and upper servants of the Company, magazines for the furs and goods, and workshops of various kinds; immediately behind it are a garden and orchard, and behind these is the farm, of about six hundred acres, with barns and all other necessary buildings. West of the fort are the hospital and houses for the *voyageurs* and Indians; about two miles lower down the river, are the dairy and piggery, with numerous herds of cattle, hogs, &c.; and about three miles above the fort are water-mills for grinding corn and sawing plank, and sheds for curing salmon. The number of persons usually attached to the post is not less than seven hundred, of whom more than half are Indians of the country, the others being natives of Great Britain (principally from Scotland and the Orkney Islands), Canadians and half-breeds. The whole establishment is governed nearly on the plan of one of the small towns of Central Europe during the middle ages; the stockade fort representing the baronial castle, in which the great dignitaries of the Company exercise almost absolute authority over their dependants.

Fort George consists merely of two or three log houses, situated on the south side of the Columbia, ten miles from its mouth, and occupying the place of a trading establishment called *Astoria*, which was founded in 1811 by the Pacific Fur Company of New York.† *Fort Umqua* is near the mouth of the Umqua River, which enters the Pacific about one hundred and eighty miles south of the Columbia, and affords a harbor to vessels drawing not more than eight feet. *Fort Nasqually* is at the mouth of a little river emptying into Puget's Sound, the southernmost part of the great

* For particular accounts of the Hudson's Bay Company's system, see page 392 of the History; and the Proofs and Illustrations under the letter I.

† For accounts of this enterprise see Chap. xiv. of the History.

arm of the Strait of Fuca, called Admiralty Inlet; near this place the Company has a large agricultural establishment, which is said to be in a prosperous condition. *Fort Langley* is at the entrance of Fraser's River, into the eastern extremity of the Strait of Fuca, in latitude of 49 degrees 25 minutes. Besides these, the Hudson's Bay Company has several forts on the channels separating the islands of the north-west Archipelago from the continent; the northernmost of which is near the mouth of the Stikine, a large river emptying into Prince Frederick's Sound, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes.

On the Columbia, above its falls, the Company has *Fort Walla-Walla* or *Nez-Percé*, near the confluence of the great northern and southern branches; *Fort Okinagan*, at the entrance of the Okinagan River into the north or main branch; *Fort Colville*, near the Kettle Falls; and some others, of less consequence. On the Lewis, or great southern branch, are *Fort Boisé*, at the mouth of the Boisé, or Reed's River, and *Fort Hall*, at the entrance of the Portneuf. North of the Columbia country, are *Fort Alexandria*, on Fraser's River, and others on the lakes which abound in that part of the continent. All these are, however, on a very small scale, and seldom contain more than two or three clerks or traders and a few Indians or half-breed hunters.

Of the American settlements in Oregon, no exact accounts have been obtained of later date than the beginning of 1843, at which time they were few and small, being indeed little more than missionary stations. The principal are those in the valley of the Willamet, then containing about a hundred Americans; another station is on the south side of the Columbia, near the Cascades; and others are at the Walla-Walla, and near Fort Colville. The whole number of citizens of the United States, thus established, did not probably exceed two hundred; they were all apparently prospering, in consequence, there is reason to believe, rather of the industry, economy, and morality of the settlers, than of any particular advantages offered by the country. The thousand and more emigrants who have since arrived in Oregon, will succeed, if any can; having been from their childhood accustomed to the labors and privations to which all must be subjected in the colonization of a new country.

The American hunters and trappers generally pursue their business, in California, near the head-waters of the Colorado River, and about the Utah Salt Lake. In the summer of each year, they assemble at one of the places of rendezvous, near the *Southern Pass*, where they exchange their furs for money and goods with the traders from Missouri.

Before terminating this sketch of the Geography of Oregon, it

will be proper to devote a small space to the regions east of the Rocky Mountains, included between that chain, and the settled parts of the continent bordering upon the Atlantic.

It has already been said, that the portion of these regions, between the 38th and the 50th parallels of latitude, near the Rocky Mountains, are almost as arid and barren as those on the other side of the chain; presenting, except in the immediate vicinity of the rivers, little else than bare rocks and sand. Across these territories flow the Missouri, and its great tributaries, the Yellow Stone and the Platte, and the upper streams of the Arkansas, falling directly into the Mississippi; all of which rise in the Rocky Mountains, near the 42d degree of latitude. Unfortunately, however, none of them seem calculated to serve as channels for transportation between the Atlantic and the Pacific territories. The Missouri and Yellow Stone each take a devious course; so that after ascending them to the furthermost parts at which they are navigable, the distance to the Oregon countries is nearly as great as from the mouth of the Platte, and the difficulties of crossing the mountains are far greater. The Platte is the most shallow of all large rivers: it passes through a country nearly level, and the annual overflow of its waters only serves to render it wider, without any increase of its depth. This is unfortunate, as its course is precisely that which should make it the most direct and advantageous line of communication between the Missouri and the Columbia: its northern branch runs from the *South Pass* in the Rocky Mountains, in latitude of 42 degrees 20 minutes, six hundred miles nearly due east, to its junction with the south branch; beyond which the river continues in the same course, three hundred miles further to its union with the Missouri.*

Along the banks of the main river and its northern branch, nature has provided a road, which, by some assistance from art at certain points, will be one of the best in the world; on it wagons now proceed with little difficulty up the Platte, and through the South Pass to the head-waters of the Colorado, there called the Green River, whence they continue northward across the ridge separating that river from the Lewis, the great south branch of the Columbia. The difficulties of the road in Oregon are greater, but they have already been partially overcome; a light carriage was several years since driven from Missouri to the Falls of the Columbia; and heavy wagons now perform the same journey. In order

* The Platte River, from its junction with the Missouri to its sources in the Wind River Mountains, has been accurately surveyed in the summer of 1842, by Lieutenant Fremont, of the United States army; whose report of the survey, accompanied by a large and beautiful map, and several views of scenery, published by order of the Senate, in 1843, is a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the geography of the central regions of the continent.

to render the route safe and comparatively easy, the American government should, without delay, cause fortified posts to be established on the Platte, at distances of about two hundred miles apart, to serve as *caravanserais* for the protection and refreshment of travellers and emigrants.

North of the 50th parallel, the climate is more moist; but its extreme coldness renders the country of little value for agriculture. The only part at which any settlement has been attempted, is that in the vicinity of the Red River of the North, where about five thousand persons, principally half-breeds and Indians, have been established by the Hudson's Bay Company; but the success of the enterprise is as yet doubtful. This whole division of America is drained by streams entering Hudson's Bay or the Arctic Sea; the principal are the *Red River of the North*, the *Assinaboin*, and the *Saskatchawine*, all emptying into Lake Winnipeg, which communicates by several channels with Hudson's Bay, and the *Mississippi* or *Churchill's* River, falling directly into that bay; while the Arctic Sea receives, nearly under the 69th parallel of latitude, *Back's* or the great *Fish River*, the *Coppermine* and the *Mackenzie*, which latter carries off the waters from a territory almost equal in extent to that drained by the Columbia. The regions through which these rivers pass are generally so level that it is in many places difficult to trace the limits of the tracts from which the waters flow into the respective streams or basins: they contain numerous lakes, some of them very large, which are nearly all connected with each other, and with Hudson's Bay on the west, and the Arctic Sea on the north; and the head-waters of the rivers supplying these reservoirs are situated in the vicinity of the sources of the Mississippi, or those of the Missouri, or of the Columbia, or of the streams falling into Lake Superior. The rivers above-named are all navigable for great distances by boats, and they thus afford considerable advantages for commercial intercourse, which are not neglected by the British traders; goods being now transported across the continent from the mouth of the Columbia to Hudson's Bay or to Montreal, and *vise versa*, almost entirely by water. The principal pass in the Rocky Mountains, north of the 43d degree of latitude, through which all the communications between Canada and Hudson's Bay on the one side, and the Columbia on the other, are conducted, is that near the 53d degree, in which the northernmost source of the Columbia and the westernmost of the Athabasca are situated, as already mentioned.

RUSSIAN AMERICA.

Russia claims, as already stated, in virtue of the discoveries and settlements of her subjects, and of treaties with the United States and Great Britain, all the Pacific coasts and islands of America north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and the whole of the continent west of the 141st meridian of longitude west from Greenwich, which line passes through Mount Saint Elias. This power also claims the whole Asiatic coast of the Pacific, north of the 51st parallel, and all the islands of the Kurile group north of the southernmost point of one of them, called Urup, in the latitude of 45 degrees 50 minutes.

Of the interior of the part of the American Continent possessed by Russia, little is known. Several rivers flow from it, which have been traced to considerable distances; but the country has not been generally explored, and from all accounts, it does not seem to merit the labor and expense which would be required for that purpose, as it presents, wherever it has been examined, nothing but mountains of rocks, snow and ice. The coasts of the continent, and the islands, have all been carefully surveyed; and, with the exception of those on the Arctic Sea, very little remains to be learned about their geography. Of all these territories only small portions of some of the islands are fit for agriculture, or for any purpose useful to man, except fishing and hunting, for which objects exclusively are they frequented by people of civilized nations.

The direction and use of all these islands and parts of the American Continent, was, in 1779, granted by the emperor of Russia, for twenty years, to a great commercial association, entitled the Russian American Company, whose charter has been successively renewed, in 1819 and 1839, for the same length of time, in each case. The inhabitants of the Kurile and Aleutian Archipelagoes, and of the large island of Kodiak on the east side of the Peninsula of Aliaska, are regarded as the immediate sub-

jects of this company; in the service of which, every man between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, may be required to pass at least three years. The natives of the country adjacent to the two great bays, called Cook's Inlet and Prince William's Sound, are also under the control of the company, and are obliged to pay an annual tax in furs and skins, though they are not compelled to enter the regular service. All the other aborigines are regarded as independent, except that they are not allowed to trade with any other people than those of the Russian American Company. In 1836, the number of the Russians in the company's territories, was seven hundred and thirty; the native subjects of the company were fourteen hundred and forty-two creoles, or children of Russian fathers, by women of the country, and about eleven thousand aborigines of the Kurile, Aleutian and Kodiak Islands. The population of the other parts of these dominions, cannot be ascertained, but it must necessarily be very small when compared with the extent of the surface.

The establishments of the Russian American Company are devoted exclusively to the objects of the fur-trade. They consist of towns, forts, and factories, or trading posts, all situated on the coasts of the continent, or of the islands south of the 64th parallel, and are about twenty-six in number. The furs and skins are collected, either by hunters and fishermen in the regular service of the company, or as taxes from its subjects, or by trade with the independent aborigines; and they are transported in the company's vessels from the principal places of deposit to Petropawlowsk in Kamtchatka, or to Ochotsk in Siberia, or by special permission of the Chinese government, to Canton, or sometimes to Europe: the supplies for the establishments, being received chiefly from Europe and Asia, by the same vessels. The number of vessels belonging to the company in 1840 was twelve, measuring together fifteen hundred and sixty-five tons.

The Russian American territories are divided into six districts, each of which is under the direction of an agent; and they are all superintended by a governor-general, residing at *Sitka*, the capital of these possessions.

The *District of Sitka* comprehends all the coasts of the continent, south and east of Mount Saint Elias, as far as the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, together with the adjacent islands of the north-west Archipelago north of the same parallel. The continental coasts, opposite these islands, have, however, been leased by the Russian American Company, to the Hudson's Bay Company, for the term of ten years, from the first of June, 1840, in consideration of an annual payment of two thousand seal skins to the former body. This arrangement was made in consequence

of a dispute between the parties, with regard to the right of navigating the river *Stikine*, which enters the sea from the continent, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes, and is said to be navigable to a great distance into the interior.

The northernmost group of islands of the north-west Archipelago, thus belonging to Russia, comprises six large, and many small islands, separated from each other and from the main land, by narrow but generally navigable channels. The large islands are — the *Prince of Wales's Island*, extending on the Pacific from the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, to that of 56 degrees 25 minutes, and the *Duke of York's* and *Revillagigedo Island*, between it and the continent, on the west — farther north, on the open ocean, the *Islands of King George the Third*, the largest and most southern of which is called *Baranof's Island*, and the northern, *Tchichagof's Island* — and east of these latter, *Admiralty Island*, *Douglas Island*, and some others of less extent.

Opposite the western end of the channel, separating Baranof's from Tchichagof's Island, is a small island, consisting of a single and beautiful conical peak, rising from the ocean, which received from its Spanish discoverers, in 1775, the name of *Mount San Jacinto*, but is better known by the English appellation of *Mount Edgecumb*; a narrow passage, called *Norfolk Sound*, separates it from Baranof's Island, on the shore of which stands *Sitka* or *New Archangel*, the capital of Russian America. This is a small town of wooden houses, covered mostly with iron, protected, or rather overlooked by batteries, and inhabited by about a thousand persons, of whom nearly one half are Russians, the majority of the others being Creoles. Attached to the establishment are a hospital, a ship-yard, a foundry, and shops for various mechanical employments. Sitka, moreover, though thus remote from all civilized countries, contains several schools, in which the children are instructed at the expense of the company, a library of two thousand volumes, a cabinet of natural history, and an observatory, in which are the instruments most necessary for astronomical and magnetic observations.

The District of Kodiak comprises all the coasts from the north-west Archipelago northward and westward to the southern extremity of the Peninsula of Aliaska, and the adjacent islands, as also a portion of the coast of the Sea of Kamtchatka, on the north-west side of Aliaska. The largest island is *Kodiak*, situated near the east coast of Aliaska, from which it is separated by the *Strait of Schelikof*; on its north-east side is *St. Pauls*, an inconsiderable place, formerly the capital of Russian America. North of Kodiak, a great arm of the ocean, called by the English *Cook's Inlet*, and by the Russians the *Gulf of Kenay*, stretches northwardly into the con-

tinent from the latitude of 59 degrees to that of 61 degrees 20 minutes; east of which, and separated from it by a peninsula, is another great bay, filled with islands, called *Prince William's Sound* by the English, and the *Gulf of Tschugatsch* by the Russians. Each of these bays was minutely examined by Cook in 1778, and by Vancouver in 1794, in search of a passage leading to the Alantic; and several good harbors were thus found in them, on which the Russians have formed trading establishments.

About a hundred miles east of Prince William's Sound, *Mount Saint Elias*, the highest peak in North America, rises nearly eighteen thousand feet in perpendicular elevation from the shore of the Pacific, under the parallel of 61 degrees, surrounded by mountains, also of great height. Farther south-east is another stupendous peak, called *Mount Fairweather;* and many lofty pinnacles, all volcanoes or of volcanic formation, may be seen from the coasts of Prince William's Sound and Cook's Inlet, and in the Peninsula of Aliaska. At the foot of Mount Saint Elias, on the east, is *Admiralty* or *Bering's Bay*, in which the unfortunate navigator, Bering, is believed to have first anchored during his voyage from Kamtchatka to America in 1741. On the western side of the base of Mount Saint Elias is *Comptroller's Bay*, into which empties the *Copper River*, the only large stream flowing into that part of the Pacific.

The Northern or *Michaelof District*, includes all the coasts and islands of America on the Sea of Kamtchatka, north of Bristol Bay; on which, however, the only establishments are those situated on the shores of the great Gulf called *Norton's Sound*. The principal post is *Fort Saint Michael* on the south-east side of *Norton's Sound*, near *Stuart's Island*, to which furs, skins, oil and ivory are brought by the Esquimaux and Tchukskies, from the large islands near Bering's Straits, and even from the coasts of the Arctic Sea. From this part of the American coasts several expeditions have been recently made by the Russians into the interior, in which two large rivers have been discovered and traced to a considerable distance from their mouths; these are the *Kwickpak*, entering the Sea of Kamtchatka, near the 63d degree of latitude, and the *Kuskokwim*, falling into the same sea, under the 60th parallel.

Aliaska is a long and generally narrow peninsula, stretching south-westward from the continent, which it joins under the 59th parallel, to the latitude of 54 1-2 degrees; it is simply a chain of volcanic mountains, running through the Pacific. About its southern extremity on the east is the small group of the *Schumagin Islands*, so named from one of Bering's crew, who died there in 1741; and from the same extremity, as if in continuation of the

peninsula, a line of volcanic islands forming the *Aleutian Archipelago*, stretches westward across the ocean, to the vicinity of the opposite Asiatic Peninsula of Kamtchatka.

The District of Unalashka includes the westernmost of the Aleutian, called the *Fox Islands*, among which are *Unimak*, *Unalashka* and *Umnak*, the largest of the Archipelago; as also the *Pribulow Islands*, lying a little farther north, on the west side of Aliaska. The principal settlement of the Russians is *Illiluk*, on the bay of *Samagoondha*, on the north-east side of Unalashka, which is also the residence of a bishop of the Greek church.

The District of Atcha comprises the remainder of the Aleutian Islands, which are all small, and are divided into three groups; the *Rat*, the *Andreanowsky*, and the *Commodore Islands*. The westernmost of the last named group, near the coast of Kamtchatka, bears the name of *Bering's Isle*, in commemoration of the shipwreck and death of Bering, which took place there in the winter of 1741, while he was on his return from the American coast.

The *Sea of Kamtchatka* or *Bering's Sea*, is the division of the Pacific, extending from the Aleutian Islands, northward to *Bering's Strait*; it contains many islands, some of them large, but all uninhabitable. Bering's Strait, fifty-one miles in width, between *Cape Prince of Wales*, the north-western extremity of America, and *East Cape* or *Tchukotskoi Ross*, the north-easternmost point of Asia, in latitude of 65 1-2 degrees, forms the only northern communication between the waters of the Pacific and those of the Arctic Sea; and through it, consequently, must pass any vessel which may succeed in effecting a northern voyage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or *vice versa*.

The part of Asia west of the Sea of Kamtchatka, like that of America on its eastern side, is a waste of rocks, covered almost always with snow; and is traversed by a great chain of volcanic mountains, extending southward, through the sea, to the 51st parallel, and thus forming the peninsula of Kamtchatka. The only place in Kamtchatka, worthy of notice here, is *Petropawlowsk* or *Petropaulski*, or *the Harbor of Peter and Paul*, situated on the north side of the *Bay of Avatscha*, which joins the Pacific in the latitude of 53 degrees 58 minutes; it is a small town, containing not more than a thousand inhabitants. The part of the sea west of Kamtchatka, is called the *Gulf of Ochotsk*; at its north-eastern extremity, stands *Ochotsk*, another small town, which shares with Petropawlowsk, the trade of the Russian American coasts. Southward from Kamtchatka, are the Kurile Islands, and south of these the Japan Islands, all parts of the same volcanic system of mountains.

HISTORY

OF

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,

AND

THE OTHER COUNTRIES

ON THE

NORTH-WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

HISTORY

OF

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,

ETC.

CHAPTER I.

To 1543.

Preliminary Observations — Efforts of the Spaniards to discover Western Passages to India — Successive Discoveries of the West Indies, the North American Continent, the Eastern Passage to India, Brazil, and the Pacific Ocean — Search for a navigable Passage connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans — Supposed Discovery of such a Passage, called the *Strait of Anian* — Discovery of Magellan's Strait and the Western Passage to India — Conquest of Mexico by Cortés, who endeavors to discover new Countries farther north-west — Voyages of Maldonado, Hurtado de Mendoza, Grijalva, and Becerra — Discovery of California — Expedition of Cortés to California — Pretended Discoveries of Friar Marcos de Niza — Voyages of Ulloa, Alarcon, and Cabrillo — Expeditions of Coronado and Soto — The Spaniards desist from their Efforts to explore the North-West Coasts of America.

THE western coasts of North America were first explored by the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century. In order to convey a clear idea of the circumstances which led to their discovery, as well as of the claims and pretensions based upon it, a general view will be here presented of the proceedings and objects of Europeans with regard to the New World, from the period when its existence was ascertained, to that in which the exploration of its north-west coasts was begun.

The islands found by Columbus, in his voyage across the Atlantic in 1492, were supposed to be situated in the immediate vicinity of Asia, the eastern limits of which were then unknown; and their discovery was the result of endeavors to reach, by a western course, the shores of India, from which Europe chiefly derived its gold, silks, precious stones, and spices, and those of China and Japan, of the wealth of which empires vague accounts had been brought by travellers.

With the same objects in view, the Portuguese had been long engaged in exploring the Atlantic coast of Africa southward and eastward, in search of some channel or sea, by which their ships

might enter the Indian Ocean; being encouraged in their exertions by the Bull of Pope Nicholas V., issued in 1454, assuring to them the exclusive rights of navigation, trade, fishery, and conquest, in all seas and countries which they might find in that course, not before occupied by a Christian prince or people. They had, however, not reached the southern extremity of Africa when Columbus returned from his first voyage across the Atlantic; and, immediately afterwards, the united Spanish sovereigns procured from Pope Alexander VI. Bulls, granting to them and their successors, forever, exclusive privileges with regard to the seas and countries which might be found by navigating towards the west, similar to those conferred on the Portuguese, as to seas and countries east of the Atlantic.

Upon these extraordinary commissions, as bases, was founded the celebrated *Treaty of Partition of the Ocean*, concluded at Tordesillas, on the 7th of June, 1494, between the sovereigns of Spain and the king of Portugal, then the greatest maritime powers of Europe. By this treaty, the Portuguese were to enjoy and possess the exclusive rights of discovery, trade, conquest, and dominion, in all the seas and territories not previously belonging to a Christian prince or people, east of a meridian line passing three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands; and the Spaniards were to possess the same rights, in all seas and all pagan lands west of that line; no provision being made for the contingency of the meeting of the parties proceeding in these opposite directions. The two nations having thus, under the guaranty of the highest authority recognized in Europe, settled the conditions on which they were to appropriate to themselves, respectively, nearly all the sea and nearly all the land on the globe, without regard for the wishes or claims of any other people, each continued its search for a navigable passage to India, generally, though not always, within the limits assigned to it.

In this search the Portuguese were soon successful; for, in 1499, they sailed around the southern extremity of Africa, to India, where they established their dominion or their influence over many of those regions. They also, about the same time, obtained possession of Brazil, the coasts of which were found to extend east of the meridian of partition, to the great regret and constant annoyance of the Spaniards, who had hoped, by the treaty of 1494, to secure to themselves the exclusive sovereignty of all the countries on the western side of the Atlantic.

The English, however, disregarding the Papal prohibitions, immediately entered the career of discovery in the west; and, under their flag, John Cabot, first of all Europeans, reached the American continent in 1497. They were soon followed by the French, who, during the early part of the sixteenth century, made numerous expeditions across the Atlantic; and the Portuguese, notwithstanding the restrictions of the treaty of partition, also endeavored to find a passage to India in the same direction. It was, indeed, long believed that Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese navigator, who explored the coasts of Labrador in 1499 and 1500, had actually sailed through a narrow channel, named by him the *Strait of Anian*,* westward from the Atlantic, nearly in the course of the 58th parallel of latitude, into another great sea, communicating with the Indian Ocean. This channel may have been the same, now called *Hudson's Strait*, connecting the Atlantic with Hudson's Bay, the discovery of which is generally attributed to Sebastian Cabot; it was certainly known as the *Strait of Labrador* long before its entrance by the navigator whose name it bears. The belief in the existence of such a *north-west passage* to India, joining the Atlantic in the position assigned to the mouth of Cortereal's Strait of Anian, caused many voyages to be made to the coasts of northern America, on both sides, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and many false reports to be circulated of the discovery of the desired channel; the effects of which reports, in promoting the exploration of those coasts, will be hereafter shown.

* "It is stated in several collections of voyages, that the name of *Anian* was given to the strait supposed to have been discovered by Gaspar Cortereal, in honor of two brothers, who accompanied him; but there are no grounds for such a supposition. * * In the earliest maps, *Ania* is marked as the name of the north-westernmost part of America. *Ani*, in the Japanese language, is said to signify *brother;* hence, probably, the mistake." (Chronological History of Voyages in the Arctic Regions, by John Barrow, page 45.)—In an article on the subject of a north-west passage, in the London Quarterly Review for October, 1816, supposed to have been written by Barrow, it is asserted that Cortereal "named the Strait of Anian, not in honor of two brothers who accompanied him, but *because he deemed it to be the eastern extremity of a strait whose western end, opening into the Pacific, had already received that name.*" The value of this assertion may be estimated from the fact, that *the ocean on the western side of America was not discovered by Europeans until thirteen years after Cortereal's voyage and death.* The review abounds in similar errors.

Many of the most important errors in Barrow's Chronological History have been exposed by Mr. R. Biddle, in his admirable Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, to which the reader is referred for the most exact accounts, so far as they can be obtained, of these early voyages to the north-west coasts of the Atlantic. A concise and clear view of the results of these voyages will be found in the first chapter of Bancroft's History of the United States.

The Spaniards were, in the mean time, assiduously engaged in planting colonies in the countries newly found by them beyond the Atlantic, to which they gave the collective name of *West Indies*,* and in exploring the coasts in the vicinity of the islands first discovered, which were soon ascertained to be the borders of a vast continent. How far south this continent extended, and whether it was united, in the north, with Asia, or with the territories seen in that direction by the English and the Portuguese, remained to be determined; and, with those objects, the Spaniards persevered in their examinations, in which they were, moreover, encouraged by the constant assurances of the natives of the coasts and islands, respecting the existence of a great sea, and rich and powerful nations, towards the setting sun.

In 1513, this great sea was discovered, near the spot where Panamà now stands, by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the governor of the Spanish colony of Darien. It was naturally supposed to be the Southern Ocean, which bathed the shores of India; and, as its proximity to the Atlantic was at the same time ascertained, encouragement was afforded for the hope that the two great waters would be found connected in a position the most favorable for navigation between Europe and Asia. The examinations of the Spaniards were, in consequence, directed particularly to the coasts of the Isthmus of Darien, and were conducted with great zeal and perseverance, until the entire separation of the two oceans by land, in that quarter, had been proved. These researches were, however, also continued both north and south of the isthmus, until, at length, in 1520, Fernando Magalhaens, or Magellan, a Portuguese, in the naval service of Spain, discovered and sailed through the strait now bearing his name, into the sea found by Balboa, over which he pursued his voyage westward to India.

The great geographical question, as to the circumnavigation of the globe, was thus solved, though not in a manner entirely satisfactory to the Spaniards. The Strait of Magellan was intricate, and

* The name *America* was first applied to Brazil about the year 1508, either by Vespucci himself, or by Waldseemuller, a schoolmaster of the Vosges, (better known by his assumed appellation of *Hylacomylus*,) and was afterwards extended to the whole western continent. The Spaniards, however, carefully avoided the use of it in all their official documents and histories, in not one of which, anterior to the middle of the last century, can it be found. It was, in fact, a rule of Spanish policy never to allow the names of individuals, except of saints, to be applied to places in their dominions. We look in vain, on the maps of Spanish America, for memorials of Columbus, of Cortes, of Pizarro, and even of the royal Ferdinands, Charleses, or Philips; while the whole calendar of saints is exhausted on every province

the passage through it was attended with great difficulties and dangers; besides which, it was itself almost as far from Europe as India by the eastern route. Other and more direct channels of communication between the Atlantic and the Southern Ocean might, indeed, be discovered: but the latter sea was found to be infinitely wider than had been supposed; and, although the part of it crossed by Magellan was so little disturbed by storms that he was induced to name it the *Pacific Ocean*, yet he also observed that the winds blew over it invariably from eastern points. These circumstances depressed the hopes of the Spaniards with respect to the establishment of their power in Southern Asia, though they continued their expeditions to that part of the world by way of Magellan's Strait, and their search for new passages into the Pacific. Their expeditions to India brought them into collision with the Portuguese,* who had already made several settlements in the Molucca Islands, and had obtained from the Chinese, in 1518, the possession, under certain qualifications, of the important port of Macao, near Canton; and many bloody conflicts took place, in consequence, between the subjects of those nations, in that distant quarter of the world, as well as many angry disputes between their governments, before the questions of right at issue could be settled.

In the mean time, other events occurred, which consoled the Spaniards for their disappointments with regard to India, and caused them to direct their attention more particularly to the New World.

Before the period of the departure of Magellan on his expedition, the Spaniards had, in fact, derived from their discoveries beyond the Atlantic but few of the advantages which they anticipated. They had found and taken possession of countries

* Spain claimed the exclusive navigation, trade, and conquest, westward, to the extremity of the peninsula of Malacca, so as to include all the Molucca Islands and China; while the Portuguese insisted on exercising the same privileges, without competition, eastward as far as the Ladrone Islands; each on the ground that the meridian of partition, settled with regard to the Atlantic, in 1494, would, if continued on the other side of the globe, pass in such a manner as to place the portions claimed by itself within its own hemisphere. The question was discussed between the two courts directly, and by their commissioners who met at Badajos in 1523, but without arriving at any definite arrangement. At length, on the 22d of April, 1529, a treaty was concluded at Saragossa, by the terms of which the king of Spain sold all his rights to the Moluccas to the king of Portugal for 350,000 ducats of gold, ($3,080,000,) with the proviso that the latter might, by repaying the sum, be at liberty again to urge those rights. The sum was never repaid, and Spain did not again claim the islands; though, for a long period afterwards, the Spanish empire was represented on Spanish maps as extending westward to the extremity of Malacca.

extensive, rich in mines, productive in soil, and delightful in climate, but uncultivated, and thinly peopled by savages, who could neither by gentle nor by violent means be induced to labor regularly for others or for themselves; and, although the want of a working population was in part supplied by the introduction of negro slaves from Africa, there was little prospect that Spain would ever be much benefited by these distant colonies. While Magellan's ships were on their western route to India, however, the wealthy and powerful empire of Mexico, which had been discovered in 1518 by a party of Spaniards from Cuba, was conquered by Hernando Cortés; and Spain immediately became the richest nation of Europe. The reports of the brilliant results of this conquest drew to the West Indies crowds of adventurers, all eager to acquire wealth and renown by similar means; who, uniting in bands, under daring and experienced captains, ranged through both the western continents, seeking mines of precious metals to work, or rich nations to plunder. In this manner Peru was subjugated by Pizarro and his followers before 1535; the other expeditions were fruitless, as respects the principal objects in view, while, in the course of them, many distant shores and interior regions were explored, which would otherwise, perhaps, not have been visited for centuries. The acts of these demon heroes are recorded with minuteness in the stirring pages of the chronicles of their day; and curious narratives of several of their expeditions, written by persons engaged in them, have been preserved by the assiduity of Spanish, Italian, English, and Dutch collectors of historical tracts.

The desire to discover new passages of communication for vessels between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, was also a strong motive for the expeditions of the Spaniards along the coasts of the New World; and no one pursued this search with more zeal and perseverance than Hernando Cortés. Scarcely had he established the authority of his sovereign in Mexico, than he commenced the exploration of the adjoining seas and countries, with that object, as well as with the hope of finding other rich nations to subdue; and in such enterprises he spent a great portion of his time and resources, during his residence in America. In prosecution of his plans, chiefly, the long and in most places narrow territory, connecting Mexico with the southern continent, was carefully examined, until it had been ascertained that the two seas were separated by land throughout the whole extent. He, at the same

time, employed vessels in surveying the coasts of the Mexican Gulf, and those of the Atlantic, farther north; and he built others on the Pacific side, for similar purposes, two of which he sent, as early as 1526, to the East Indies, in aid of the armaments despatched thither from Spain, under Loyasa.*

The first expedition made by the Spaniards along the Pacific coasts, westward from Mexico, was conducted by Pedro Nuñez Maldonado, one of the officers of Cortés, who sailed from the mouth of the River of Zacatula in July, 1528, and passed nearly six months in surveying the shores between that point and the mouth of the River of Santiago, about a hundred leagues farther northwest. The territory of which this coast formed the southern border was then called Xalisco; it was entirely unknown to the Europeans, and was inhabited by fierce tribes of savages, who had never been subdued by the Mexicans. Maldonado brought back flattering accounts of its fertility, and of the abundance of precious metals in its interior, which did not fail to excite the attention of his employer, as well as of others among their countrymen.

Cortés was at that time in Spain, whither he had gone in 1528, chiefly with the object of obtaining some more definite recognition of his powers and rights in the New World than had been hitherto granted. He was received at Madrid with the most signal honors by his sovereign, the celebrated emperor Charles V.; and, on his return to Mexico, he carried with him patents, confirming him as captain-general of that country, then called New Spain, and creating him a grandee of Castile, with the title of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca; to which was attached the possession of vast tracts of country in America, including the port of Tehuantepec, on the Pacific. He also procured from the emperor a capitulation, or charter, empowering him to discover and conquer any islands in the

* The accounts of the early Spanish expeditions of discovery on the North Pacific side of America, contained in the present chapter, are derived from — the published letters of Cortés, and a number of letters and reports from him and other Spanish commanders, hitherto unpublished, copies of which, made from the originals in Madrid, were kindly placed at the disposition of the writer by W. H. Prescott, of Boston, the accomplished author of the Histories of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of the Conquest of Mexico — the Historia General de las Indias, by Herrera — the Cronica de Nueva España, by Gomara — the Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, by Bernal Dias — the Raccolte de Viaggi, by Ramusio — the Collection of Voyages and Discoveries, by Hakluyt — the History of Voyages in the Pacific, by Burney — and the Introduction to the Journal of the Voyage made, in 1792, by Captains Galiano and Valdes, in the Spanish schooners Sutil and Mexicana, published at Madrid, by order of the government, in 1802, to which references will also be frequently made in the succeeding chapters.

Pacific, or other countries west of Mexico, not within the limits assigned to any other Spanish governor; of which countries he and his heirs forever were to enjoy the government, and one twelfth of all the precious metals, pearls, and other advantages therefrom accruing, on condition of their treating the natives with kindness, and endeavoring to convert them to the Christian faith. The politic Charles did not, however, intrust such extensive powers to one so capable and ambitious as Cortés, without at the same time providing certain checks, by means of which the conqueror of Mexico might be effectually prevented from using his faculties for any other ends than enlarging the dominions of the crown of Castile. The expenses of all his expeditions were to be borne by himself; and he could do little, if any thing, without the assent of the Audiencia, or Royal Court and Board of Administration, established at Mexico, the members of which were chosen from among his most bitter enemies.

The only governor in the New World with whose claims Cortés might have been supposed to interfere, by expeditions westward from Mexico, was Nuño de Guzman, the president of the Audiencia, who had obtained from the emperor the government of Panuco, the country on the Gulf of Mexico surrounding the spot now occupied by the town of Tampico, and also that of Xalisco, of which he had received accounts from Maldonado and other adventurers. This person, one of the same stamp with Pizarro and Davila, had been assiduously engaged in undermining the authority and influence of Cortés; and no sooner did he learn that his rival was returning to Mexico as captain-general, than he assembled all the troops under his command in the capital, and marched for Xalisco, where he remained many years, subduing the country, and exterminating its aboriginal inhabitants.

Cortés thus, on his arrival in Mexico in July, 1530, found himself deprived of the means not only of making expeditions of discovery, but also of maintaining his authority in the kingdom; and he was obliged to wait two years before he could send a single vessel out on the Pacific. At length, by the middle of the year 1532, he had two ships ready for sea, which he determined to despatch on an exploratory voyage, along the western coast, whilst the others were in progress of construction at Tehuantepec.

At that period, the whole eastern coast of the American continent had been explored, but imperfectly by European navigators; though no part of the interior, north of Mexico and the countries in its

immediate vicinity, was known. The northernmost points occupied by the Spaniards were, — on the Atlantic side, Panuco, within a few miles of the Mexican Gulf, — and, on the Pacific side, Culiacan, which was founded by Nuño de Guzman, in 1530, at the entrance of the Gulf of California. Beyond Culiacan, towards the north and the west, the lands and the seas were entirely unexplored; and between that place and the civilized portion of Mexico, extended a wide space of uncultivated country, including Xalisco, which was called, by the Spaniards, New Galicia. The ports occupied by the Spaniards on the Pacific side of Mexico, were Tehuantepec, the most eastern, at which Cortés had his arsenals and ship-yards; Acapulco, the principal place of trade, and the nearest to the capital; and Zacatula, and Aguatlan, on the confines of Xalisco, beyond which the coasts were little known.

Before entering upon the history of the Spanish discoveries on the North Pacific side of America, it should be observed, that the accounts of these and other expeditions by sea, made at that period, which have descended to us, are very obscure and inexact, especially as regards geographical positions; so that it is generally difficult, and often impossible, to identify places by means of the descriptions given in them. This arises partly from the circumstance, that the accounts were nearly all written by priests, clerks, or other persons unacquainted with naval matters, who paid little attention to latitudes, longitudes, courses, and bearings, and were unable to record them properly; and partly from the imperfection of the instruments then employed to determine the altitudes and relative distances of the heavenly bodies, which, even on land, and under the most favorable conditions of the atmosphere, gave results far from accurate, and were entirely useless in a vessel on a rough sea, or in cloudy weather. This uncertainty as to the positions of places necessarily leads to confusion respecting their names; and we accordingly find, in the account of each of these voyages along the same portion of the coast, a nomenclature of capes, bays, and islands, almost entirely different from that contained in the narratives of all the other voyages.

The expedition of discovery, made, by order of Cortés, to the coasts north-west of Mexico, in 1532, was conducted by his kinsman, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who sailed from Tehuantepec in July of that year, with two vessels, one commanded by himself, the other by Juan de Mazuela. In the instructions drawn up by Cortés, of which a copy has been preserved, Mendoza was directed to sail within sight of the coast, and, at all convenient places, to land, and

communicate with the natives, whom he was to conciliate by every means in his power. Should he find a country which seemed to be rich, or inhabited by civilized persons, he was immediately to return, or to send back one of his vessels, with the news.* Hurtado de Mendoza accordingly proceeded slowly along the shore of the continent, as far north-west as the 27th degree of latitude, where, finding his crew mutinous, he sent back one of his vessels, with the greater part of his men, and continued the voyage, with a small crew, in the other. The vessel sent back reached Culiacan River in great distress, and was there deserted by nearly all her men. Her commander then endeavored, with the remainder of his crew, to carry her to Acapulco: but she was stranded at the mouth of the River of Vanderas, near the point now called Cape Corrientes, and all on board, with the exception of three, were put to death by the natives of the country, after which the vessel was seized and plundered by Nuño de Guzman. As to the vessel in which Mendoza continued his voyage, a vague account was received, that she had been thrown on the coast far north, and that all her crew had perished.

Cortés did not receive the news of the loss of the vessel which had been sent back by Hurtado de Mendoza until the middle of the following year; and he then immediately despatched two ships from Tehuantepec, in search of the other vessel, under the command, respectively, of Hernando Grijalva and Diego Becerra. These ships left the port together, on the 30th of September, 1533, but were soon after separated. Grijalva, going far out, discovered a group of islands situated about fifty leagues from the coast, named by him *Islands of St. Thomas*, (the same now called the *Revillagigedo Islands*,) where he remained until the following spring, and then returned to Acapulco, without having seen any new part of the continent. Becerra, with the other ship, took his course north-westward along the shore of Xalisco, near which his crew mutinied, and he was murdered by the pilot, Fortuño Ximenes. The mutineers, under the command of the pilot, then steered directly west from the main-land, and soon reached a coast not before known, on which they landed, after anchoring their ship in a small bay, near the 23d degree of latitude. There, more than twenty of their number, including Ximenes, were

* Herrera, Decade v. book vii. — Manuscript letters and memorials from Cortés to the emperor, in 1539 and 1540; and from Nuño de Guzman, in 1535 and 1540.

killed by the natives; the survivors succeeded in carrying the vessel over to the little harbor of Chiametla, in Xalisco, where she also was seized by Nuño de Guzman.

These attempts of Cortés to make discoveries in the north-west, had, in the mean time, excited Nuño de Guzman to efforts with the same object; and he had sent several parties of men in that direction, one of which appears to have traced the western shore of the continent as far as the mouth of the river now called the *Colorado*, and to have first brought accounts of rich and populous countries and splendid cities in the interior. Guzman had also received large accessions to his forces from Mexico, and was making many settlements, one of which soon prospered, and became, in time, the city of Guadalaxara, the second in size in New Spain.

When Cortés became assured of the seizure of his vessels by Guzman, he addressed a complaint on the subject to the Audiencia; whose decision being, however, not so determinate in his favor as he wished, he assembled a large body of troops, and marched with them to Chiametla, where he also ordered three vessels to be sent from Tehuantepec. On the approach of these forces, Guzman advanced to meet them, but no action ensued; and Cortés, having been joined at Chiametla by his vessels, embarked in them, with a portion of his men, and set sail for the new country, found by Ximenes in the west, which was said to abound in the finest pearls. On the 3d of May, 1535, the day of the *Invention of the Holy Cross*, according to the Roman Catholic calendar, the squadron anchored in the bay, on the shore of which the murderers of Becerra had met their fate in the preceding year; and, in honor of the day, the name of *Santa Cruz* was bestowed on the place, of which possession was solemnly taken for the Spanish sovereign.

The country thus claimed by Cortés for Spain, was the south-east part of the great peninsula, which projects from the American continent on the Pacific side, in nearly the same direction, and between nearly the same parallels of latitude, as that of Florida on the Atlantic side. It soon after received the name of *California*, respecting the origin and meaning of which, many speculations — none of them satisfactory or even ingenious — have been offered. The bay called Santa Cruz by Cortés was probably the same now known as *Port La Paz*, about a hundred miles from the Pacific, near the 24th degree of latitude; though some accounts place it in the immediate vicinity of the southernmost point of the peninsula.

On the shore of this bay, surrounded by bare mountains of rock, arid and forbidding in appearance, though not more so than the sandy waste about Vera Cruz, Cortés landed with a hundred and thirty men and forty horses, and then sent back two of his vessels to Chiametla, to bring over the remainder of the forces; hoping to find, in the interior of the new country, another Mexico, in the conquest of which he might employ his powerful energies. The vessels soon reappeared, with a portion of the troops, and were again despatched to the Mexican coast, from which only one of them returned, the other having been wrecked on her way. Cortés thereupon embarked, with seventy men, for Xalisco, from which he came back, after encountering the greatest dangers, just in time to prevent the total destruction by famine of those left at Santa Cruz.

In these operations, more than a year was consumed, without obtaining any promise of advantage. The new country, so far as it had been explored, was utterly barren, and, except that a few pearls were found on the coast, destitute of all attraction for the Spaniards. The officers of the expedition were discontented: of the men, a number had died from want and disease; the others were mutinous, and cursed "Cortés, his island, his bay, and his discovery."*

Meanwhile his wife, becoming alarmed by the reports of the ill success of the expedition, which had reached Mexico, sent a vessel to Santa Cruz, with letters entreating his immediate return; and he, at the same time, learned that he had been superseded in the government of New Spain by Don Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank and character, who had already made his entrance into the capital as viceroy.

The removal of Cortés from the government of the country which had, by his means, been added to the dominions of Spain, was a heavy blow; particularly as he was, at that moment, much embarrassed from want of funds, his private property having been seriously injured by the expenses of his recent expeditions, from which no advantage had been obtained. He was, in consequence, obliged to return to Mexico, where he arrived in the beginning of 1537, and, soon after, to recall from Santa Cruz his lieutenant, Francisco de Ulloa, with the forces which had been left there; and, not being able, at the time, to employ his vessels, he sent two of them, under Grijalva, to Peru, laden with arms, ammunition, and provisions, in

* Bernal Dias, chap. 199.

aid of his friend Francisco Pizarro, who was then in great difficulties, from an extensive insurrection of the natives.*

Cortés, nevertheless, still claimed the right, in virtue of his capitulation with the sovereign, and as admiral of the South Sea, to make expeditions on that ocean for his own benefit; and he resolved to prosecute the discovery of California, by which he still expected to retrieve his fortunes, so soon as he could obtain the requisite funds. The advancement of this claim, however, brought him into collision with the new viceroy, who was an enlightened and determined man, and who had likewise become interested in the exploration of the regions north-west of Mexico, by the accounts of some persons recently arrived from that quarter; and a violent controversy ensued between the two chiefs, which lasted until the conqueror quitted Mexico.

The persons from whom the viceroy Mendoza received this information respecting the territories north-west of Mexico, were Alvaro Nuñez de Cabeza-Vaca, two other Spaniards, and a negro or Moor. They had landed, in 1527, near Tampa Bay, in the peninsula of Florida, among the adventurers who invaded that country under Panfilo Narvaez, in search of mines and plunder; and, after the destruction of their comrades by shipwreck, starvation, and the arrows of the Indians, they had wandered for nine years through forests and deserts, until they reached Culiacan, whence they were sent on to Mexico. Of their route, it is impossible to form any exact idea from the narrative published by Cabeza-Vaca: he had seen no signs of wealth or civilization in the regions which he had traversed; but he had, in many places, received from the natives accounts of rich and populous countries, inhabited by civilized people, situated farther north-west; and the viceroy, after hearing these accounts, thought proper to endeavor to ascertain the

* A long account of the adventures of Cortés, in his Californian expedition, may be found in Herrera, Decade viii. book viii. chap. ix. and x. The descriptions of the localities given by Herrera, and other historians, are, however, so vague, that it is impossible to trace the movements of the Spaniards with exactness; and the events related are unimportant, being merely details of disasters, such as might have occurred to ordinary men, engaged in ordinary enterprises. Those who take interest in every thing connected with Cortés, — and the number of such will doubtless be greatly increased, after the publication of Mr. Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico, — may obtain explanations, as to the events of this expedition, from the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, and from the first volume of Burney's History of Voyages in the Pacific; but they should avoid the account given by Fleurieu, in his Introduction to the Journal of Marchand's Voyage, which only renders confusion worse confused.

truth of them. For this purpose he collected a band of fifty horsemen, who were to be commanded by Dorantes, one of the companions of Cabeza-Vaca; but, that plan being overthrown by some circumstance, he was induced, by the representations of his friend, the celebrated Bartolomé de las Casas, to depute two friars to make the exploration, with the view of preserving the inhabitants of the countries visited, from the violence to which military men would not fail to resort, if there should be occasion, for the gratification of their cupidity. The friars, Marcos de Niza, provincial of the Franciscan order in Mexico, and Honorato, accompanied by the negro or Moor, Estavanico, who had crossed the continent with Cabeza-Vaca, accordingly set out from Culiacan, on the 7th of March, 1539, in search of the rich countries reported to lie in the north-west.

Soon after the departure of the friars, the last expedition made by order of Cortés was begun.* It was commanded by Francisco de Ulloa, who sailed from Acapulco on the 8th of July, 1539, with three vessels, well manned and equipped, and took his course for California. One of the vessels was driven ashore in a storm near Culiacan: with the others Ulloa proceeded to the Bay of Santa Cruz, and thence in a few days departed to survey the coasts towards the north-east. In this occupation the ships were engaged until the 18th of October, when Ulloa returned to Santa Cruz, having in the mean time completely examined both shores of the great gulf which separates California from the main land on the east, and ascertained the fact of the junction of the two territories, near the 32d degree of latitude, though he failed to discover the *Colorado River*, which enters the gulf at its northern extremity. This gulf was named, by Ulloa, the *Sea of Cortés;* but it is generally distinguished, on Spanish maps, as the *Vermilion Sea*, (*Mar Vermejo,*) and, in those of other nations, as the *Gulf of California*.

On the 29th of October, Ulloa again sailed from Santa Cruz, in order to examine the coasts farther west, and having rounded the point now called *Cape San Lucas*, which forms the southern extremity of California, he pursued his voyage along the coast towards the north. In this direction the Spaniards proceeded slowly, often landing and fighting with the natives, and generally opposed by violent storms from the north-west, until the end of January, 1540, when they had reached an island near the coast, under the 28th parallel of latitude, which they named the *Isle of*

* See Narrative of Francisco Preciado, one of the officers of the Santa Agueda, in Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 283, and in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 503.

Cedars. There they remained the greater part of the time, until the beginning of April, being prevented from advancing farther north by head winds; and then, as several of the crews of both vessels were disabled by sickness, and their provisions were insufficient to enable them to continue the voyage together much longer, Ulloa resolved to send one of his ships back to Mexico. The Santa Agueda, bearing the sick and the accounts of the discoveries, accordingly sailed from the Isle of Cedars on the 5th of April, and in the beginning of the following month she arrived at Santiago, in Xalisco, where she was seized by the officers of the viceroy, who was anxious to learn the particulars of her discoveries. Of the fate of Ulloa there are contradictory accounts. Herrera says that nothing was ever heard of him after his parting with the Santa Agueda; others of his contemporaries, however, state that he continued his voyage along the west coast of California, as far as a point called *Cape Engaño*, near the 30th degree of latitude, and thence returned safely to Mexico.

Whatsoever may have been the importance of the geographical results of this voyage, they were scarcely satisfactory to Cortés; and they attracted little attention among the Spaniards in Mexico, who were then all engaged in plans and speculations concerning the rich and delightful countries, of the discovery of which, by Friar Marcos de Niza and his companions, accounts had recently arrived. From these accounts, as contained in the letter addressed to the viceroy by Friar Marcos,* and from other evidence, it is probable that the reverend explorer did really penetrate to a considerable distance into the interior of the continent, and did find there countries partially cultivated, and inhabited by people possessing some acquaintance with the arts of civilized life; though, as to the precise situation of those regions, or the routes pursued in reaching them, no definite idea can be derived from the narrative. The friar pretended to have discovered, north-west of Mexico, beyond the 35th degree of latitude, extensive territories, richly cultivated, and abounding in gold, silver, and precious stones, the population of which was much greater, and farther advanced in civilization, than those of Mexico or Peru. In these countries were many towns, and seven cities, of which the friar only saw one, called *Cevola* or *Cibola*, containing twenty thousand large stone houses, some of four stories, and

* The letter of Friar Marcos, relating his discoveries, may be found in Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 297, and in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 438. See, also, Herrera, Decade vi. p. 204.

adorned with jewels; yet he was assured, by the people, that this was the smallest of the cities, and far inferior, in extent and magnificence, to one called *Totonteac*, situated more towards the north-west. The inhabitants of Cibola had, at first, been hostile to the Spaniards, and had killed the negro; but they had, in the end, manifested a disposition to embrace Christianity, and to submit to the authority of the king of Spain, in whose name Friar Marcos had taken possession of the whole country, by secretly erecting crosses in many places.

These, and other things of a similar kind, gravely related by a respectable priest, who professed to have witnessed what he described, were universally admitted to be true; and the viceroy Mendoza, having communicated them to his sovereign, began to prepare for the reduction of the new countries, and the conversion of their inhabitants to Christianity. Cortés, however, insisted on continuing his discoveries in the same direction, apparently giving little credit to the statements of Friar Marcos; while his old companion in arms, the redoubtable Pedro de Alvarado, claimed to undertake the conquest in virtue of a capitulation recently concluded between himself and the emperor. Hernando de Soto, likewise, who had just obtained a commission for the discovery of Florida, declared the seven cities to be within his jurisdiction; and Nuño de Guzman protested that his own right was the best, and with some reason, in consequence of his labors in the subjugation and settlement of New Galicia, of which he maintained that the rich countries formed part. After these disputes had lasted some months, a compromise was made between the viceroy and Alvarado, agreeably to which the latter was to command the expedition destined for the reduction of the rich territories in the north-west; and, about the same time, Cortés returned in disgust to Spain, where he passed the remaining seven years of his life in vain efforts to recover his authority in Mexico, or to obtain indemnification for his losses.

The viceroy Mendoza had, however, immediately on receiving the news of the discoveries from Friar Marcos, sent two bodies of armed forces, the one by land, the other by sea, to reconnoitre the rich countries, and prepare the way for their conquest.

The marine armament consisted of two ships, commanded by Fernando de Alarcon, who sailed from the port of Santiago on the 9th of May, 1540, and, proceeding along the coast towards the north-west, reached the extremity of the Gulf of California in August following. There he discovered a great river, which he

named *Rio de Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia*,* (or River of our Lady of Safe Conduct,) probably the same now called the *Colorado*. This stream Alarcon ascended, to the distance of more than eighty leagues, with a party of his men, in boats, making inquiries on the way about the seven cities; in reply to which, he received from the Indians a number of confused stories — of kingdoms rich in precious metals and jewels — of rivers filled with crocodiles and other monsters — of droves of buffaloes — of enchanters — and other wonderful or remarkable objects. Of Totonteac he could learn nothing; though, at the end of his voyage up the river, he obtained what he considered some definite information respecting Cibola, and was assured that he might reach that place by a march of ten days into the interior. He, however, suspected treachery on the part of those who gave the assurance; and, not conceiving it prudent to attempt to advance farther, he returned to his ships. In a second voyage up the river, he obtained no additional information; and, believing it needless to continue the search, he went back to Mexico, where he arrived before the end of the year.†

The land forces, despatched at the same time towards the north-west, were composed of cavalry and infantry, and were accompanied by priests, for the conversion of the natives to Christianity. They were commanded by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, a man of resolute and serious character, and by no means disposed to exaggerate, who had been appointed governor of New Galicia, in place of Nuño de Guzman. His letter to the viceroy,‡ containing accounts of the first period of the expedition, though wanting in precision, is yet sufficiently exact to afford a general idea of the direction in which he marched, and even of the position of some of the principal places which he visited.

* In honor of the viceroy, who bore on his arms an image of *Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia*.

† Letter of Alarcon to the viceroy Mendoza, in Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 303, and in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 505. See, also, Herrera, Decade vi. p. 208.

The Californian Gulf had thus been completely explored, as appears not only from the accounts of the voyages of Ulloa and Alarcon, but also from a chart of the coasts of California, and the west coast of Mexico, drawn, in 1541, by Domingo del Castillo, Alarcon's pilot, of which an engraved *fac-simile* may be found in the edition of the Letters of Cortés, published at Mexico, in 1770, by Archbishop Lorenzana. The shores of the gulf, and of the west side of California, to the 30th degree of latitude, are there delineated with a surprising approach to accuracy. The pilot doubtless derived his information chiefly from the journals of Ulloa, which were sent back in the Santa Agueda, and were seized, by order of the viceroy, immediately on the arrival of that vessel in Mexico.

‡ Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 300. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 447.

Agreeably to this letter, the Spaniards left Culiacan on the 22d of April, 1540, and took their way towards the north, following, as well as they could, the course described by the friar: but, ere they had proceeded far, they had abundant evidences of the incorrectness of the accounts of that personage; for the route which he had represented as easy and practicable, proved to be almost impassable. They, however, made their way over mountains and deserts, and through rivers, and, at length, in July, they reached the country of the seven cities, for which Cibola appeared to be the general name; but, to their disappointment, it proved to be only a half-cultivated region, thinly inhabited by people not absolutely savage, though destitute of the wealth and refinement attributed to them by Friar Marcos. The seven great cities were seven small towns, some of them, indeed, containing large houses of stone, rudely built, and unornamented. Of fruits there were none, except such as grew wild; and the immense quantities of precious metals and stones were merely "a few turquoises, and some gold and silver, supposed to be good. In fine," says Vazquez de Coronado, in his letter to the viceroy, "of the seven cities, and the kingdoms and provinces of which the reverend father provincial made a report to your excellency, he spoke the truth in nothing; for we have found all to be quite the contrary, except only as to the houses of stone." The Spaniards, nevertheless, took possession of the country, in due form, for their sovereign; and, being pleased with its soil and climate, they entreated their commander to allow them to remain and settle there. To this inglorious proposition Vazquez refused to consent; and, having despatched his letter to Mendoza, from one of the cities of Cibola, named by him *Granada*, he took his departure, with his forces, for the north-west, in search of other new countries.

From the descriptions of the position, climate, productions, and animals, of Cibola, given by Vazquez de Coronado, there is some reason for believing it to be the region near the great dividing chain of mountains, east of the northernmost part of the Gulf of California, about the head-waters of the Rivers Yaqui and Gila, which fall into that arm of the Pacific. This part of America, now called *Sonora*, (a corruption of *Señora*,) though long since settled by the Spaniards, is little known to the inhabitants of other countries. It is described, by those who have recently visited it, as a most delightful, productive, and salubrious region, containing innumerable mines of silver and gold, among which are some of the richest in the world. There are, moreover, in that territory, many collections

of ruins of large stone buildings, which were found in their present state by the first Spanish settlers, and are called *casas grandes de los Azteques*, (great houses of the Aztecks,) from the supposition or tradition that they were built by that people before their invasion of Mexico.* Vazquez de Coronado, indeed, remarks that the inhabitants of Cibola, though not wanting in intelligence, did not appear to be capable of erecting the houses which he saw there.

Of the movements of the Spaniards, after they quitted Cibola, in August, 1540, the accounts are so vague and contradictory, that it is impossible to trace their route. It seems, however, that the greater part of the forces soon returned to Mexico; while the others, under their commander, wandered, for nearly two years longer, through the interior of the continent, in search of a country called *Quivira*, said, by the Indians, to be situated far in the north, and to be governed by "a king named Tatarrax, with a long beard, hoary-headed, and rich, who worshipped a cross of gold, and the image of the Queen of Heaven."† This country they found near the 40th degree of latitude: but the people had no other wealth than skins; and their king, though hoary-headed, possessed no jewels, "save one of copper, hanging about his neck." Quivira is described as a level territory, covered with herds of buffaloes, which form the whole support of the inhabitants; and, if its latitude has been correctly reported, it is most probably the region about the head-waters of the Arkansas and Platte Rivers; though Gomara places it near the sea, and says that the Spaniards saw ships on the coast, laden with East India goods. Vazquez had, probably, before leaving Quivira, learned the true value of Indian accounts of rich countries; and, not deeming it advisable to pursue the search for them any longer, he returned to Mexico in 1543.

During the absence of Vazquez de Coronado, the great armament, destined for the exploration and conquest of the north-western territories, under Pedro de Alvarado, was prepared; but, just as the expedition was about to be commenced, a rebellion broke out among the Indians of Xalisco, and all the forces at the viceroy's disposal were required to quell it. In the campaign which ensued, in the summer of 1541, Alvarado was killed by a kick from a horse; and Mendoza's expectations of advantage from the north-west regions were, in the mean time, so much lowered, that he resolved to reduce the scale of his expeditions for discovery in that quarter.

* Hardy's Travels in Mexico, from 1825 to 1828.

† Gomara, chap. 213.

The disturbances being, at length, ended, in the spring of 1542, two vessels were placed under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese of high reputation as a navigator, who was directed to examine the western side of California, as far northward as possible, seeking particularly for rich countries, and for passages leading towards the Atlantic; while Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, a relation of the viceroy, was sent, with the remainder of the disposable vessels and forces, across the Pacific, to endeavor to form establishments in India.

The two vessels under Cabrillo sailed together from Navidad, a small port in Xalisco, in June, 1542; and, having in a few days doubled Cape San Lucas, the survey of the west coast of California was begun from that point. It would be needless to endeavor to trace the progress of Cabrillo along this coast, or to enumerate the many capes and bays mentioned in the account of his voyage, nearly all of which places, so far as they can be identified, are now distinguished by names entirely different from those bestowed on them by him. By the middle of August, he had advanced beyond the limits of the supposed discoveries of Ulloa; and, in November, after having examined the coast as far north as the 38th degree of latitude, he was driven back, and forced to take refuge in a harbor named by him *Port Possession*, situated in the Island of *San Bernardo*, one of the *Santa Barbara* group, near the main land, under the 34th parallel. There Cabrillo, who had been for some time sick, sank under the fatigues of the voyage, on the 3d of January, 1543, leaving the command to the pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo.

The new commander, being no less zealous and determined than his predecessor, resolved, if possible, to accomplish the main objects of the expedition before returning to Mexico. He accordingly, soon after, sailed from Port Possession towards the north, and, on the 26th of February, reached a promontory situated under the 41st parallel, to which he gave the name of *Cabo de Fortunas*, (Cape of Perils, or Stormy Cape,) from the dangers encountered in its vicinity. On the 1st of March, the ships were in the latitude of 44 degrees, as determined by a solar observation; but, on the following day, they were again driven to the south; and, the men being, at this time, almost worn out, by long exposure to cold and fatigue, without sufficient food or clothing, Ferrelo determined to go back to Mexico. The ships, therefore, quitted the Isle of Cedars, discovered by Ulloa, in the beginning of April, and, on the 14th of that month, they arrived at Navidad.

From the accounts of this expedition which have been preserved, it is not easy to determine precisely how far north the American coast was discovered. The most northern point of land mentioned in those accounts is the Cape of Perils, which, though there placed under the 41st parallel, was probably the same soon after called *Cape Mendocino*, in the latitude of 40 degrees 20 minutes. Other authors, however, whose opinions are entitled to respect, pronounce the 43d parallel to be the northern limit of the discoveries made by the Spaniards in 1543.*

Whilst these expeditions to the north-western parts of America were in progress, Hernando de Soto, and his band of Spanish adventurers, were performing their celebrated march, in quest of mines and plunder, through the regions extending north of the Gulf of Mexico, which were then known by the general name of *Florida*. Without attempting here to trace the line of their wanderings, suffice it to say, that they traversed, in various directions, the vast territories now composing the Southern and South-Western States of the American Federal Union, and descended the Mississippi in boats, from the vicinity of the mouth of the Arkansas to the Mexican Gulf, on which they continued their voyage, along the coast, to Panuco. From the accounts of the few who survived the toils and perils of that memorable enterprise, taken together with those collected by Cabeza-Vaca and Vazquez de Coronado, concerning the territories which they had respectively visited, it was considered certain that *neither wealthy nations, nor navigable passages of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, were to be found north of Mexico, unless beyond the* 40th *parallel of latitude.*

The Spaniards, having arrived at these conclusions, for some time desisted from attempting to explore the north western section of the continent; and circumstances, meanwhile, occurred, which impressed their government with the belief that *the discovery of any passage facilitating the entrance of European vessels into the Pacific, would be deleterious to the power and interests of Spain in the New World.*

* Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 35. See, also, Burney's History of Voyages in the Pacific, vol. i. p. 220.

CHAPTER II.

1543 TO 1606.

The Spaniards conquer the Philippine Islands, and establish a direct Trade across the Pacific, between Asia and America — Measures of the Spanish Government to prevent other European Nations from settling or trading in America — These Measures resisted by the English, the French, and the Dutch — Free Traders and Freebooters infest the West Indies — First Voyages of the English in the Pacific — Voyages of Drake and Cavendish — Endeavors of the English to discover a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific — False Reports of the Discovery of such Passages — Supposed Voyages of Urdañeta, Maldonado, and Fonté — Voyage of Juan de Fuca — Expeditions of Sebastian Vizcaino — Supposed Discovery of a great River in North-West America.

WHILST the Spaniards were thus extending their dominion in the New World, the Portuguese were daily acquiring advantages in India, with which they carried on a profitable trade, by means of their ships sailing around the Cape of Good Hope. The Spaniards, viewing this increase of the power of their rivals with jealousy and hatred, made many endeavors, likewise, to form establishments in Asia; but all their expeditions for that purpose before the middle of the sixteenth century, terminated disastrously. The armaments sent from Spain to India under Loyasa, in 1525, and from Mexico, under Saavedra, in the ensuing year, were entirely ineffective. In 1542, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos crossed the Pacific with a large squadron from Mexico, and took possession of the Philippine Islands for his sovereign; but his forces were soon after dispersed, and none of his vessels returned either to Europe or to America.

In 1564, the Spaniards made another attempt to gain a footing in the East Indies, which was successful. The Philippine Islands were in that year subjugated by Miguel de Legazpi, who had been despatched from Mexico with a small squadron for the purpose; and a discovery was also made in the course of this expedition, without which the conquest would have been of no value. Before that period, no European had ever crossed the Pacific from Asia to America; all who had endeavored to make such a voyage having confined themselves to the part of the ocean between the tropics

where the winds blow constantly from eastern points. Three of Legazpi's vessels, however, under the direction of Andres de Urdañeta, a friar, who had in early life accompanied Magellan in his expedition, and had subsequently acquired great reputation as a navigator, by taking a northward course from the Philippine Islands, entered a region of variable winds, near the 40th parallel of latitude, and were thus enabled to reach the coast of California, along which the prevailing north-westers carried them speedily to Mexico.

The Spaniards thus gained, what they had so long coveted, a position in the East Indies; and the practicability of communicating, by way of the Pacific, between Asia and America, was placed beyond a doubt. At the same time, also, Juan Fernandes discovered the mode of navigating between places on the west coast of South America, by standing out obliquely to a distance from the continent; and other improvements of a similar kind having been moreover introduced, the Spanish commerce on the Pacific soon became important. Large ships, called *galleons*, sailed annually from Acapulco to Manilla, in the Philippine Islands, and to Macao, in China, laden with precious metals and European merchandise, in return for which they brought back silks, spices, and porcelain, for consumption in America, or for transportation over the Atlantic to Europe; while an extensive trade in articles equally valuable was carried on between Panamá and the various ports of Peru and Chili. These voyages on the Pacific were usually long, but comparatively safe, at least so far as regards exemption from injury by winds and waves, though the crews of the vessels often suffered dreadfully from scurvy occasioned by filth and want of good water and provisions;* and, as that ocean remained for some years undisturbed by the presence of enemies of Spain, little care or cost was bestowed upon the defence, either of the vessels or of the towns on the coasts.

The galleons, proceeding from Mexico to India, were wafted, by the invariable easterly or trade winds, directly across the ocean, in about three months; in the return voyage, they often occupied more than double that time, and they always made the west coast of California, the principal points on which thus became tolerably well known before the end of the sixteenth century. Accounts of

* For accounts of the miseries of a voyage from Manilla to Acapulco, in 1697, see Gemelli Carreri's narrative, in the fourth volume of Churchill's collection of voyages, which, if not true, is very like truth.

some of these voyages have been preserved, but they are of little value at present, from their want of precision. One of them is a letter from Francisco Gali, addressed to the viceroy of Mexico, describing his passage from Macao to Acapulco, in 1584, in the course of which he sailed along the west coast of America, from the latitude of thirty-seven and a half degrees southward to Mexico.* It has, however, been maintained, on the evidence of papers found in the archives of the Indies,† that Gali arrived on that coast in the latitude of *fifty-seven and a half degrees,* and is therefore to be considered as the discoverer of the whole shore between that parallel and the forty-third: but this assertion is supported by no evidence sufficient to overthrow the express statement of the navigator in his letter, the genuineness of which is not denied; and Gali, moreover, there declares that the land first seen by him was "very high and fair, and *wholly without snow,*" which could not have been the case with regard to the north-west coast of America, under the parallel of *fifty-seven and a half* degrees, in the middle of October. In 1595, Sebastian Cermenon, in the ship San Augustin, on his way from Manilla to Acapulco, examined the same coasts, by order of the viceroy of Mexico, in search of some harbor in which the galleons might take refuge, and make repairs, or obtain water; but nothing has been preserved respecting his voyage, except that his ship was lost near the Bay of San Francisco, south of Cape Mendocino.

The Spanish government was, in the mean time, engaged in devising, and applying to its dominions in the New World, those measures of restriction and exclusion, which were pursued so rigidly, and with so little variation, during the whole period of its supremacy in the American continent. The great object of this system was simply to secure to the monarch and people of Spain the entire enjoyment of all the advantages which were supposed to be derivable from those dominions, consistently with the perpetual maintenance of absolute authority over them; and, for this object, it

* In Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 526, the letter from Gali to the viceroy is given at length, as "translated out of the original Spanish into Dutch, by John Huyghen Van Linschoten, and out of Dutch into English." In Linschoten, as in Hakluyt, thirty-seven and a half degrees is given as the northernmost part of the coast seen by Gali.

† See the note in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, at page 46, in which two letters from the viceroy of Mexico to the king of Spain, relative to the voyage of Gali, are mentioned; but the account there given differs in nothing, except as to the latitude, from that in the letter published by Linschoten and Hakluyt. Humboldt adopts the opinion of the author of the Introduction, without, however, adding any information or reasoning on the subject.

was deemed expedient not only to exclude the subjects of other European states from the territories claimed by Spain, — that is, from the whole of the New World except Brazil, — but also to prevent the rapid development of the resources of the Spanish provinces themselves.* In these views the Spaniards have not been singular; but no other power, in modern times, has employed measures so extreme in fulfilling them. Thus no Spaniard could emigrate to America, no new settlement could be formed there, and no new country or sea could be explored, without the express permission of the sovereign; and, when expeditions for discovery were made, the results were often concealed, or tardily and imperfectly promulgated. No article could be cultivated or manufactured for commerce in America, which could be imported from Spain; and no intercourse could be carried on between the different great divisions of those possessions, or between either of them and the mother country, except in vessels belonging to or specially licensed by the government, or otherwise under its immediate supervision. With the rest of the world, the Spanish Americans could have no correspondence; and all foreigners were prohibited, under pain of death, from touching the territories claimed by Spain, and even from navigating the seas in their vicinity. "Whoever," says Hakluyt, at the end of the sixteenth century, "is conversant with the Portugal and Spanish writers, shall find that they account all other nations for pirates,

* The Spanish dominions in America, together with the Canary and the Philippine Islands, formed one empire, called the *Indies*, of which the king of Spain was, *ex officio*, the sovereign. The territories were divided into great sections, or kingdoms, each entirely independent of the others, except in certain prescribed contingencies; the general direction of the whole being committed to the *Supreme Council of the Indies*, a special ministry, residing in the palace of the king, in whose name all its orders were issued. The larger kingdoms of the Indies were under the immediate government of *viceroys*, representing the authority and person of the sovereign; the others were governed by *captains-general*, or by *presidents*, whose powers were more limited. All these high officers were, however, kept in check by the courts called *Audiencias*, resembling the Supreme Council in their organization and attributes, one or two of which were established in each kingdom. The commerce of those countries was under the superintendence of a board, called the *House of Contracts of the Indies*, sitting at Seville, to and from which port all expeditions, from and to America, were, for a long time, obliged to pass.

The laws and regulations of the Supreme Council were, from time to time, revised; and those which were to remain in force were published in a collection entitled the *Recopilacion de Leyes de Indias*, (Compilation of Laws of the Indies,) containing the rules for the conduct of all the officers of the government. The provisions of this celebrated code are, in general, remarkable for their justice and humanity; the enforcement of them, being, however, left to those who had no direct interest in the prosperity and advancement of the country, was most shamefully neglected.

rovers, and thieves, which visit any heathen coast that they have sailed by or looked on."

Against these exclusive regulations the English and the French at first murmured and protested, and then began to act. The English government, having thrown off its allegiance to the head of the Roman Catholic church, denied the validity of the Spanish claims founded on the papal concessions, and required from Spain the recognition of the rights of Englishmen to navigate any part of the ocean, to settle in any country not occupied by another Christian nation, and to trade with the Spanish American provinces. These demands having been resisted, Queen Elizabeth * openly, as well as covertly, encouraged her subjects, even in time of peace, to violate regulations which she pronounced unjustifiable and inhuman; and the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indian seas were, in consequence, haunted by bands of daring English, who, under the equivocal denominations of *free traders* and *freebooters*, set at defiance the prohibitions of the Spaniards, as to commerce and territorial occupation, and plundered their ships, and the towns on their coasts. About the same time, the French Protestants began their attempts to plant colonies in Florida and Carolina, which were not defeated without considerable expenditure of Spanish blood and treasure; and the revolt in the Netherlands, which ended in the liberation of the Dutch provinces, soon after produced a formidable addition to the forces of these irregular enemies of Spain. The efforts of the English, and of their government, to establish commerce with the Spanish dominions in America, have, in fact, been the principal causes or motives of nearly all the wars between those nations since the middle of the sixteenth century. In these efforts the English have constantly persevered; and the Spanish government has resolutely opposed them, during peace, during war, and

* Queen Elizabeth's reply to the Spanish ambassador, who complained of the plunder of one of his sovereign's vessels by the English, in the West Indies, during peace between the two nations, is characteristic of her disposition, as well as reasonable. She said "that the Spaniards had drawn these inconveniences upon themselves, by their severe and unjust dealings in their American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the Indies; that, as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title, by donation of the bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual possession of; for that their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers or capes, were such insignificant things as could in no ways entitle them to a propriety farther than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit." —Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, for 1580.

even during alliance between the two powers, until the last moment of the existence of the Spanish authority in the American continent.

Could Spain have so long retained the possession of her colonies in America, if she had adopted any other system with regard to them?

The Pacific was, for some years, preserved from the ravages of these daring adventurers, by the dread of the difficulties and dangers attending the passage of vessels into that ocean, from the Atlantic, through the Strait of Magellan; and the Spanish government began to regard as bulwarks of defence those natural obstacles to maritime intercourse between Europe and the western side of America, to remove or counteract which so many efforts had been previously made. Thenceforward, the expeditions of the Spaniards, in search of new channels connecting the two oceans, were undertaken only with the object of securing the passage, if it should be found, against the vessels of other nations; and the heaviest penalties were denounced against all persons who should attempt, or even propose, to form artificial communications by canals across the continent.* These circumstances, on the other hand, served to stimulate the enemies of Spain in their endeavors to discover easier routes to the Pacific; to effect which, the Dutch and the English navigators perseveringly labored, during the latter years of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

In the mean time, the reports of the extent and value of the Spanish commerce on the Pacific, and of the wealth accumulated in the towns on the American coasts of that ocean, overcame all the fears of the English, who at length spread their sails on its waters, and carried terror and desolation along its coasts.

* Alcedo, in his Geographical and Historical Dictionary of the West Indies, under the head *Isthmus*, says, "In the time of Philip II., it was proposed to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panamá, for the passage of ships from one ocean to the other; and two Flemish engineers were sent to examine the place, with that object. They, however, found the obstacles insuperable; and the Council of the Indies at the same time represented to the king the injuries which such a canal would occasion to the monarchy; in consequence of which, his majesty decreed that no one should in future *attempt, or even propose, such an undertaking, under pain of death.*"

The same author, speaking of the River *Atrato*, in New Granada, emptying into the Atlantic,—between which and the *San Juan*, falling into the Pacific, it was also proposed to make a canal,—says, "The Atrato is navigable for many leagues; but all persons are forbidden, under pain of death, from navigating it, in order to prevent the injuries which New Grenada would sustain, from the facility thus afforded for entering its territory."

The first irruption of the English into the Pacific was made in 1575, by a party of freebooters, under John Oxenham, who crossed the isthmus a little west of Panamá, and, having then built a vessel on the southern side, took many valuable prizes before any attempt could be made, by the Spaniards, to arrest their progress. They, however, in a few months, fell successively into the hands of their enemies, and were nearly all executed with ignominy at Panamá. Their fall was, three years afterwards, signally avenged by another body of their countrymen, under the command of the greatest naval captain of the age. It is scarcely necessary to say that this captain could be no other than Francis Drake, of whose celebrated voyage around the world — the first ever performed by one crew in one vessel — an account will be here given, as he, in the course of it, visited the north-west side of America, and is supposed, though erroneously, as will be proved, to have made important discoveries in that quarter.

Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, with five small vessels, which had been procured and armed by himself and other private individuals in England, ostensibly for a voyage to Egypt, but really for a predatory cruise against the dominions and subjects of Spain. The governments of England and Spain were then, indeed, at peace with each other: but mutual hatred, arising from causes already explained, prevailed between the two nations; and the principles of general law or morals were not, at that period, so refined as to prevent Queen Elizabeth from favoring Drake's enterprise, with the real objects of which she was well acquainted.

For some months after leaving England, Drake roved about the Atlantic, without making any prize of value: he then refitted his vessels at Port San Julian, on the eastern coast of Patagonia; and he succeeded in conducting three of them safely through the dreaded Strait of Magellan, into the Pacific, which he entered in September, 1578. Scarcely, however, was this accomplished, ere the little squadron was dispersed by a storm; and the chief of the expedition was left with only a schooner of a hundred tons' burden, and about sixty men, to prosecute his enterprise against the power and wealth of the Spaniards on the western side of America.

Notwithstanding these disheartening occurrences, Drake did not hesitate to proceed to the parts of the coast occupied by the Spaniards, whom he found unprepared to resist him, either on land or on sea. He accordingly plundered their towns and ships with little

difficulty; and so deep and lasting was the impression produced by his achievements, that, for more than a century afterwards, his name was never mentioned in those countries without exciting feelings of horror and detestation.

At length, in the spring of 1579, Drake, having completed his visitation of the Spanish American coasts, by the plunder of the town of Guatulco, on the south side of Mexico, and filled his vessel with precious spoils, became anxious to return to England; but, having reason to expect that the Spaniards would intercept him, if he should attempt to repass Magellan's Strait, he resolved to seek a northern route to the Atlantic. Accordingly, on quitting Guatulco, he steered west and north-west, and, having sailed in those directions about 1400 leagues, he had, in the beginning of June, advanced beyond the 42d degree of north latitude, where his men, being thus "speedily come out of the extreme heat, found the air so cold, that, being pinched with the same, they complained of the extremity thereof." He had, in fact, reached the part of the Pacific, near the American coasts, where the winds blow constantly and violently, during the summer, from the north and north-west, accompanied, generally, by thick fogs, which obscure the heavens for many days, and even weeks, in succession; and, finding these difficulties increase, as he went farther, "he thought it best, for that time, to seek the land." He accordingly soon made the American coast, and endeavored to approach it, so as to anchor; but, finding no proper harbor there, he sailed along the shore southward, until the 17th of the month, when "it pleased God to send him into a fair and good bay, within 38 degrees towards the line." *

In this bay the English remained five weeks, employed in refitting their vessel, and obtaining such supplies for their voyage as the country offered. The natives, "having their houses close by the water's side," at first exhibited signs of hostility: but they were soon conciliated by the kind and forbearing conduct of the strangers; and their respect for Drake increased, so that, when they saw him about to depart, they earnestly prayed him to continue among them as their king. The naval hero, though not disposed to undertake, in person, the duties of sovereignty over a

* These quotations are from the Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, by Francis Pretty, one of the crew of Drake's vessel, written at the request of Hakluyt, and published by him in 1589. It is a plain and succinct account of what the writer saw, or believed to have occurred, during the voyage, and bears all the marks of truth and authenticity.

tribe of naked or skin-clad savages, nevertheless "thought not meet to reject the crown, because he knew not what honor or profit it might bring to his own country; whereupon, in the name, and to the use, of her majesty Queen Elizabeth, he took the crown, sceptre, and dignity, of the country into his own hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might be so conveniently transported, for the enriching her kingdom at home." The coronation accordingly took place, with most ludicrous solemnities, which are gravely described with minuteness, in the accounts of the voyage; and Drake, having assumed the dignity and title of *Hioh,* bestowed on his dominions the name of *New Albion.*

The vessel having been refitted, Drake erected on the shore a pillar, bearing an inscription, commemorating the fact of this cession of sovereignty; and, on the 22d of July, he took leave of his new-made subjects, to their great regret. Having, however, by this time, abandoned all idea of seeking a northern passage to the Atlantic, he sailed directly across the Pacific, to the vicinity of the Philippine Islands; and thence, pursuing the usual course of the Portuguese, through the Indian Seas, and around the Cape of Good Hope, he arrived at Portsmouth, with his booty undiminished, on the 26th of September, 1580.

With regard to the harbor on the North Pacific side of America, in which Drake repaired his vessel, nothing can be learned from the accounts of his expedition which have been published, except that it was situated about the 38th degree of latitude, and that a cluster of small islets lay in the ocean, at a short distance from its mouth; and this description will apply equally to the great *Bay of San Francisco,* and to the small *Bay of Bodega,* a few leagues farther north.

As to the extent of the portion of the north-west coast of America seen by Drake, considerable difference of opinion exists. In the earliest, and, apparently, the most authentic, account of the expedition,* the vessel is represented as being in the 43d degree of latitude, on the 5th of June, about which day it was determined to seek the land; but when, and under what parallel of latitude, the American coast was first seen, is not stated. In another account, compiled long after the period of the voyage, it is said that the vessel was in latitude of 42 degrees on the 3d of June, and that, on the 5th of the same month, she anchored near the shore, in a "bad bay," in latitude of 48 degrees, from which being soon driven

* The Famous Voyage, by Pretty.

by the violence of the winds, she ran along the coast southward, to the harbor near the 38th degree, where she was refitted.*

Thus the two accounts are at variance, with regard to the vessel's position on the 5th of June, on or about which day, it is most probable, from both, that the land was first seen. Hakluyt, who seems to have taken great interest in the geography of the North Pacific coasts of America, and to have endeavored to obtain the most correct information as to the occurrences of Drake's voyage, gives the 43d degree of latitude, in several parts of his works, as the limit of his countrymen's discoveries in that quarter; and Purchas, in his Pilgrims, first published in 1617, declares expressly that "Sir Francis Drake sailed, on the other side of America, to 43 degrees, and, with cold, was forced to retire."

On the contrary, the famous navigator John Davis, in his World's Hydrographical Discovery, published in 1595, asserted that, "after Sir Francis Drake was entered into the South Sea, he coasted all the western shores of America, until he came into the septentrional latitude of 48 degrees;" and Sir William Monson, another great naval authority of the following century, says, in his Naval Tracts, "From the 16th of April to the 15th of June, Drake sailed, without seeing land, and arrived in 48 degrees, thinking to find a passage into our seas, which land he named *New Albion*." The opinion of Davis cannot, however, be received as of much value; for it is by no one else pretended, that Drake saw any part of the west coast of America, between Guatulco, near the 16th degree, and the harbor in which he refitted his ship, near the 38th: and, unfortunately for Sir William Monson's consistency, he maintains, in other parts of his Tracts, that "Cape Mendocino (near the 40th parallel) is the farthest land discovered," and "the farthermost known land." Burney, who has examined the question at length, in his History of Voyages in the South Sea, pronounces that "the part of the coast discovered by Drake is to be reckoned as beginning immediately to the north of Cape Mendocino, and extending to 48 degrees of north latitude;" considering as explicit on the subject the statement in the latter of the two accounts of the

* The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, collected out of the Notes of Mr. Francis Fletcher, Preacher, in this Employment, and compared with divers others' Notes that went in the same Voyage. It was first published in 1652, and may be found entire in Osborne's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 434. It is long and diffuse, and is filled with speculations, most probably by the compiler, on various subjects; yet it contains scarcely a single fact not related in the Famous Voyage, from which many sentences and paragraphs are taken, *verbatim*, while others convey the same meaning in different words.

voyage * above cited, that the English "searched the coast diligently, even into the 48th degree; yet they found not the land to trend so much as one point, in any place, toward the east." Burney, however, omits to notice the remainder of the sentence, — "but rather running on continually north-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia," — which entirely destroys the value of the evidence in the first part, as, in fact, the coast nowhere, between the 40th and the 48th degrees of latitude, runs north-west, its course being nearly due north.

On examining the two accounts of Drake's voyage, many circumstances will be found, in contradiction of the belief that the English, in 1579, discovered the American coast as far north as the 48th degree of latitude. In the first place, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any vessel to sail, in two days, through six degrees of latitude, northward, with the wind, as we are assured by both accounts, blowing constantly and violently from the north and north-west; and much confidence cannot be placed on assertions as to latitude, based on observations made in a vessel, on a stormy sea, with imperfect instruments, and when the atmosphere was generally charged with thick fogs. It is also to be observed, that the account on which is founded the belief that Drake did reach the 48th degree, contains statements, with respect to the intensity of the cold in the North Pacific, so entirely at variance with the results of universal experience, that they cannot be regarded as otherwise than false. That men, suddenly transferred from the tropics to a region north of the 40th degree of latitude, should find the change of temperature disagreeable, is consonant with reason; but the assertion that ropes were stiffened by ice, and that meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, became frozen,* in any part of the ocean between the 40th and the 48th parallels of north latitude, in the month of June, must be condemned as an intentional untruth.

In conclusion, although there is no positive evidence that Drake did not, in 1579, discover the north-west coast of America, to the 48th degree of latitude, yet, on the other hand, the assertion that he did so, is not supported by sufficient evidence; and, where originally made, it is accompanied by statements certainly erroneous, and calculated to destroy the value of the whole testimony. It may be admitted that the coast between the 43d and the 38th degrees was seen by the English in 1579; but it is certain that this same coast had been already seen, in 1543, by the Spaniards, under Ferrelo.

* The World Encompassed.

The success of Drake's enterprise encouraged other English adventurers to attempt similar expeditions through the Straits of Magellan; and it stimulated the navigators of his nation in their efforts to discover northern passages into the Pacific Ocean. Of their predatory excursions, none were attended with success, except that of the famous Thomas Cavendish, or Candish, who rendered his name almost as terrible to the Spaniards as that of Drake, by his ravages on the west coasts of America, during his voyage of circumnavigation of the globe, in 1587. In this voyage, Cavendish lay, for some time, near Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of California, and there captured the Manilla galleon *Santa Anna*, on her way, with a rich cargo of East India goods, to Acapulco, which he set on fire, after plundering her, and landing her crew on the coast. The unfortunate Spaniards, thus abandoned in a desert country, must soon have perished, had they not succeeded in repairing their vessel, which was driven ashore near them, after the extinction of the flames by a storm, and sailing in her to a port on the opposite coast of Mexico. Among these persons were Juan de Fuca and Sebastian Vizcaino, of each of whom much will be said in this chapter.

About this time, the search for northern passages of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans was begun by the English;* and it was prosecuted at intervals, by the navigators of that nation and of Holland, during nearly sixty years, after which it was abandoned, or rather suspended. In the course of the voyages undertaken for this object, eastward as well as westward from the Atlantic, many important geographical discoveries and improvements in the art and science of navigation were effected; and the persons thus engaged acquired an honorable and lasting reputation, by their skill, perseverance against difficulties, and contempt of dangers. The Spanish government was, at the same period, according to the direct testimony derived from its official acts, and the accounts of its historians, kept in a state of constant alarm, by these efforts of its most determined foes to penetrate into an ocean of which it claimed the exclusive possession; and the uneasiness thus occasioned was, from time to time, increased, by rumors of the accomplishment of the dreaded discovery.

These rumors were, for the most part, in confirmation of the

* The first voyage made from England, with the express object of seeking a north west passage to the Pacific, was that of Martin Frobisher, in 1576.

existence of the passage called the *Strait of Anian*, joining the Atlantic, under the 60th parallel of north latitude, through which Cortereal was said to have sailed, in 1500, into a great western sea; and those who pretended to have made northern voyages from either ocean to the other, generally asserted that they had passed through the Strait of Anian. The accounts of all such voyages yet made public are now known to be as false, with regard to the principal circumstances related, as those of the discovery of the philosopher's stone and the elixir vitæ, current at the same period in Europe; and the former, like the latter, had their origin, generally, in the knavery or the vanity of their authors, though some of them were evidently mere fictions, invented for the purpose of exercising ingenuity, or of testing the credulity of the public. But, as the conviction of the possibility of transmuting all other metals into gold, and of prolonging life indefinitely, led to the knowledge of many of the most important facts in chemistry, so did the belief in the existence of a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific serve to accelerate the progress of geographical discovery and scientific navigation.

Among those who were earliest believed to have accomplished northern voyages from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or *vice versa*, was the celebrated Friar Andres de Urdañeta, the discoverer of the mode of navigating the Pacific from east to west. "One Salvatierra, a gentleman of Victoria, in Spain, that came by chance out of the West Indies into Ireland, in 1568," * there assured Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Henry Sydney, that Urdañeta had, more than eight years previous, told him, in Mexico, "that he came from *Mar del Sur* [the Pacific] into Germany through the northern passage, and showed Salvatierra a sea-card, [chart,] made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described the north-west passage." This was, however, most probably, a falsehood or amplification on the part of Salvatierra, to induce Sir Humphrey to employ him on a voyage which he then projected, as nothing appears in the history or character of Urdañeta to justify the belief that he would have made such a declaration. In the archives of the Council of the Indies,† which have been examined

* "A Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-West to Cathaia [China] and the East Indies, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert," first published in 1576, and republished by Hakluyt, in his "Voyages, Navigations, Traffics, and Discoveries, of the English Nation." See the reprint of Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 32.

† Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 36.

with reference to this matter, are many original papers by Urdañeta, in which he mentions a report, that some Frenchmen had sailed from the Atlantic, beyond the 70th degree of north latitude, through a passage opening into the Pacific, near the 50th degree, and thence to China; and he recommends that measures should be taken, without delay, to ascertain the truth of the report, and, if the passage should be found, to establish fortifications at its mouth, in order to prevent other nations from using it to the injury of Spain.

In 1574, an old pilot, named Juan Ladrillero, living at Colima, in Mexico, pretended that he had, in his youth, sailed through a passage, from the Atlantic, near Newfoundland, into the Pacific; and other assertions, to the same effect, were made by various other individuals, either from a desire to attract notice, or with the view of obtaining emolument or employment.

The most celebrated fiction of this class is the one of which Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado is the hero. This person, a Portuguese by birth, who had written some extravagant works on geography and navigation, and pretended to have discovered a magnetic needle without variation, presented to the Council of the Indies, in 1609, a memoir or narrative of a voyage from Lisbon to the Pacific, through seas and channels north of America, which he declared that he himself had accomplished in 1588, accompanied by a petition that he should be rewarded for his services, and be intrusted with the command of forces, to occupy the passage, and defend its entrance against other nations. This proposition was instantly rejected by the Council: but some of the papers relating to it were retained; and two manuscripts are now preserved, the one in the library of the duke of Infantado, at Madrid, the other in the Ambrosian library, at Milan, each purporting to be the original memoir presented by Maldonado.

These papers are each entitled "A Relation of the Discovery of the Strait of Anian, made by me, Captain Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in the Year 1588; in which is described the Course of the Navigation, the Situation of the Place, and the Manner of fortifying it;" and their contents are nearly the same, except that the Milan paper is, in some places, more concise than the other, from which it seems to have been, in a manner, abridged. Upon the whole, there is reason to believe the Madrid document to be a true copy of the memoir presented by Maldonado; though it has been pronounced, by one who has examined the subject with much care, to be a

fabrication of a later date.* Whether the fabrication, as it undoubtedly is, proceeded from Maldonado, or from some other person, is of no importance at the present day. A few extracts will serve to show its general character, and to bring to view the opinions entertained in Europe, during the seventeenth century, with regard to the northern parts of America.

After stating the advantages which Spain might derive from a northern passage between the two oceans, and the injury which she might sustain, were it left open to other nations, Maldonado proceeds thus to describe the voyage: —

"Departing from Spain, — suppose from Lisbon, — the course is north-west, for the distance of 450 leagues, when the ship will have reached the latitude of 60 degrees, where the Island of Friesland † will be seen, commonly called *File*, or *Fule:* it is an island somewhat smaller than Ireland. Thence the course is westward, on the parallel of 60 degrees, for 180 leagues, which will bring the navigator to the land of Labrador, where the strait of that name, or Davis's Strait, begins, the entrance of which is very wide, being somewhat more than 30 leagues: the land on the coast of Labrador, which is to the west, is very low; but the opposite side of the mouth of the strait consists of very high mountains. Here two openings appear, between which are these high mountains. One of the passages runs east-north-east, and the other north-west; the one running east-north-east, which is on the right hand, and looks towards the north, must be left, as it leads to Greenland, and thence to the Sea of Friesland. Taking the other passage, and steering north-west 80 leagues, the ship will arrive in the latitude

* See a review, supposed to be written by Barrow, of the manuscript found at Milan by Carlo Amoretti, in the London Quarterly Review for October, 1816. A translation of the most material parts of that paper may be found in Burney's History of Voyages in the Pacific, vol. 5, p. 167. A translation of the whole of the Madrid document, with copies of the maps and plans annexed to it, is given by Barrow, at the conclusion of his Chronological History of Voyages in the Arctic Regions. See, also, the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 49. The reviewer above mentioned "suspects this pretended voyage of Maldonado to be the clumsy and audacious forgery of some ignorant German, from the circumstance of 15 leagues to the degree being used in some of the computations;" but the courses are not laid down with so much exactness in the account, as to warrant the assertion that 15 leagues are employed, instead of $17\frac{1}{2}$, which would have been the true subdivision of the degree of latitude in Spanish leagues.

† An island of this name was long supposed to exist near the position here assigned to it, on the faith of an apocryphal account of some voyages which were said to have been made in the North Atlantic about the year 1400, by the brothers Antonio and Nicolo Zeno, of Venice. Friesland has been, by some, considered as identical with the Feroe Islands.

of 64 degrees. There, the strait takes another turn to the north, continuing one hundred and twenty leagues, as far as the latitude of 70 degrees, when it again turns to the north-west, and runs in that direction ninety leagues, to the 75th degree of latitude, near which the whole of the Strait of Labrador will have been passed; that is to say, the strait begins at 60 degrees, and ends at 75 degrees, being two hundred and ninety leagues in length, and having three turns, the first and last of which run north-west and south-east, and the middle one north and south, being sometimes narrower than twenty leagues, and sometimes wider than forty, and containing many bays and sheltering places, which might be of service in cases of necessity. * * * * * * * *

"Having cleared the Strait of Labrador, we began to descend from that latitude, steering west-south-west, and south-west, three hundred and fifty leagues, to the 71st degree of latitude, when we perceived a high coast, without being able to discover whether it was part of the continent, or an island; but we remarked that, if it were the continent, it must be opposite the coast of New Spain. From this land we directed our course west-south-west four hundred and forty leagues, until we came to the 60th degree, in which parallel we discovered the Strait of Anian. * * * *

"The strait which we discovered in 60 degrees, at the distance of one thousand seven hundred and ten leagues from Spain, appears, according to ancient tradition, to be that named by geographers, in their maps, the *Strait of Anian*; and, if it be so, it must be a strait having Asia on the one side, and America on the other, which seems to be the case, according to the following narration: —

"As soon as we had cleared the strait, we coasted along the shores of America for more than one hundred leagues south-westward, to the 55th degree of latitude, on which coast there were no inhabitants, nor any opening, indicating the vicinity of another strait, through which the South Sea, flowing into the North, might insulate that part; and we concluded that all that coast belonged to America, and that, continuing along it, we might soon reach Quivira and Cape Mendocino. We then left this coast, and, sailing towards the west four days, with the wind a-beam, so that we made thirty leagues a day, we discovered a very high land, and continued along the coast, from which we kept at a safe distance, always in the open sea, sailing, at one time, to the north-east, at others towards north-north-east, and again to the north, whence it seemed to us that the coast ran north-east and south-west. We were unable

to mark any particular points, on account of our distance from the land; and we can, therefore, only affirm that it is inhabited, nearly to the entrance of the strait, as we saw smoke rising up in many places. This country, according to the charts, must belong to Tartary, or Cathaia, [China;] and at the distance of a few leagues from the coast must be the famed city of Cambalu, the metropolis of Tartary. Finally, having followed the direction of this coast, we found ourselves at the entrance of the same strait of Anian, which, fifteen days before, we had passed through to the open sea; this we knew to be the South Sea, where are situated Japan, China, the Moluccas, India, New Guinea, and the land discovered by Captain Quiros, with all the coast of New Spain and Peru. * *

"The Strait of Anian is fifteen leagues in length, and can easily be passed with a tide lasting six hours; for those tides are very rapid. There are, in this length, six turns, and two entrances, which lie north and south; that is, bear from each other north and south. The entrance on the north side (through which we passed) is less than half a quarter of a league in width, and on each side are ridges of high rocks; but the rock on the side of Asia is higher and steeper than the other, and hangs over, so that nothing falling from the top can reach its base. The entrance into the South Sea, near the harbor, is more than a quarter of a league in width, and thence the passage runs in an oblique direction, increasing the distance between the two coasts. In the middle of the strait, at the termination of the third turn, is a great rock, and an islet, formed by a rugged rock, three *estadias* [about one thousand one hundred feet] in height, more or less; its form is round, and its diameter may be two hundred paces; its distance from the land of Asia is very little; but the sea, on that side, is full of shoals and reefs, and can only be navigated by boats. The distance between this islet and the continent of America is less than a quarter of a league in width; and, although its channel is so deep that two or even three ships might sail abreast through it, two bastions might be built on the banks with little trouble, which would contract the channel to within the reach of a musket shot.

"In the harbor in which our ship anchored, at the entrance of the strait, on the south side, we lay from the beginning of April to the middle of June, when a large vessel, of eight hundred tons' burden, came there from the South Sea, in order to pass the strait. Upon this, we put ourselves on our guard; but, having come to an understanding with her, I found them willing to give us some

of their merchandise, the greater part of which consisted of articles similar to those manufactured in China, such as brocades, silks, porcelain, feathers, precious stones, pearls, and gold. These people seemed to be Hanseatics, who inhabit the Bay of St. Nicholas, or the port of St. Michael, [Archangel, on the White Sea.] In order to understand one another, we were forced to speak Latin, those of our party who understood that language talking with those on board the ship who were also acquainted with it. They did not seem to be Catholics, but Lutherans. They said they came from a large city, more than one hundred leagues from the strait; and, though I cannot exactly remember its name, I think they called it *Rohr*, or some such name, which they said had a good harbor, and a navigable river, and was subject to the great khan, as it belonged to Tartary, and that, in that port, they left another ship belonging to their country. We could learn no more from them, as they acted with great caution, and little confidence, being afraid of our company; wherefore we parted from them, near the strait, in the North Sea, and set sail towards Spain."

The preceding extracts, from a translation of the manuscript at Madrid, will suffice to show the course which the Portuguese pretended to have taken, in 1588. The remainder of the paper is devoted to descriptions of the supposed strait, and plans for its occupation and defence by Spain; nothing being said as to the circumstances which induced the navigators to return to Europe by the same route, instead of pursuing their course to some Spanish port on the Pacific. It is needless to use any arguments to prove that no such voyage could have been ever made; as we know that the only connection by water between the Atlantic and the Pacific, north of America, is through the Arctic Sea and Bering's Strait, which latter passage is more than sixteen leagues in width, and is situated near the 65th degree of latitude. It has, however, been suggested, and it is not improbable, that, before the period when Maldonado presented his memoir to the Council of the Indies, some voyage, of which we have no account, may have been made in the North Pacific,* as far as the entrance of the gulf called *Cook's Inlet*, and that this entrance, situated under the 60th parallel of latitude, may have been supposed, by the navigator, to be the western termination of the long-sought Strait of Anian.

The story certainly attracted considerable attention at the time

* Article on the north-west passage, in the Quarterly, for October, 1816, above mentioned.

when it was put forth, and allusions are made to it by several Spanish authors of the seventeenth century; it had, however, been entirely forgotten when the French geographer M. Buache, having obtained a copy of the Madrid manuscript, endeavored to establish the truth of the most material points, in a paper read by him before the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, on the 13th of November, 1790. At his request, the archives of the Indies were examined, in search of documents relating to the supposed voyage; and the commanders of Spanish ships, then employed in the surveying the north-west coasts of America, were instructed to endeavor to find the entrance of the Strait of Anian, near the 60th degree of latitude. These endeavors proved vain, and the name of Maldonado had again sunk into oblivion, when it was again, in 1812, brought before the world by Signor Amoretti, of Milan, who found, in the Ambrosian library, in that city, the manuscript already mentioned, and published a French translation of it, with arguments in support of the truth of its contents. So far as is known, the falsehoods of Maldonado have injured no one, and they were ultimately productive of great good; for it was while engaged, by order of the Spanish government, in examining the archives of the Indies respecting this pretended voyage, that Navarrete found those precious documents, relating to the expeditions of Columbus and other navigators of his day, which have thrown so much light on the history of the discovery of the New World.

Similar good effects have been produced by the story of the voyage of Admiral Pedro Bartolomé de Fonté, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, through lakes and rivers extending across North America, which may also be here mentioned, though it belongs properly to a later period of the history; as the voyage was said to have been performed in 1640, and the account first appeared in a periodical work entitled — *Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs of the Curious* — published at London, in 1708. This account is very confused, and badly written, and is filled with absurdities and contradictions, which should have prevented it from receiving credit at any time since its appearance: yet, as will be shown, it was seriously examined and defended, so recently as in the middle of the last century, by eminent scientific men; and some faith continued to be attached to it for many years afterwards. So far as its details can be understood, they are to the following effect: —

Admiral Fonté sailed from Callao, near Lima, in April, 1640, with four vessels, under orders, from the viceroy of Peru, to repair

to the North Pacific, for the purpose of exploring its American coasts, and of intercepting certain vessels which were reported to have been equipped at Boston, in New England, in search of a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. From Callao he proceeded to Cape San Lucas, where he detached a vessel to explore the Californian Gulf; thence, continuing his voyage along the west coast, he passed about two hundred and sixty leagues, in crooked channels, among a collection of islands called by him the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus;* and beyond them he found, under the 53d degree of latitude, the mouth of a great river, which he named *Rio de los Reyes — River of Kings.* Having despatched his lieutenant, Bernardo, with one vessel, to trace the coast on the Pacific farther north, he entered the great river, and ascended it north-eastward, to a large lake, called, from the beauty of its shores, *Lake Belle*, containing many islands, and surrounded by a fine country, the inhabitants of which were kind and hospitable. On the south shore of the lake was the large town of *Conasset*, where the admiral left his vessels; thence he proceeded, (in what manner he does not say,) with some of his men, down a river called the *Parmentier*, flowing from Lake Belle eastward into another lake, to which he gave his own name, and thence, through a passage called the *Strait of Ronquillo*, in honor of one of his captains, to the sea.

On entering the sea, the admiral learned, from some Indians, "that, a little way off, lay a great ship, where there had never been one before;" and, on boarding her, he found only an old man and a youth, who told him that they came from the town called *Boston*, in New England. On the following day, the captain, named Nicholas Shapley, arrived, with the owner of the ship, Seymour Gibbons, "a fine gentleman, and major-general of the largest colony in New England, called *Malteehusetts*," between whom and the admiral a struggle of courtesy was begun. The Spanish commander had been ordered to make prize of any people seeking for a north-west or a west passage; but he would look on the Bostonians as merchants, trading for skins; so he made magnificent presents to them all, and, having received, in return, their charts and journals, he went back to his ships, in Lake Belle, and thence, down the Rio de los Reyes, to the sea.

In the mean time, the lieutenant, Bernardo, had ascended another river, called, by him, *Rio de Haro*, into a lake named *Lake Velasco*, situated under the 61st degree of latitude, from which he went, in

canoes, as far as the 79th degree, where the land was seen, "still trending north, and the ice rested on the land." He was also assured "that there was no communication out of the Atlantic Sea by Davis's Strait; for the natives had conducted one of his seamen to the head of Davis's Strait, which terminated in a fresh lake, of about thirty miles in circumference, in the 80th degree of north latitude; and there were prodigious mountains north of it." These accounts, added to his own observations, led Admiral Fonté to conclude "*that there was no passage into the South Sea by what they call the north-west passage;*" and he accordingly returned, with his vessels, through the Pacific, to Peru.

Such are the principal circumstances related in the account of Admiral Fonté's voyage, which was, for some time after its appearance, received as true, and copied into all works on Northern America. In 1750, a French translation of the account, with a chart drawn from it, and a memoir, in support of its correctness, were presented to the Academy of Sciences of Paris by Messrs. Delisle and Buache, in consequence of which, the various Spanish repositories of papers respecting America were carefully examined, in search of information on the subject; and, in all the voyages of discovery along the north-west coasts of the continent, during the last century, endeavors were made to discover the mouth of the *Rio de los Reyes*. These labors, however, were vain. The existence of a number of islands near the position assigned to the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, and of a large river, (the *Stikine*,) entering the ocean near the 56th parallel, indeed, seems to favor the supposition that some voyage, of which we have no record, may have been made to that part of the Pacific before 1708; but the rivers and lakes through which Fonté was said to have passed — his town of Conasset — and his Boston ship — are now generally believed to have all emanated from the brain of James Petiver, a naturalist of some eminence, and one of the chief contributors to the Monthly Miscellany.

The account of the voyage and discoveries of Juan de Fuca, on the north-western side of America, in 1592, was, for a long time, considered as less worthy of credit than those above noticed. More recent examinations in that part of the world have, however, caused it to be removed from the class of fictions; although it is certainly erroneous as regards the principal circumstance related. All the information respecting this voyage is derived from "*A Note made by Michael Lock, the elder, touching the Strait of Sea commonly called*

Fretum Anian, *in the South Sea, through the North-west Passage of* Meta Incognita" — published in 1625, in the celebrated historical and geographical collection called *The Pilgrims*, by Samuel Purchas.*

Mr. Lock there relates that he met, at Venice, in April, 1596, "an old man, about sixty years of age, called, commonly, *Juan de Fuca*, but named, properly, *Apostolos Valerianos*, of nation a Greek, born in Cephalonia, of profession a mariner, and an ancient pilot of ships," who, "in long talks and conferences," declared that he had been in the naval service of Spain, in the West Indies, forty years, and that he was one of the crew of the galleon Santa Anna, when she was taken by Cavendish, near Cape San Lucas, in 1587, on which occasion "he had lost sixty thousand ducats of his own goods." After his return to Mexico, he was despatched, by the viceroy, with three vessels, "to discover the Strait of Anian, along the coast of the South Sea, and to fortify that strait, to resist the passage and proceeding of the English nation, which were feared to pass through that strait into the South Sea." This expedition, however, proving abortive, he was again sent, in 1592, with a small caravel, for the same purpose, in which "he followed his course west and north-west," along the coasts of Mexico and California, "until he came to the latitude of 47 degrees; and, there finding that the land trended north and north-east, with a broad inlet of sea, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trending still sometime north-west, and north-east, and north, and also east, and south-eastward, and very much broader sea than was at the said entrance, and he passed by divers islands in that sailing; and, at the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the north-west coast thereof, a great head-land or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar thereupon. * * * * Being entered thus far into the said strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the sea wide enough every where, and to be about thirty or forty leagues wide in the mouth of the straits, where he entered, he thought he had now well discharged his office; and that, not being armed to resist the force of the savage people that might happen, he therefore set sail, and returned to Acapulco."

The Greek went on to say that, upon his arrival in Mexico, the vice-

* The whole *note* will be found among the *Proofs and Illustrations*, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter A.

roy had welcomed him, and promised him a great reward; but that, after waiting in vain for two years, he had stole away to Europe, and, "understanding the noble mind of the queen of England, and of her wars against the Spaniards, and hoping that her majesty would do him justice for his goods lost by Captain Candish, he would be content to go into England, and serve her majesty in that voyage for the discovery perfectly of the north-west passage into the South Sea, if she would furnish him with only one ship of forty tons' burden, and a pinnace; and that he would perform it in thirty days' time, from one end to the other of the strait." Mr. Lock says that, on receiving this account, he endeavored to interest Sir Walter Raleigh, and other eminent persons in England, in behalf of the Greek pilot, and to have him employed on a voyage such as he proposed to undertake; but he was unable to do so, and, by the last accounts, the old man was dying in Cephalonia, in 1602.

These are the most material circumstances respecting Juan de Fuca and his voyage, as related by Mr. Lock, who was an intelligent and respectable merchant engaged in the Levant trade.* Other English writers, of the same time, allude to the subject; but they afford no additional particulars, nor has any thing been since learned, calculated to prove directly even that such a person as Juan de Fuca ever existed. On the contrary, the author of the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, who loses no opportunity to exalt the merits of his countrymen as discoverers, after examining many papers in the archives of the Indies, relating to the period given as the date of the voyage, pronounces the whole to be a fabrication. The account attracted little attention in England, and was almost unknown, out of that kingdom, until after the publication of the journals of the last expedition of Cook, who conceived that he had, by his examinations on the north-western coasts of America, ascertained its falsehood. More recent examinations in that quarter have, however, served to establish a strong presumption in favor of its authenticity and general correctness, so far as the supposed narrator could himself have known; for they show that the geographical descriptions contained in it are as nearly conformable with the truth, as those of any other account of a voyage written in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Thus Juan de Fuca says that, between the 47th and 48th

* He was, for some time, the English consul at Aleppo, and was an intimate friend of Hakluyt, for whom he translated the Decades of Pedro Martir, and furnished other papers published by that collector.

degrees of latitude, he entered a broad inlet of sea, in which he sailed for twenty days, and found the land trending north-west, and north-east, and north, and east, and south-east, and that, in this course, he passed numerous islands. Now, the fact is, that, between the 48th and 49th degrees, a broad inlet of sea does extend from the Pacific, eastward, apparently penetrating the American continent to the distance of more than one hundred miles, after which it turns north-westward, and, continuing in that direction about two hundred and fifty miles farther, it again joins the Pacific Ocean. The differences as to the position and course of the inlet, between the two descriptions here compared, are few and slight, and are certainly all within the limits of supposable error on the part of the Greek, especially considering his advanced age, and the circumstance that he spoke only from recollection; while, on the other hand, the coincidences are too strong to be attributable only to chance. The pilot, indeed, asserts that through this inlet he sailed to the Atlantic, but he does not pretend that he reached any known coast, or previously-determined point of that ocean; so that he is liable only to the charge of having made an erroneous estimate of the extent and value of his discovery, which he might well have done, without any intention to deceive, as the breadth of the North American continent was then unknown.

Some false reports, such as those above mentioned, respecting the discovery of a northern passage between the two oceans, and the existence of rich nations in its vicinity, together with a desire to lessen the dangers of the navigation along the western side of California, by providing the ships in the Philippine trade with proper descriptions of the coasts, induced King Philip II. of Spain, in 1595, to order that measures should be taken for a complete survey of it.* There were, also, other reasons for examining that part of

* "His majesty knew that the viceroys of Mexico had endeavored to discover a northern passage; and he had found, among his father's papers, a declaration of certain strangers, to the effect that they had been driven, by violent winds, from the codfish coast, [about Newfoundland,] on the Atlantic, to the South Sea, through the Strait of Anian, which is beyond Cape Mendocino, and had, on their way, seen a rich and populous city, well fortified, and inhabited by a numerous and civilized nation, who had treated them well; as also many other things worthy to be seen and known. His majesty had also been informed that ships, sailing from China to Mexico, ran great risks, particularly near Cape Mendocino, where the storms are most violent, and that it would be advantageous to have that coast surveyed thence to Acapulco, so that the ships, mostly belonging to his majesty, should find places for relief and refreshment when needed." Whereupon, his majesty ordered the count de Monterey, viceroy of Mexico, to have those coasts surveyed, at his own expense, with all care and diligence, &c. — Torquemada, vol. i. p. 693.

the continent, as the Spaniards were then engaged in the settlement of New Mexico, or the country traversed by the River *Bravo del Norte*, in which their colonies extended nearly to the 40th degree of latitude; and they had no clear idea of the distance between that region and the Pacific.

The count de Monterey, viceroy of Mexico, in consequence, despatched three vessels from Acapulco, in the spring of 1596, under the command of Sebastian Vizcaino, a distinguished officer, who had been in the ship Santa Anna, when she was taken and burnt by Cavendish, off Cape San Lucas. Nothing, however, was gained by this expedition. For reasons of which we are not informed by the Spanish historians, Vizcaino did not proceed beyond the Californian Gulf, on the shores of which he endeavored to plant colonies, first at a place called St. Sebastian, and afterwards at La Paz, or Santa Cruz, where Cortes had made a similar attempt sixty years before: but both these places were soon abandoned, on account of the sterility of the surrounding country, and the ferocity of the natives; and Vizcaino returned to Mexico before the end of the year.*

The viceroy had most probably hoped, by means of this voyage, to escape the infliction of the heavy expenses of an expedition such as that which he was enjoined to make by the royal decree; but King Philip II. died in 1598, and one of the first acts of the reign of his successor, Philip III., was a peremptory order for the immediate despatch of a squadron from Mexico, to complete the survey of the west coasts of the continent, agreeably to the previous instructions. The viceroy thereupon commenced preparations for the purpose on an extended scale of equipment. Two large ships and a *fragata*, or small vessel, were provided at Acapulco, and furnished with all the requisites for a long voyage of discovery; and, in addition to their regular crews, a number of pilots, draughtsmen, and educated priests, were engaged, forming together, says the

* This expedition is thus noticed by Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 522:—

"We have seen a letter written the 8th of October, 1597, at a town called *Puebla de los Angeles*, eighteen leagues from Mexico, making mention of the islands of California, situated two or three hundred leagues from the main land of New Spain, in the South Sea, as that thither have been sent, before that time, some people to conquer them, which, with loss of some twenty men, were forced back, after that they had well visited, and found those islands or countries to be very rich of gold and silver mines, and of very fair Oriental pearls, which were caught, in good quantity, upon one fathom and a half, passing, in beauty, the pearls of Margarita. The report thereof caused the viceroy of Mexico to send a citizen of Mexico, with two hundred men, to conquer the same."

historian Torquemada, "the most enlightened corps ever raised in New Spain." The direction of the whole expedition was intrusted to Sebastian Vizcaino, as captain-general, who sailed in the largest ship; the other being commanded by Toribio Gomez de Corvan, as admiral — an office equivalent in rank to that of vice-admiral in the British service: the *fragata* was under ensign Martin de Aguilar.*

All things being prepared, the vessels took their departure from Acapulco on the 5th of May, 1602, and, after many troubles and delays at various places on the Mexican coast, they were assembled in the small Bay of San Bernabé, now called Port San José, immediately east of Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of the Californian peninsula. There they remained until the 5th of July, when they rounded the cape, and the survey of the west coast was commenced from that point. The prosecution of the enterprise was thenceforward attended by constant difficulties: the scurvy, as usual, soon broke out among the crews; and the Spaniards had their courage and perseverance severely tried by their "chief enemy, the north-west wind," which was raised up, says Torquemada, "by the foe of the human race, in order to prevent the advance of the ships, and to delay the discovery of those countries, and the conversion of their inhabitants to the Catholic faith."

Vizcaino and his followers, however, bore up nobly against all these obstacles, and executed the duty confided to them most faithfully. Proceeding slowly northward, they reached the extensive *Bay of La Magdalena*, between the 24th and 25th parallels of latitude, of which Vizcaino's survey was, until recently, the only one upon record; and before the end of August, the vessels which had been separated almost ever since quitting Cape San Lucas, were again united in a harbor in the island called *Isla de Cedros*, or Isle of Cedars, by Cabrillo, but now generally known as *Isla de Cerros*, or Isle of Mountains. Continuing their examination, they found a bay near the 31st degree of latitude, which they named the *Port of the Eleven Thousand Virgins*, now called *Port San Quintin*, and said to be an excellent harbor; and farther north they entered the *Port San Miguel* of Cabrillo, to which they assigned the appella-

* Torquemada, vol. i. p. 694. — Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 60. — Torquemada's accounts are derived chiefly from the Journal of Fray Antonio de la Asencion, the chaplain of one of the ships. The author of the Introduction, &c., had recourse to the original notes of the expedition, from which he constructed a chart of the coast surveyed.

tion of *Port San Diego*. There Vizcaino received accounts, from the natives, of people residing in the interior, who had beards, wore clothes, and dwelt in cities; but he could learn no further particulars, and was, upon the whole, inclined to believe that, unless the Indians were deceiving him, these people must be the Spaniards recently settled in New Mexico, on the River Bravo del Norte.

Having minutely surveyed Port San Diego, the Spaniards quitted it on the 1st of December, and sailed through the Archipelago of Santa Barbara, in one of the islands of which Cabrillo died sixty years previous; then doubling the Cape de Galera of that navigator, to which they gave the name of *Cape Conception*, now borne by it, they anchored, in the middle of the month, in a spacious and secure harbor, near the 37th parallel, where they remained some time, engaged in refitting their vessels and obtaining a supply of water. This harbor — the *Port of Pines* of Cabrillo — was named *Port Monterey* by Vizcaino, in honor of the viceroy of Mexico; and as, before reaching it, sixteen of the crews of the vessels had died, and many of the others were incapable of duty from disease, it was determined that Corvan, the admiral, should return to Mexico in his ship, carrying the invalids, with letters to the viceroy, urging the immediate establishment of colonies and garrisons at San Diego and Monterey. Corvan, accordingly, on the 29th, sailed for Acapulco, where he arrived after a long and perilous voyage, with but few of his men alive; whilst Vizcaino, with his ship and the *fragata*, prosecuted their exploration along the coast towards the north.

On the 3d of January, 1603, after the departure of Corvan, Vizcaino, accompanied by the small vessel under Aguilar, quitted Monterey; but, ere proceeding much farther north, they were driven back by a severe gale, in the course of which the two vessels were separated. The ship took refuge in the Bay of San Francisco, which seems to have been then well known; and search was made for the wreck of the San Augustin, which had been there lost, as already mentioned, in 1595, during her voyage from the Philippine Islands to Acapulco. Finding no traces of that vessel, Vizcaino again put to sea; and, passing a promontory, which he supposed to be Cape Mendocino, he, on the 20th of January, reached a high, white bluff, in latitude, as ascertained by solar observation, of 42 degrees, which, in honor of the saint of that day, was named *Cape San Sebastian*. By this time, few of his men were fit for

service; the weather was stormy, the cold was severe, the provisions were nearly exhausted; and, as the small vessel did not appear, the commander, with the assent of his officers, resolved to direct his course towards Mexico. He did so, and arrived at Acapulco on the 21st of March.

The *fragata*, or small vessel, also reached Mexico about the same time, having, however, lost, by sickness, her commander, Martin de Aguilar, her pilot, Flores, and the greater part of her crew. Torquemada's account of her voyage, after parting with Vizcaino's ship, is short, and by no means clear; but the circumstances therein related have attracted so much attention, that a translation of it should be here presented. The historian says, —

"The *fragata* parted from the *capitana*, [Vizcaino's ship,] and, supposing that she had gone onward, sailed in pursuit of her. Being in the latitude of 41 degrees, the wind began to blow from the south-west; and the *fragata*, being unable to withstand the waves on her beam, ran before the wind, until she found shelter under the land, and anchored near Cape Mendocino, behind a great rock, where she remained until the gale had passed over. When the wind had become less violent, they continued their voyage close along the shore; and, on the 19th of January, the pilot, Antonio Flores, found that they were in the latitude of 43 degrees, where the land formed a cape or point, which was named *Cape Blanco*. From that point, the coast begins to turn to the north-west; and near it was discovered a rapid and abundant river, with ash-trees, willows, brambles, and other trees of Castile, on its banks, which they endeavored to enter, but could not, from the force of the current. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, the commander, and Antonio Flores, the pilot, seeing that they had already reached a higher latitude than had been ordered by the viceroy, in his instructions, that the *capitana* did not appear, and that the number of the sick was great, agreed to return to Acapulco; and they did so, as I shall hereafter show. It is supposed that this river is the one leading to a great city, which was discovered by the Dutch when they were driven thither by storms, and that it is the Strait of Anian, through which the ship passed, in sailing from the North Sea to the South Sea; and that the city called *Quivira* is in those parts; and that this is the region referred to in the account which his majesty read, and which induced him to order this expedition."

This account of the discovery of a great river, near the 43d

degree of latitude, was, for a long time, universally credited, and excited many speculations. The supposed river was first, as Torquemada says, generally believed to be the long-sought Strait of Anian. It was then, upon the strength of a statement made by the captain of a Manilla ship, in 1620, universally considered as the western mouth of a passage, or channel, connecting the ocean with the northern extremity of the Californian Gulf; and, accordingly, during the remainder of the seventeenth century, California was represented, on all maps, as an island, of which Cape Blanco was the northern end. When this error had been corrected, the existence of a great river, flowing from the centre of America into the Pacific, under the 43d parallel, was again affirmed by some geographers; while others again placed at this point the western entrance of a passage leading to the Atlantic.

It is now certain that no such stream or channel as that which Aguilar is reported to have seen, falls into the Pacific within three degrees of the 43d parallel; although the mouths of two small rivers are situated near the point where that line crosses the western coast of the continent. Several head-lands project into the ocean, not far from the positions assigned to the Capes Blanco and San Sebastian. The former may have been the promontory, in latitude of 42 degrees 52 minutes, on which Vancouver, in 1792, bestowed the name of *Cape Orford*.

On comparing the accounts of Vizcaino's voyage with those of Cabrillo's, it appears that the same, or very nearly the same, portions of the American coast were seen by both commanders. The expedition of Vizcaino was, however, conducted in a much more efficient manner than the other; and a mass of valuable information, respecting the geography of the western side of California, was collected, in the shape of notes, plans, and sketches, upon which were founded the first maps of that coast approaching to correctness.

Vizcaino, after his return to Mexico, endeavored to prevail upon the viceroy to establish colonies and garrisons on the western side of California, at places which he recommended, in order to facilitate the trade with India, and to prevent the occupation of the American coasts by people of other nations. His efforts, with this view, however, produced no effect, as the viceroys never encouraged such enterprises, being generally obliged to pay the costs themselves; and Vizcaino, in consequence, went to Spain, where, after many years of solicitation, he at length procured the royal mandate,

and a promise of means for the execution of his projects. Armed with these, he hastened back to Mexico, and began his preparations; but, while thus engaged, he was seized with a sickness, of which he died in 1608, and the enterprise was then abandoned.

The Spanish government, at the period of Vizcaino's expeditions, appears, indeed, to have been seriously interested in the exploration of the Pacific, with which object several voyages were made from Peru and Mexico. In 1595, Alvaro de Mendana discovered the group of islands in the southern division of that ocean, to which he gave the name of *Islas de las Marquesas*, (Islands of the Marchionesses,) in token of his admiration of the beauty and grace of their women. In 1605, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros visited many other islands in the same sea, not previously known, among which were, probably, those now called *Otaheite* and *Owyhee*: he also believed that he had ascertained the existence of a great southern continent, which he named *Australia del Espiritu Santo*; and, like Vizcaino, he spent many years at Madrid, in endeavors to obtain from the government the command of an expedition for the occupation of this new land.

CHAPTER III.

1608 TO 1768.

The North-West Coasts of North America remain nearly neglected during the whole of this Period — Efforts of the English and the Dutch to find new Passages into the Pacific — Discovery of Hudson's Bay and Baffin's Bay — Discovery of the Passage around Cape Horn — Establishment of the Hudson's Bay Trading Company — Endeavors of the Spaniards to settle California unsuccessful — The Jesuits undertake the Reduction of California — Establishments of the Jesuits in the Peninsula, and their Expulsion from the Spanish Dominions.

FOR more than a hundred and sixty years after the death of Vizcaino, no attempt was made, by the Spaniards, to form establishments on the west coast of California, or to extend their discoveries in that part of America.

Those countries, in the mean time, remained unknown, and almost entirely neglected, by the civilized world. The Spanish galleons, on their way from Manilla to Acapulco, annually passed along the coasts south of Cape Mendocino, which were described in Spanish works on the navigation of the Pacific; and some spots, farther north, were, as will be hereafter particularly shown, visited by the Russians, in their exploring and trading voyages from Kamtchatka: but no new information, of an exact nature, was obtained with regard to those regions, and they were represented on maps according to the fancy of the geographer, or to the degree of faith which he placed in the last fabrication respecting them. Numerous were the stories, gravely related and published in France and England, of powerful nations, of great rivers, of interior seas, and of navigable passages connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific, north of California. The most remarkable of these stories is the account of the voyage of Admiral Fonté, already presented. Captain Coxton, a veteran bucanier, who flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth century, also declared that he had, in 1688, sailed from the North Pacific, far eastward, into the American continent, through a river which ran out of a great lake, called the *Lake of Thoyaga*, containing many islands, inhabited by a numerous

and warlike population; and, upon the strength of the assertions of this worthy, the lake and river, as described by him, were laid down on many of the maps of that time. North-west America was, indeed, during the period here mentioned, the *terra incognitissima*, the favorite scene of extraordinary adventures and Utopian romances. Bacon there placed his Atlantis; and Brobdignag, agreeably to the very precise description of its locality furnished by its discoverer, the accomplished and veracious Captain Lemuel Gulliver, must have been situated near the Strait of Fuca.

The Atlantic Ocean, and its American coasts, and the South Pacific, were, however, not neglected by the Europeans during the seventeenth century. Soon after the termination of Vizcaino's labors, settlements were made, in many places on the Atlantic, between the Gulfs of Mexico and of St. Lawrence, by the English, the French, and the Dutch, generally under the protection of charters from the governments of those nations, in which the territories of the several colonies were declared to extend from the Atlantic westward to the Pacific; and some of the most valuable of the West India Islands had fallen into the possession of the same powers.

Many discoveries were likewise effected, within this period, on the coasts of the New World, and in the adjoining seas, some of which were of great and immediate importance, while the others served to strengthen the expectation that a *north-west passage*, or navigable channel of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, north of America, would be speedily found. Thus, in 1608, Henry Hudson discovered, or rediscovered, the strait, and the bay connected by it with the Atlantic, to both of which his name is now attached; and, eight years afterwards, the adventurous William Baffin penetrated, through the arm of that ocean now called *Baffin's Bay*, separating Greenland from America, into a passage extending westward, under the 74th parallel of latitude, where his ship was arrested by ice.

The results of the voyages of Baffin, and other navigators, who followed the same course, were not calculated to increase the hope that the desired passage to the Pacific would be found opening into Baffin's Bay. Strong grounds were, however, afforded for the expectation that it might be discovered in one of the arms of Hudson's Bay which had not been completely explored; and, in consequence, the whole region surrounding the latter sea was, in 1669, granted, by King Charles II., to an association of merchants

and gentlemen, styled — *The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay* — with the object,* expressed in the charter, of encouraging the search for a northern passage to the Pacific.

The most important discovery made in the seventeenth century was that of the open sea, south of Magellan's Strait, through which the Dutch navigators Lemaire and Van Schouten sailed, in 1616, from the Atlantic into the Pacific, around the island promontory named by them *Cape Horn*, in honor of their native city in Holland. By means of this new route, the perils and difficulties of the navigation between the two oceans were so much lessened, that voyages from Europe to the Pacific were no longer regarded as very hazardous enterprises; and the Spanish possessions and commerce on that ocean were ever after annoyed by the armed ships of nations at war with Spain, or by pirates and smugglers of various classes and denominations.

The Gulf of California became the principal resort of the Dutch pirates, or, rather, privateers, who, under the name of *Pichilingues*,† kept the inhabitants of the adjacent coasts of Mexico in constant anxiety. For the purpose of dislodging these depredators, and also of obtaining advantages from the pearl fishery in the gulf, several attempts were made, by the government of Spain, and by individuals in Mexico, to establish colonies, garrisons, and fishing or trading posts, on the eastern side of the peninsula of California. The details of the expeditions for these purposes, made by Vicuña and Ortega in 1631, by Barriga and Porter in 1644, by Piñadero in 1664 and 1667, by Lucenilla in 1668, and by Atondo in 1683, are devoid of interest. Many pearls were obtained, among which are some of the most valuable in the regalia of Spain; but the establishments all failed from want of funds, from the extreme barrenness of the soil, and the determined hostility of the natives of the peninsula, and, above all, from the indolence and viciousness of the persons employed in the expeditions. In the last attempt of this kind, under the direction of Don Isidro de Atondo, a number of settlers, soldiers, and Jesuits, were carried out from Mexico, and distributed at points on the gulf where the establishments were to be formed; but these stations were all abandoned before the end of a year, and it was thereupon resolved, in a council of the chief

* See Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter I, No. 1.

† So called from the Bay of Pichilingue, on the east coast of the Californian peninsula, which was the principal rendezvous of these Dutch pirates.

authorities of Mexico, that the reduction of California by such means was impracticable.

The Jesuits, who had accompanied Atondo to California, while concurring in this opinion with the council, nevertheless insisted that the desired political objects might be attained by a different course, namely, by the civilization and conversion to Christianity of the natives of that country; and this task they offered themselves to undertake, doubting not that their labors would be crowned with the same success which had attended them in Paraguay. Their proposition was, as might have been expected, coldly received by the authorities, who could gain nothing by its execution. The Jesuits, however, not being disheartened by this refusal, perambulated the whole country, preaching, and exhorting all to contribute to the accomplishment of an enterprise so pious and so politic. By such means, and by the coöperation of their brethren in Europe, they raised a small fund; and finally, in 1697, they procured royal warrants, authorizing them to enter upon the reduction of California *for the king*, and to do all that might tend to that object *at their own expense*. On receiving these warrants, Father Salvatierra, the chief missionary, immediately sailed, with a few laborers and soldiers, to the land which was to be the scene of their operations. There he was soon after joined by Fathers Kuhn, (a German, called, by the Spaniards, *Kino*,) Piccolo, Ugarte, and others, all men of courage and education, and enthusiastically devoted to the cause in which they were engaged; and, in November, 1697, the first establishment, called *Loreto*, was founded on the eastern side of the peninsula, about two hundred miles from the Pacific.

The Jesuits, on entering California, had to encounter the same perils and obstacles which had rendered ineffectual all the other attempts to occupy that country. They were attacked by the natives, to whose ferocity several of the fathers fell victims; the land was so barren, that it scarcely yielded the means of sustaining life to the most industrious agriculturist, for which reason the settlements were all located near the sea, in order that the necessary food might be procured by fishing; and the persons employed in their service, being drawn from the most miserable classes in Mexico, were always indolent and insubordinate, and generally preferred loitering on the shore, in search of pearls, to engaging in the regular labors required for the support of settlers in a new region. The operations of the Jesuits were also, for some time, confined within the narrowest limits, from want of funds. Their

brethren and friends occasionally made remittances to them, in money or goods; and the king was persuaded to assign, for their use, a small annual allowance: but the Mexican treasury, which was charged with the payment of this allowance, was seldom able to meet their drafts when presented; and the assistance derived from all these sources was much diminished in value before it reached those for whom it was destined. Embarrassments of this nature occurred in 1702, at the commencement of the undertaking, in consequence of the great costs of the expeditions from Mexico for the occupation of Texas, and the establishment of garrisons at Pensacola and other places in Florida, as checks upon the French.

By perseverance and kindness, however, rather than by any other means, the Jesuits overcame all the difficulties to which they were exposed; and within sixty years after their entrance into California, they had formed sixteen principal establishments, called missions, extending in a chain along the eastern side of the peninsula from Cape San Lucas to the head of the gulf. Each of these missions comprised a church, a fort garrisoned by a few soldiers, and some stores and dwelling-houses, all under the entire control of the resident Jesuit; and it formed the centre of a district containing several *rancherias*, or villages of converted Indians. The principal mission or capital was *Loreto*; south of it was *La Paz*, the port of communication with Mexico, probably the same place called *Santa Cruz* by Cortes, where he endeavored to plant a colony in 1535; and near Cape San Lucas was *San Jose*, at which an attempt was made to provide means for the repair and refreshment of vessels employed in the Philippine trade. No establishments were formed on the west coast, which does not seem to have been visited by the Jesuits, except on one occasion, in 1716. The villages were each under the superintendence of Indians selected for the purpose, of whom one possessed the powers of a governor, another took care of the church or chapel, and a third summoned the inhabitants to prayers and reported the delinquents. The children were taught to speak, read, write, and sing, in Spanish, and were initiated into the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion. The converts were directed in their labors by the fathers; each being generally allowed to retain the fruits of his industry, though he was at the same time made to understand that he could not claim them as his property. Immigration from other countries, except of Jesuits, was as far as possible prevented; the efforts of the missionaries being, in California as in Paraguay, devoted exclusively to the

improvement of the natives, and their union into a species of commonwealth, under the guidance of their preceptors.

The Jesuits also in California, as in Paraguay and elsewhere, exerted themselves assiduously in acquiring a knowledge of the geography, natural history, and languages of the country. They surveyed the whole coast of the Californian Gulf, determining with exactness the relative positions of the principal points on it; and in 1709, Father Kuhn ascertained beyond doubt the fact of the connection of the peninsula with the continent, which had been denied for a century. Indeed, as regards the eastern and middle parts of the peninsula, nearly all the information which we possess at the present day has been derived through the labors of these missionaries. On all those subjects, the results of their researches were communicated to the world through the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, published, from time to time, at Paris, by learned members of their order, and afterwards more fully in their History of California,* which appeared at Madrid in 1757, and has been translated into all the languages of Western Europe.

In the mean time, — that is to say, ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century, — the power of Spain had, from a variety of causes, been constantly declining. Her resources, and those of her colonies, had, within that period, been materially reduced; in maritime force she had fallen far below England and France, and a large portion of America, including valuable and extensive territories, which had been long occupied by her subjects, had passed into the hands of her rivals or enemies. Her government, indeed, resisted, as long as possible, these intrusions and encroachments, as they were considered, of other nations upon territories of which Spain claimed exclusive possession in virtue of the papal grant of 1493, as well as of prior discovery; and never, until forced by absolute necessity, did the court of Madrid recognize the claim of any other power, except Portugal, to occupy countries in the New World, or to navigate the Western Atlantic, or any part of the Pacific. The earliest recognition of such a right by Spain was

* *Noticia de California y de su Conquista espiritual y temporal.* — This work, though usually attributed to Venegas, is doubtless chiefly due to the labors of Father Andres Marcos Burriel. The portions relating to the proceedings of the Jesuits in California are highly interesting, and bear every internal mark of truth and authenticity. The observations on the policy of the Spanish government towards its American possessions are replete with wisdom, and indicate more liberality, as well as boldness, on the part of the authors, than could have been reasonably expected, considering the circumstances under which they were written and published.

made in the *American treaty*, as it was called, concluded with Great Britain in 1670, by which it was agreed that the British king should have and enjoy forever, with plenary right of sovereignty and property, all lands, regions, islands, and colonies, possessed by him or his subjects in the West Indies, or in any part of America; with the understanding, however, that the subjects of neither power should trade with, or sail to, any place in those countries belonging to the other, unless forced thither by stress of weather or pursuit by enemies or pirates. These stipulations were renewed and confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, in which the queen of England, moreover, engaged to give assistance to the Spaniards for the restoration of the ancient limits of their dominions *in the West Indies, as they were in the time of King Charles II. of Spain*; and it was by common consent established, as a chief and fundamental rule, that the exercise of navigation and commerce in the *Spanish West Indies* should remain as it was in the time of that king, who died in 1700.

The terms of these, and all other treaties on the same subject, between Great Britain and Spain, were, however, so vague, that they served rather to increase than to prevent disputes. The meaning of the expression *Spanish West Indies* never could be fixed to the satisfaction of both the parties; and it was impossible for them, in any case of alleged trespass by either upon the rights of the other, to agree as to what were the limits of their respective dominions, or what was the state of their navigation and commerce at the time of the death of King Charles II., or at any other time. The British colonies were, nevertheless, constantly advancing and absorbing those of other European powers, and all the attempts of the Spaniards to check their prosperity were ineffectual.

The French, by their occupation of Louisiana and the western half of St. Domingo, also gave great uneasiness to the Spaniards for some time; but the political interests of the two nations had become so closely involved, by the family ties between their sovereigns, that Spain, as the weaker, in this and in the other cases, was obliged to submit to the influence and encroachments of her powerful ally.

At length, in 1763, peace was restored among these three great powers. Spain recovered from France New Orleans and the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi; while the remainder of Louisiana, together with Florida, Canada, and all the other French possessions on the North American continent, became the property

of Great Britain. The interests of France in the New World were so small, after these arrangements, that they could scarcely of themselves afford grounds for dispute between her and Spain; and the two crowns were, moreover, supposed to be firmly united by a treaty celebrated in history as the *Family Compact*, concluded in 1762, through the agency, chiefly, of the duke de Choiseul, prime minister of France, by which the sovereigns of those kingdoms guarantied to each other all their dominions in every part of the world, and engaged to consider as their common enemy any nation which should become the enemy of either.

The claims of Spain to the sovereignty of the western side of America were never made the subject of controversy with any other state until 1790; but her pretensions to the exclusive navigation of the Pacific, though upheld by her government even after that period, had long before ceased to be regarded with respect by the rest of the world. The free-traders, freebooters, and bucaniers,—that is to say, the smugglers and pirates,—of Great Britain, France, and Holland, led the way into that ocean, which they continued to infest during the whole of the seventeenth and a part of the eighteenth centuries: they were followed by the armed squadrons of those nations, with one or other of which Spain was almost always at war; and during the intervals of peace came the exploring ships of the same powers, whose voyages, though at first ostensibly scientific, were, with good reason, considered at Madrid as ominous of evil to the dominion of Spain in America.*

These exploring voyages became more frequent, and their objects were avowedly political as well as scientific, after the peace of 1763; about which time, moreover, they were rendered more safe, expeditious, and effective in every respect, by the introduction of the reflecting quadrant and the chronometer into use on board the public ships of all the maritime nations of Europe, except Spain and Portugal. Between that year and 1779 the Pacific and the southern oceans were annually swept by well-appointed ships of Great Britain or France, under able navigators, whose journals were published immediately on the conclusion of their voyages, in the

* Lord Lansdowne, in a speech in the British House of Lords, December 13, 1790, on the subject of the convention then recently concluded with Spain, said—"Sir Benjamin Keene, [ambassador from Great Britain at Madrid from 1754 to 1757,] one of the ablest foreign ministers this country ever had, used to say, that, if the Spaniards vexed us in the first instance, we had means enough to vex them in return, without infringing treaties; and the first step he would recommend would be to send out ships of discovery to the South Sea."

most authentic manner possible, illustrated by maps, plans, tables, views of scenery, and portraits of natives, all conspiring to afford the most exact ideas of the objects and places described in the narratives. New lands and new objects and channels of commercial and political enterprise were thus opened to all; and new principles of national right, adverse to the subsistence of the exclusive system so long maintained by the Spanish government, were established and recognized among all other states.

The voyages of the British exploring ships were, until 1778, confined to the southern parts of the ocean; but the Spanish government had been constantly in dread of their appearance in the North Pacific, particularly as a navigable communication between that ocean and the Atlantic, in the north, was again generally believed to exist. The acquisition of Canada by Great Britain rendered the discovery of such a passage much more important to that power, as there was less danger that any other nation should derive advantages from it, to the injury of British interests; while Spain, becoming possessed of Louisiana, which was supposed to extend indefinitely northward, had thus additional reasons for viewing with dissatisfaction any attempts of her rival to advance westward across the continent.

Serious grounds of apprehension were also afforded by the proceedings of the Russians on the northernmost coasts of the Pacific. All that was generally known of them was obtained from the maps and accounts of the French geographers, which, though vague and contradictory, yet served to establish the certainty that this ambitious and enterprising nation had formed colonies and naval stations in the north-easternmost part of Asia, and had found and taken possession of extensive territories beyond the sea bathing those shores; and these circumstances were sufficient to alarm the Spanish government for the safety of its provinces on the western side of America.

In order to avert the evils thus supposed to be impending, and at the same time to revive the claims of Spain to the exclusive navigation of the Pacific, and to the possession of the vacant territories of America adjoining her settled provinces, as well as to render those provinces more advantageous to and dependent on the mother country, a system was devised at Madrid, about the year 1765, embracing a series of measures which were to be applied as circumstances might dictate or permit. This system, which is supposed to have been elaborated chiefly by Carrasco, the fiscal of

the Council of Castile, and Galvez, a high officer of the Council of the Indies, embraced reforms in every part of the administration, particularly in the finances of the American dominions, the shameful abuses in which had been laid open by Ulloa, in his celebrated report* presented to the government in 1747. It was likewise intended that the vacant coasts and islands, adjacent to the settled provinces in the New World, should be examined and occupied by colonies and garrisons sufficient for their protection against the attempts of foreign nations to seize them, or at least to secure to Spain the semblance of a right of sovereignty over them, on the ground of prior discovery and settlement. The deliberations with regard to this system seem to have been conducted with the utmost secrecy by the Spanish government; and no idea was entertained of its objects in 1766, when Galvez, the officer above named, arrived in Mexico as *visitadór*,† with full powers to carry the new measures into effect in that part of the dominions.

This Galvez was a man of the most violent and tyrannical disposition. His arbitrary proceedings in financial matters occasioned an insurrection in the province of Puebla, which nothing but the firmness and good sense of the marquis de Croix, then viceroy of Mexico, prevented from becoming general. He then engaged in an expensive war against the Indians in Sonora and Sinaloa, the countries bordering on the eastern side of the Californian Gulf, from which very little either of honor or of profit accrued to Spain; and a portion of his impetuosity having thus escaped, he turned his attention towards California, where he was charged with an important duty.

The sovereigns of continental Europe and their ministers had long been impatient and jealous of the influence enjoyed, or sup-

* *Noticias secretas de America* — Secret information respecting the internal administration of Peru, Quito, Chile, and New Granada, collected by Don Antonio de Ulloa and Don Jorgé Juan, who had been sent for that purpose by the Spanish government in 1740; the only work from which it is possible to obtain a true picture of the state of those countries, and of the abuses and corruptions practised in them by the Spanish officials. It was first published at London, in 1826, by some political refugees of that nation, who had obtained possession of the original manuscript.

† "This title is given to persons charged by the court of Madrid to make inquiries as to the state of the colonies. Their *visits*, in general, produce no other effects than to balance for a time the authorities of the viceroy and the audiencia, [powers almost always at variance,] and to cause an infinite number of memorials, petitions, and plans, to be devised and presented, and some new tax to be imposed. The people of the country look for the arrival of a *visitadór* with the same impatience with which they afterwards desire his departure." — Humboldt's Essay on Mexico, book ii. chapter vii.

posed to be enjoyed, by the Jesuits; and the governments of Spain and Portugal, though always opposed to each other, were equally mistrustful as to the objects and proceedings of that order in the New World. Suspicions were entertained at Lisbon and at Madrid that those proceedings were not dictated solely by religious or philanthropic motives; but that the Jesuits aspired to the separation and exclusive control of the greater part, if not of the whole, of Southern America: and these suspicions were increased by the successful stand which they made in Paraguay, at the head of the natives, against the division of that province, and the transfer of a portion of its territory to Portugal, agreeably to the treaty concluded between the latter kingdom and Spain, in 1750. This act drew down upon the order the hatred of the subtle and fearless marquis de Pombal, who then ruled Portugal with a rod of steel; from that moment he devoted himself to its destruction, and, his plans having been disposed with care and secrecy, all its members were expelled from the Portuguese dominions, without difficulty, in 1759. In France, the Jesuits were soon after entirely overthrown by the agency of the duke de Choiseul, the minister, and madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV.; and on the 2d of April, 1767, a decree was unexpectedly issued by King Charles III. of Spain, at the instigation of the celebrated count de Aranda, for their immediate banishment from the Spanish territories. This decree was executed without delay in every part of the empire. In Mexico, the Jesuits, to the number of several hundreds, were, in July following, arrested and sent off to Europe; and a strong military force was at the same time despatched to California, under the command of Don Gaspar de Portola, who found no difficulty in tearing a few old priests from the arms of their wailing converts.

Thus ended the rule of the Jesuits in California. That their efforts were attended with good cannot be denied; for those who were the immediate objects of their care, were certainly rendered happier, more comfortable, and more free from vice, than they would otherwise have been. Unfortunately, however, the aborigines of California are among the most indolent and brutish of the human race; with minds as sterile and unimprovable as the soil of their peninsula. By constant watchfulness, by the judicious administration of rewards as well as punishments, by the removal of all evil examples, and, above all, by studiously practising themselves what they recommended to others, the benevolent, wise, and persevering Jesuits did indeed introduce a certain degree of civilization, or

apparent civilization, among these people; but there is no reason to believe that, by any means as yet employed for the purpose, a single Californian Indian has been rendered a useful, or even an innocuous, member of society.

There was, however, no intention on the part of the Spanish government to abandon California. On the contrary, the peninsula immediately became a province of Mexico, and was provided with military and civil officers dependent on the viceroy of that kingdom; and the missions were confided to the Dominicans, under whose austere rule the majority of the converts relapsed into barbarism. Establishments were also formed by the Spaniards on the western side of California; and the coasts farther north, which had been neglected for more than a hundred and sixty years, were explored in voyages made for the purpose from Mexico, as will be shown in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1769 TO 1779.

First Establishments on the West Coast of California founded by the Spaniards — Dispute between Spain and Great Britain respecting the Falkland Islands — Exploring Voyages of the Spaniards under Perez, Heceta and Bodega, and Arteaga and Bodega — Discovery of Nootka Sound, Norfolk Sound, and the Mouth of the Columbia River — Importance of these Discoveries.

IMMEDIATELY after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico, the viceroy of Mexico, De Croix, and the *visitadór*, Galvez, directed their attention to the establishment of colonies and garrisons on the western side of California, agreeably to the system adopted for the restauration of the Spanish dominions in the New World.

At that time, little was known, with certainty, of any part of the west coast of America north of the 43d parallel, to which latitude it had been explored by Sebastian Vizcaino, in 1603. The voyage of Juan de Fuca was generally considered as apocryphal, and nothing of an exact nature could be learned from the accounts of the Russian expeditions in that quarter. Upon examining the charts and journals of Vizcaino, descriptions were found of several places surveyed by him, which he strongly recommended as suitable for settlements or naval stations; and, agreeably to his views, it was determined in Mexico that the first establishments should be formed on the harbors which had received from that navigator the names of *Port San Diego* and *Port Monterey*. Accordingly, after much difficulty, a small number of settlers, with some soldiers and Franciscan friars, were assembled at La Paz, on the western shore of the Californian Gulf, which had been selected as the place of rendezvous; and thence, in the spring of 1769,* they began their march

* This account of the establishment of the first Spanish colonies on the west coast of California is derived from — the narrative of Miguel Costanso, the engineer of the expedition, which was published at Mexico in 1771, and immediately suppressed by the government; a copy, however, escaped to England, from which a translation was published at London, in 1790, by A. Dalrymple — and from the biography of Friar Junipero Serra, the principal of the Franciscans who accompanied the expedition, written by Friar Francisco Palou, and published at Mexico in 1787.

through the peninsula towards San Diego, the nearest of the places selected for the first establishments, in two parties, commanded respectively by Gaspar de Portola, the governor of the newly-formed province, and Fernando de Rivera, a captain in the army. Each party carried a drove of cattle; the materials and supplies for the colonies being sent in three vessels directly to San Diego.

The first party of emigrants under Rivera, after a long and painful march, reached San Diego on the 14th of May, 1769, and found there two of the vessels, which, after disastrous voyages and the loss of many of their crews by scurvy, had arrived a few days previous. The other body, under Portola, marched by a still more difficult route, and did not join their companions on the Pacific shore until nearly two months later. A spot having been chosen for the settlement near the entrance of the Bay of San Diego, a portion of the men were employed in erecting the necessary buildings; with the remainder Portola set off for Monterey, where he was anxious also to establish a colony immediately, leaving directions that the third vessel, which was expected from Mexico, should be ordered to proceed with her cargo to that place. This expedition, however, was not successful; for the Spaniards, marching along the eastern side of the range of mountains which border the coast northward of San Diego, passed by Monterey, and found themselves, at the end of October, on the shore of a great bay, which they supposed to be the same called *Port San Francisco* in the accounts of the old navigators. When they discovered the place of which they were in search, the cold weather had begun; and, the vessel not appearing, with the supplies, as expected, they were obliged to retrace their steps to San Diego. Of this third vessel nothing was ever heard after her departure from the Gulf of California.

In the mean time, the people left at San Diego had experienced great difficulties from the hostility of the natives, by whom they were several times attacked; and, after the return of the governor's party, they were all in danger of perishing from want of food: so that they unanimously agreed to abandon the country and return to Mexico, unless they should be relieved, before St. Joseph's day, the 10th of March, 1770, by the return of one of the vessels, which had been sent for supplies. On that day, one of the vessels did arrive, and, the supplies being found sufficient, Portola again set off for Monterey, where a settlement was effected. During the same year, other parties of emigrants came from Mexico, and new

establishments were formed on the coast between San Diego and Monterey; and, as the means of subsistence soon became abundant by the multiplication of their cattle, independently of the fruits of their labor in agriculture, the Spanish colonies in Upper California were, before 1775, in a condition to resist the dangers to which they were likely to be exposed.

Another measure, undertaken by the Spanish government about this time, in prosecution of its plans for securing the unsettled coasts and islands of America from occupation by foreign powers, brought Spain into collision, and nearly into war, with Great Britain.

Soon after the peace of 1763, colonies were formed by the French and the British on the barren, storm-vexed group of the Falkland Islands, in the South Atlantic Ocean, near the entrance of Magellan's Strait. The French colonists were soon withdrawn by their government, at the instance of the Spanish king, though not until after an angry discussion: the British ministers, on the other hand, treated with contempt the remonstrances addressed to them from Madrid, on the subject of their settlement. At length, in June, 1770, the British colonists were expelled from Port Egmont, the place which they occupied, by a squadron and troops sent for the purpose from Buenos Ayres by Don Francisco Bucareli, the governor of that province. This event created great excitement in England, and both nations prepared for war; but the dispute was compromised through the mediation of France. A *declaration* was presented on the part of Spain, to the effect — that the Catholic king disavowed the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and promised to restore the settlers to Port Egmont; but that these concessions were not to be considered as prejudicing his prior right of sovereignty over the islands: and the British minister gave in return an *acceptance* of the disavowal and promise of restoration, without noticing the Spanish reservation of right.* Agreeably to this promise, the British colonists were replaced at Port Egmont in 1771; but they were withdrawn by order of their government in 1774, on the plea of the expensiveness and inutility of the establishment, but, as is

* The documents relative to this dispute may be found at length in the London Annual Register, and in the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1770. See, also, — the Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. — the Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham, chap. xxxix. — Thoughts on the Falkland Islands, by Dr. Samuel Johnson, &c. The author of this History may also be permitted to refer to — a Memoir, Historical and Political, on the Falkland Islands — written by himself, and published in the New York Merchant's Magazine for February, 1842, containing full accounts of all the circumstances connected with this famous dispute.

generally believed, in consequence of a secret engagement to that effect, concluded between the parties* at the time of the settlement

* That the British government did secretly engage—to abandon the Falkland Islands entirely, soon after the restitution of Port Egmont should have been formally effected—was asserted at the time openly in parliament, and without reply from the ministers, as well as by many individuals in Great Britain whose opinions are entitled to credit. It was admitted by Dr. Johnson, in an edition of his Thoughts, &c., published subsequent to the evacuation; and it has been stated as true by every historian, British and foreign, who has described the affair. It was, indeed, regarded as an established fact, and was unquestioned until the 8th of January, 1834, when Lord Palmerston, the British secretary for foreign affairs, in answer to a protest on the part of the government of Buenos Ayres against the recent occupation of the Falkland Islands by Great Britain, formally denied it, and produced a number of extracts from correspondence *between British ministers and their own agents*, which he considered as affording "conclusive evidence that no such secret understanding could have existed," as it is not mentioned in those extracts. The papers cited by Lord Palmerston, and the arguments which he draws from them, are, however, insufficient to change the general preëxisting belief on the subject; for in none of them should we expect to find any allusion to the engagement in question. There is no apparent reason for which the ministers should have informed any of the persons addressed in these letters of their promise to evacuate the islands; while, on the other hand, it was clearly important for them to suppress all proof of their having made such an engagement, which the whole British people would have considered dishonoring. It is no novelty in diplomacy, that an ambassador should be kept in ignorance of matters settled or discussed between his own ministers of state and those of the government to which he is accredited; and the very negotiation by which this dispute was terminated, was carried on through the agency of the secretary of the French embassy at London, while the ambassador himself knew nothing about it.

Equally inefficient to produce conviction is the assertion of Lord Palmerston in the same letter, "that the reservation (with regard to the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands) contained in the Spanish *declaration* cannot be admitted to possess any substantial weight, inasmuch as no notice whatever is taken of it in the British *counter declaration*." In the first place, no *counter declaration* was made on the occasion: the British minister presented, in return for the Spanish ambassador's *declaration*, a paper containing not a word of contradiction, and which is, as it was styled when submitted to parliament, an *acceptance*. These two documents—the only ones which are as yet *known* to have passed on the conclusion of the dispute—cannot be separated in reasoning on their contents, but must be taken together, as forming *one convention, admitted by both parties*. It will not be pretended that the Spanish ambassador delivered his declaration, without full knowledge of the answer which was to be made to it; and the silence of the British minister on the subject of the reservation amounts, at least, to an acknowledgment that the fact of the restitution of Port Egmont was not regarded as a surrender by Spain of her claim of sovereignty over the Falkland group, which was to remain such as it had been before the dispute. That this view must have been taken by the British government is likewise strongly corroborated by the circumstance that the Spaniards continued to occupy Soledad (another place in the Falkland Islands, where the French had made their settlement) for more than forty years after this arrangement, without any complaint or objection on the part of Great Britain, though they had been formally ordered to quit it before the dispute occurred.

It will be shown, in the fifteenth chapter of this History, that the British government, in 1827, took a different view of reservations of right, when they were in favor of Great Britain.

of the dispute. Bucareli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, whose acts had been disavowed by his sovereign, was raised to the high and lucrative post of viceroy of Mexico.

The issue of this dispute between Great Britain and Spain, served to impress upon the government of the latter power still more strongly, the conviction of the necessity of occupying the vacant coasts and islands of America adjoining its settled provinces. Efforts for this purpose were accordingly made, not only on the coasts of California, but also on those of Texas, of the Mosquito country, and of Patagonia, and were continued, at great expense, though with little effect, until 1779, when they were abandoned, in consequence of the wars excited by the revolution which ended in the independence of the United States.

The efforts of the Spanish government were, however, specially directed towards the west coasts of North America; and, in order to give them efficiency, a particular branch of the administration of Mexico was created, under the title of the *Marine Department of San Blas*, which was charged with the superintendence and advancement of the establishments in that quarter. The port of San Blas, in Mexico, at the entrance of the Californian Gulf, was made the centre of the operations for these purposes: arsenals, shipyards, and warehouses, were erected there; all expeditions for the coasts farther north were made from it, and all orders relative to them passed through the chief of the department, who resided at that port.

In this manner, before 1779, eight establishments were formed, by the Spaniards, on the Pacific coast of America, between the Californian peninsula and Cape Mendocino; the southernmost of which was San Diego, near the 32d degree of latitude, and the northernmost, San Francisco, on the great bay of the same name, near the 38th. These establishments were, in their character, almost exclusively military and missionary; being intended solely for the occupation of the country, which it was proposed to effect, as far as possible, by the conversion of the aborigines to the Catholic religion, and to the forms and customs of civilized life.

The military arrangements were all on the most miserable scale. The forts, some of them dignified with the name of *castles*, were of mud; the artillery were a few old pieces, of various sizes, generally ineffective, and the garrisons were all slender: the men were badly armed, badly clothed, and seldom or never exercised, though they were well fed, as the country was covered with cattle,

the descendants of the herds brought thither by the Spaniards in 1770; and the ground yielded, with little cultivation, as much Indian corn, beans, and red pepper, as could be consumed. The missions were, for the most part, in the vicinity of the military stations, and, like those of the Jesuits, they each contained a church, generally well built, with some ruder edifices, for the accommodation of the priests and their converts, and for store and workhouses. The public farms were worked by the natives, under the direction of the missionaries or soldiers, and merely produced the food required in the establishments, and, in some places, a little wine. Towns were afterwards formed, some of which were endowed with the privileges of a corporation; but none of them attained a large size.

The missionaries were, as already stated, of the Franciscan order, the members of which are incapacitated, by their vows, from holding any property as individuals. They were, for the most part, plain, uneducated men — taken from the lower classes of society, and knowing no books but their breviaries, and the biographies of their saints — who devoted themselves conscientiously and heroically to the task of reclaiming and guiding the barbarous natives of that remote region — without any expectation of acquiring wealth or honors — unsupported by the ambition and pride of order which animated the Jesuits — and uncheered by those social pleasures and consolations which our Protestant apostles derive from their families, wherever they may be placed. To their virtuous conduct and self-denial all the enlightened travellers* who have visited their missions bear unqualified testimony.

These missionaries soon succeeded in reducing a large number of the natives of California to a certain degree of conformity with the customs of social life. The neophytes were obtained, generally when young, from their parents, by persuasion, or by purchase, or, in some cases, by force, and were never suffered to return to their savage friends, if it could be prevented. They were all, at first, treated as children; the nature and hours of their labors, their studies, their meals, and their recreations, being prescribed by their superintendents; and they were punished when negligent or refractory, though not with severity. After remaining ten years in this state of pupilage, they might obtain their liberty, and have ground allotted to them; but comparatively few availed themselves

* La Perouse, Vancouver, Kotzebue, Beechey, &c.

of the permission, and those who did so, for the most part, sunk into sloth and misery, or returned to the wilds, and resumed the savage life. In the latter cases, the Spaniards employed every means in their power to retake the fugitives, who were, indeed, often sent back by the barbarians, as unworthy of enjoying the privileges of freemen.

The Franciscans did not, like the Jesuits, exert themselves in procuring information respecting the countries in which they resided; and nothing has been learnt from them of the geography or natural history of the part of California which they occupied. In 1775, Friars Font and Garzes travelled, by land, from Mexico, through Sonora, and the country of the Colorado River, to the mission of San Gabriel, in California, making observations on their way, with the view to the increase of intercourse between Mexico and the establishments in the latter region. They were, however, coldly received by their brethren, who informed them that they had no desire to have such communications opened; and their journal was never made public. In the same year, Friars Dominguez and Escalante, of the same order, attempted to penetrate westward from Santa Fé, in New Mexico, to the Pacific; but, after proceeding about half the distance, they turned back. The journals of both these expeditions are still preserved, in manuscript, in Mexico, where they have been consulted by Humboldt and other travellers; but they are, from all accounts, of no value.

Between 1774 and 1779, three exploring voyages were made, by order of the Spanish government, in which the west coasts of America were examined, as far north as the 60th degree of latitude.

The first of these voyages was conducted by Ensign Juan Perez, who had been long employed in the Manilla trade, and afterwards in the vessels sailing between San Blas and the new establishments on the Californian coast. He was accompanied by Estevan Martinez, as pilot, and Friars Peña and Crespi, as chaplains, from whose journals, as well as from those of the commander, the following account of the voyage is derived.*

Perez sailed from San Blas in the corvette Santiago, on the 25th

* The authorities for the account of this expedition are — the Narrative composed by Perez for the viceroy — the Journal of Friar Tomas de la Peña — and the Observations of the pilot Martinez — manuscript copies of which have been procured from Madrid. The Journal of Friar Crespi was examined by Humboldt, who has given some particulars derived from it in his Essay on Mexico. Of this voyage no account was ever given to the world until 1802, when a short notice of it appeared in the Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana.

of January, 1774, with orders, from the viceroy of Mexico, to proceed, as soon as possible, northward, to the 60th degree of latitude, and then to survey the coasts of America from that parallel, southward, to Monterey, taking possession, for the king, of every place at which he might land. From San Blas he went first to San Diego, and thence to Monterey, from which latter place he took his departure, on the 16th of June, for the north. The weather, as usual in that part of the Pacific, proved stormy, the winds blowing almost constantly from the north-west; so that it was not until the 18th of July that the Santiago reached the 54th parallel of latitude, under which land was first seen in the east. The coast thus observed was high and rocky, extending southward as far as the eye could penetrate, and terminating, in the north, in a point, to which Perez gave the name of *Cape Santa Margarita*. In the interior was seen a lofty, snow-covered range of mountains, which he called the *Sierra de San Cristoval*. On approaching the shore, the Spaniards could find no place where it would be safe to anchor; and, on rounding the cape, the coast beyond it was found to stretch directly westward. By this time, the crew were beginning to show symptoms of scurvy, the weather was tempestuous, and the vessel was small, and badly provided in every respect; under which circumstances, it was determined that no attempt should be made to go farther north. The Spaniards accordingly steered southward, along the coast, for about a hundred miles, and were then driven off by a storm: before leaving it, however, they met some of the natives, in their canoes, with whom they traded, receiving sea-otter and other valuable skins in return for old clothes, knives, shells, and other trifles.

The land thus discovered was the west side of the large island afterwards named *Queen Charlotte's Island* by the British; Cape Santa Margarita being the north-easternmost point, now called, on English maps, *Cape North*, at the entrance of *Dixon's Channel*. Many particulars respecting the people of these coasts are recorded in the journals of the Spaniards, which agree precisely with the accounts of subsequent navigators.

On the 9th of August, Perez again made the land, and discovered, under the parallel of 49 degrees 30 minutes, a deep bay, at the entrance of which he anchored, between two high points, one bearing six leagues north-west, the other two leagues south-east. Ere long, his vessel was surrounded by canoes, filled with natives of the country, who readily engaged in trade with his crew: they are

represented, in the journal of Friar Peña, as having lighter complexions than other aborigines of America; like those farther north, they were clad in skins, their hats being, however, made of rushes, curiously plaited and painted, of a conical shape, with a knob on the top. To the surprise of the Spaniards, they had many knives, arrow-points, and other articles, of iron and copper, though it did not appear that they had held any intercourse with civilized people. To this bay Perez gave the name of *Port San Lorenzo*, in honor of the saint on whose day it was first seen; it is undoubtedly the same which, four years afterwards, received, from Captain Cook, the appellation of *King George's* or *Nootka Sound*. The point north-west of its entrance, called, by the Spaniards, *Cape Santa Clara*, is the *Woody Point* of the English; and the other point — the *Cape San Estevan* of Perez — corresponds precisely, in situation and all other particulars, as described, with the *Point Breakers* of the English navigator.

From Port San Lorenzo, the Spaniards sailed along the coast southward; and, in the latitude of 47 degrees 47 minutes, they beheld, at a distance in the interior, on the east, a lofty mountain, covered with snow, which they named *Sierra de Santa Rosalia* — probably the *Mount Olympus* of the English maps. Martinez, the pilot of the Santiago, many years after, thought proper to remember that he had also observed, between the 48th and the 49th parallels, a wide opening in the land, and that he had given his own name to the point on the south side of its entrance. Of this observation no note appears in the journals of the voyage; yet, upon the strength of the tardy recollection of the pilot, his countrymen have claimed for him the merit of rediscovering the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and have affixed the name of *Cape Martinez*, in their charts, to the point of the continent where that passage joins the Pacific. Continuing his voyage to the south, Perez, on the 21st of August, passed in sight of Cape Mendocino, the true latitude of which he first determined; and, on the 27th, he arrived at Monterey, whence he, after some time, went on to San Blas.

In this voyage, the first made by the Spaniards along the north-west coasts of America after 1603, very little was learned, except that there was land, on the eastern side of the Pacific, as far north as the latitude of 54 degrees. The government of Spain, perhaps, acted wisely in concealing the accounts of the expedition, which reflected little honor on the courage or the science of its navigators; but it has thereby deprived itself of the means of establishing

beyond question the claim of Perez to the discovery of the important harbor called *Nootka Sound*, which is now, by general consent, assigned to Captain Cook.

Immediately after the return of Perez to Mexico, the viceroy Bucareli (the same officer who, as governor of Buenos Ayres, had expelled the British from the Falkland Islands in 1770) ordered that another expedition should be made for the purpose of examining those coasts as far as the 65th degree of latitude, to which they were believed to extend continuously north-westward. With this object the Santiago was placed under the command of Captain Bruno Heceta, under whom Perez was to go as ensign; and she was to be accompanied by a small schooner, called the Sonora, of which Juan de Ayala was to have the command, and Antonio Maurelle to be pilot. These two vessels, having been equipped, and provided with the History of California by Venegas, and a chart of the whole north-west coast of America, constructed according to the fancy of the French geographer Bellin, in 1766,* sailed together from San Blas, on the 15th of March, 1775, in company with the schooner San Carlos, bound for Monterey.† Ere they had lost sight of the land, however, the captain of the San Carlos became delirious, in consequence of which Ayala was ordered to take his place, the command of the Sonora being transferred to Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. These circumstances are mentioned, because, in nearly all the abstracts of the accounts of this voyage hitherto published, Ayala appears as the chief of the expedition; whereas, in fact, he only accompanied the exploring vessels to a short distance from San Blas.

* Carte réduite de l'Ocean septentrional, compris entre l'Asie et l'Amérique, suivant les Découvertes faites par les Russes. Par N. Bellin. Paris, 1766.

† Of this expedition no less than five separate accounts are found among the manuscripts obtained from Madrid, viz.: the official narrative of the whole, drawn up for the viceroy of Mexico — the Journal of Bodega — part of the Journal of Heceta, showing his course after his parting with Bodega — a concise narrative by Bodega — and, lastly, the Journal of Maurelle, the pilot of the Sonora. A copy of Maurelle's Journal was obtained in Madrid, soon after the conclusion of the voyage, from which an English translation was published at London, in 1781, by the Hon. Daines Barrington, among his *Miscellanies*. This translation, though very inaccurate and incomplete, attracted much attention at the time of its appearance, and from it, and the short account given in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, all the information respecting the voyage has been hitherto obtained. Barrington's Miscellanies is, however, a rare book; and the notices of this expedition contained in the various memoirs, reports, correspondence, &c., relative to the north-west coast, are, for the most part, taken directly, or at second hand, from the abstracts of the Journal, given by Fleurieu in his instructions to La Perouse, and his Introduction to the Journal of Marchand, which are both filled with errors.

The exploring vessels, after parting with the San Carlos, doubled Cape Mendocino, and, on the 10th of June, anchored in a small roadstead beyond that promontory, in the latitude of 41 degrees 10 minutes. The officers, priests, and a portion of the men, immediately landed, and took possession of the country, in the name of their sovereign, with religious solemnities, bestowing upon the harbor the name of *Port Trinidad*; and they then engaged in repairing their vessels and obtaining a supply of water, which afforded them employment for nine days.

During this period, the Spaniards held frequent communications with the people of the country, who dwelt principally on the banks of a small stream, named by the navigators *Rio de las Tortolas*, — *Pigeon River*, — from the multitude of those birds in its vicinity. The Indians conducted themselves uniformly in the most peaceable manner, and appeared to be, on the whole, an inoffensive and industrious race. They were clothed, for the most part, in skins, and armed with bows and arrows, in the use of which they were very expert; their arrows were, in general, tipped with copper or iron, of which metals they had knives and other implements — whence procured the Spaniards could not learn. No signs of religious feelings, or ceremonies of any kind, could be discovered among them, unless their howling over the bodies of the dead may be considered in that light.

Having completed their arrangements, Heceta and Bodega sailed from Port Trinidad on the 19th of June, leaving a cross erected near the shore, with an inscription, setting forth the fact of their having visited the place and taken possession of it for their sovereign: this monument the Indians promised to respect; and they kept their word, for Vancouver found it there untouched in 1793. The Spaniards considered the discovery of the place important: the harbor being, according to their journals, safe and spacious, and presenting facilities for communication between vessels and the shore; and the surrounding country fruitful and agreeable. Vancouver, however, gives a much less favorable view of the harbor, which he pronounces to be in no respect a secure retreat for vessels, as it is entirely open to the south-west winds, which blow on that coast with the utmost violence at certain seasons of the year. The other accounts of the Spaniards, respecting the place and its inhabitants, are, in general, confirmed by those of the British navigator.

The Spaniards, after leaving Port Trinidad, were obliged to keep

at a distance from the coast for three weeks, at the end of which time they again came in sight of it, in the latitude of 48 degrees 27 minutes. From that parallel they examined the shore towards the south, in search of the strait said to have been discovered by Juan de Fuca in 1592, the entrance of which was placed, in Bellin's chart, between the 47th and the 48th degrees of latitude; and, having satisfied themselves that no such opening existed there, the two vessels cast anchor near the land, though at some distance from each other, in order to obtain water and to trade with the natives.

Here a severe misfortune befell the schooner on the 14th of July. Seven of her men, who had been sent ashore in her *only boat*, though well armed, were attacked and murdered, immediately on landing, by the natives; and the schooner was herself in much danger of being taken by those savages, who surrounded her, during the whole day, in great numbers, in their canoes, and were with difficulty prevented from boarding her. In commemoration of this melancholy event, the place at which it occurred was called *Punta de Martires — Martyr's Point;* it is in the latitude of 47 degrees 20 minutes, and on English maps is called *Grenville's Point.* A small island, situated a few miles farther north, the only one deserving that name between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca, was also named *Isla de Dolores — Isle of Sorrows:* twelve years afterwards, this same isle received, from the captain of the ship Imperial Eagle, of Ostend, the appellation of *Destruction Island,* in consequence of a similar massacre of some of his crew by the Indians, on the main land opposite.

This disaster, together with the wretched condition of the schooner, and the appearance of scurvy in the crews of both vessels, occasioned a debate among the officers, as to the propriety of continuing the voyage. The commander, Heceta, was desirous to return to Monterey, in which, however, he was opposed by his own pilot, Juan Perez, and by Bodega, the captain, and Maurelle, the pilot, of the schooner; and, their opinions having been given, as usual in the Spanish service, in writing, the unwilling assent of the commander was obtained, and the voyage towards the north was resumed on the 20th of July. Ere they had proceeded far in that direction, the vessels were separated in a storm; whereupon Heceta seized the opportunity to go back to Monterey, whilst Bodega persevered in his determination to accomplish, as far as possible, the objects of the expedition.

Heceta, after parting with the schooner, made the land near the

50th degree of latitude, (on the south-west side of the great island of Vancouver and Quadra,) and, passing by the Port San Lorenzo, (Nootka Sound,) discovered in the previous year by Perez, he came on the coast of the continent near the 48th parallel, without observing the intermediate entrance of the Strait of Fuca, for which he, however, sought between the 47th and 48th parallels. Thence he ran along the shore towards the south, and, on the 15th of August, arrived opposite an opening, in the latitude of 46 degrees 17 minutes, from which rushed a current so strong as to prevent his entering it. This circumstance convinced him that it was the mouth of some great river, or, perhaps, of the Strait of Fuca, which might have been erroneously placed on his chart: he, in consequence, remained in its vicinity another day, in the hope of ascertaining the true character of the place; but, being still unable to enter the opening, he continued his voyage towards the south.*

On the opening in the coast thus discovered Heceta bestowed the name of *Enseñada de Asuncion* † — *Assumption Inlet;* calling the point on its north side *Cape San Roque*, and that on the south *Cape Frondoso* — *Leafy Cape*. In the charts published at Mexico, soon after the conclusion of the voyage, the entrance is, however, called *Enseñada de Heceta* — *Heceta's Inlet* — and *Rio de San Roque* — *River of St. Roc*. It was, undoubtedly, the mouth of the greatest river on the western side of America; the same which was, in 1792, first entered by the ship Columbia, from Boston, under the command of Robert Gray, and has ever since been called the *Columbia*. The evidence of its first discovery by Heceta, on the 15th of August, 1775, is unquestionable.

From Assumption Inlet, Heceta continued his course, along the shore of the continent, towards the south, and arrived at Monterey, with nearly two thirds of his men sick, on the 30th of August. In his journal, he particularly describes many places on this part of the coast which are now well known; such as — the remarkable promontory, in the latitude of 45½ degrees, with small, rocky islets in front, named by him *Cape Falcon*, the *Cape Lookout* of our maps — the flat-topped mountain, overhanging the ocean, a little farther south, noted, in his journal, as *La Mesa*, or *The Table*, which, in 1805,

* See extract from the Journal of Heceta, among the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter E, in the latter part of this volume.

† The 15th of August is the day of the Assumption, and the 16th is the day of St. Roque, or Roc, and St. Jacinto, or Hyacinth, according to the Roman Catholic calendar.

received, from Lewis and Clarke, the name of *Clarke's Point of View* — and the numerous rocky points and reefs bordering the shore, between those places and Cape Mendocino.

Meanwhile, Bodega and Maurelle, in their little vessel, were striving, if possible, to reach the 65th degree of latitude, agreeably to the instructions of the viceroy. With this object, after their separation from Heceta, they advanced towards the north, without seeing land, until they had passed the 56th degree of latitude, when they unexpectedly beheld it, on the 16th of August, at a great distance in the north, and much nearer on the east; though, by Bellin's chart, and their own calculations, they should have been one hundred and thirty-five leagues from any part of America. Steering towards the east, they discovered a lofty mountain, rising from the ocean in the form of a beautiful cone, and covered with snow, occupying the whole of what seemed to be a peninsula, projecting from the main land of an extensive and elevated territory: this mountain immediately received the name of *San Jacinto*, in honor of St. Hyacinth, on whose day it was discovered, the projecting point of land which it occupied being called *Cape Engaño*, or *False Cape*. In the angles between this supposed peninsula and the main land were two bays, or sounds, of which the northernmost was named *Port Remedios*, and the other *Port Guadelupe*, after the two celebrated shrines in the vicinity of the city of Mexico. There is no difficulty in identifying any of these places, as described in the journals of the Spanish voyage. They are situated on the west side of the largest island of the group distinguished, on English maps, as *King George III.'s Archipelago:* Mount San Jacinto was, three years afterwards, named by Cook *Mount Edgecumb;* Port Remedios is the *Bay of Islands* of the same navigator, and Port Guadelupe is the *Norfolk Sound* of the English geographers. The two bays have since been found to communicate with each other by a narrow passage, which completely separates the main land from the mountain. The Spaniards landed on the shore of Port Remedios, where they took possession of the country agreeably to the formalities prescribed, and obtained some water and salmon for the supply of their vessel. While thus engaged, they were surrounded by a crowd of natives of the country, who appeared to be more savage and determined than those of any other part of the coast, and also to entertain very distinct ideas of their own superior rights of property and domain. Thus the Spaniards were obliged to pay, not only for the fish, but also for

the water taken away by them; and the cross, and other marks which they planted on the shore, were torn up immediately on their departure, and treated with every indignity by the savages.

The voyage was resumed on the 20th of August, and was continued along the coast, to the 58th degree of latitude, beyond which it was found impossible to proceed, as nearly all on board were, from fatigue and sickness, incapable of performing duty, whilst the winds were daily increasing in violence, and rendering greater exertions necessary. They accordingly, on the 22d, turned towards the south; and, having passed Mount San Jacinto, they approached the coast, in order to seek for the *Rio de Reyes*, the great river through which Admiral Fonté was said to have penetrated far into the interior of the American continent, in 1640. "With this intent," writes Maurelle, in his journal, "we examined every bay and recess of the coast, and sailed around every head-land, lying to, during the night, in order that we might not miss this entrance; after which exertions, we may safely pronounce that no such passage is to be found." This conclusion was certainly correct, but it was as certainly not established by the exertions of the Spaniards on this occasion: for, in the first place, they confined their search to the part of the coast north of the 54th parallel, whereas, in the account of Fonté's voyage, the *Rio de Reyes* is made to enter the Pacific under the 53d; and, had their observations been as minute as Maurelle represents them, several passages would have been found, leading from the ocean towards the north and east, for the complete examination of any one of which, more time would have been required than was spent by the Spaniards in their whole search. Of the many openings in that part of the coast, the only one penetrated by these navigators was the extensive bay, named, by them, *Port Bucareli*, in the latitude of 55½ degrees, on the west side of the largest island of the group called, on English maps, the *Prince of Wales's Archipelago*, where they landed, and took possession, on the 24th of August. Thence proceeding southward, they made the north-east extremity of Queen Charlotte's Island, which had received, from Perez, in the preceding year, the name of *Cape Santa Margarita*; and they observed, immediately north of that point, the wide passage which they called *Entrada de Perez* — the *Dixon's Entrance* of the English maps, separating Queen Charlotte's from the Prince of Wales's Islands.

From Cape Santa Margarita, the Spaniards sailed slowly towards the south, frequently seeing the land, though always at too great a

distance to be able to make any useful observations, except as to the general direction of the shores, until the 19th of September, when they found themselves opposite the spot, near the 47th degree of latitude, where their men had been murdered by the natives two months before. Leaving that place, they next came on the coast in the latitude of 45 degrees 27 minutes, from which parallel they carefully examined the shores southward, to the 42d, in search of the great river, said to have been seen by Martin de Aguilar, in 1603, as related in the account of Vizcaino's voyage. Their observations induced them to conclude that no such river entered the Pacific from that part of the continent, though they perceived strong currents outsetting from the land in several places; they, however, believed that they recognized the Cape Blanco of Aguilar, near which the mouth of his river was said to be situated, in a high, flat-topped promontory, with many white cliffs upon it, projecting far into the sea, under the parallel of 42 degrees and 50 minutes — the same, no doubt, afterwards named *Cape Orford* by Vancouver. Having completed this examination, they bore off to sea, and, rounding Cape Mendocino, they, on the 3d of October, discovered a bay a little north of the 38th degree of latitude, which they entered, supposing it to be Port San Francisco; but it proved to be a smaller bay, not described in any previous account, and Bodega accordingly bestowed on it his own name, which it still bears. Having made a hasty survey of Port Bodega, the Spaniards sailed to Monterey, and thence to San Blas, where they arrived on the 20th of November, after a voyage of more than eight months.

In this expedition, the commander, Heceta, certainly acquired no laurels, though he effected, at least, one discovery, from which a nation more enterprising and powerful than Spain might have derived important advantages. Bodega and Maurelle, however, nobly vindicated the character of their countrymen, by their constancy and perseverance in advancing through unknown seas, at a stormy period of the year, in their small and miserably-equipped vessel, with a diminished crew, the greater part of whom were laboring under that most debilitating and disheartening of diseases, the scurvy. Fortunately for their reputation, a copy of Maurelle's journal escaped from its prison-house in the archives of the Indies at Madrid, and was given to the world, in an English version, before the appearance of any other authentic account of the parts of the world which they had explored; and, by this means, together with the publication of their chart about the same time, their claims as discoverers were estab-

lished beyond all cavil. Thus, without reference to the voyage of Perez, it is conclusively proved that the Spaniards, in 1775, examined with minuteness the whole western shore of the American continent, from Monterey, near the 37th degree of latitude, northward, to and beyond the 48th degree, and determined the general direction of the west coasts of the westernmost islands, bordering the continent between the 48th parallel and the 58th. Of these coasts, the portion south of the 43d degree of latitude had been seen by Ferrelo, in 1543, and possibly by Drake, in 1578; Juan de Fuca had probably sailed along them to the 53d parallel, in 1592; and the Russians, as will be hereafter shown, had discovered the part near the 56th parallel, in 1741: but no definite information had been obtained, respecting any point, on the Pacific side of America, between Cape Mendocino and Mount San Jacinto, previous to the expedition of Perez. The geographical positions of the places visited by the Spanish navigators in 1774 and 1775, were, indeed, left very uncertain as regards their longitudes, though the latitudes have been found nearly correct; yet the great question as to the extension of North America towards the west was approximately answered, and useful hints were afforded for the organization and conduct of future voyages.

The results of this expedition were considered, by the Spanish government, as highly important; a short notice of them was published in the official gazette, at Madrid, which was copied, with many additions, (nearly all of them erroneous,) into the London newspapers;* and orders were sent to the viceroy of Mexico, to

* "Several Spanish frigates having been sent from Acapulco to make discoveries, and to propagate the gospel among the Indians, to the north of California, in the month of July, 1744, they navigated as high up on the coast as the latitude of 58 degrees 20 minutes, six degrees above Cape Blanco Having discovered several good harbors and navigable rivers upon the west coast of this great continent, they established, in one of the largest ports, a garrison, and called the port the *Presidio de San Carlos*, and, besides, left a mission at every port where the inhabitants were to be found. The Indians they here met with are said to be a very docile sort of people, agreeable in their countenance, honest in their traffic, and neat in their dress, but, at the same time, idolaters to the greatest degree, having never before had any intercourse with Europeans. M. Bucarelli, the viceroy of New Spain, has received his Catholic majesty's thanks for these discoveries, as they were made under his direction; and the several navy officers upon that voyage have been preferred. It is imagined that those new discoveries will be very advantageous, as the coast abounds with whales, as also a fish, equal to the Newfoundland cod, known, in Spain, by the name of *Baccalao*."

The above notice appears in the London Annual Register for 1776, under date of June 28th, which was a few days before the departure of Captain Cook from England for the North Pacific.

have the discovery of the west coasts of America completed without delay, under the care of the same officers who had already effected so much for that object. With this view, the viceroy, Bucareli, ordered a large ship to be built at San Blas, and another was, at the same time, constructed at Guayaquil, in Quito. In these preparations, nearly three years were consumed, so that the vessels were not ready for the expedition until the beginning of 1779; they then quitted San Blas, under the command of Captain Ignacio Arteaga, who sailed in the larger ship, the *Princesa*, the other, called the *Favorita*, being commanded by Bodega, with Maurelle as second officer. Heceta had been transferred to new duties.

Of this voyage a short notice will suffice, as all the places discovered in the course of it had been visited, and minutely examined, in the preceding year, 1778, by the English, under Captain James Cook.*

On the 7th of February, 1779, Arteaga and Bodega sailed from San Blas directly for Port Bucareli, which they entered after a voyage of four months; and there they remained nearly two months, engaged in surveying the bay, in refitting their vessels, and in trading with the natives, of whom very minute and interesting accounts are given in the journals of this voyage. From Port Bucareli they sailed northward, on the 1st of July, and in a few days saw the land stretching before them from north-east to north-west: on approaching it, they beheld rising from the coast a great mountain, "higher than Orizaba," which was, no doubt, *Mount St. Elias;* and they began their search, west of these places, for a passage leading northwards into the Arctic Sea, as laid down in the charts of Bellin, which they carried with them. In the course of this search, they entered a great bay, containing many islands, on the western side of the largest of which, called by them *Isla de la Magdalena*, they found a good harbor, where they cast anchor on the 25th, and took possession of the whole region for the king of Spain. From this harbor, named by the Spaniards *Port Santiago*, parties were sent out in boats to explore the coasts; but the com-

* The papers relative to this voyage, which have been obtained, in manuscript, from the hydrographical department at Madrid, are — the official account of the whole expedition — and the journals of Bodega and Maurelle — accompanied by several tables of the navigation, and vocabularies of Indian languages, and the chart of the coast about Prince William's Sound, which is utterly worthless. A translation of a part of Maurelle's journal may be found in the first volume of the narrative of the expedition of La Perouse, accompanied by some severe, and not altogether just, reflections on the conduct of the Spanish navigators in general.

mander, Arteaga, becoming anxious to return to Mexico, soon found that the men were beginning to suffer from scurvy, that the provisions were failing, and that there was no probability of their discovering any passage, through which they might penetrate farther north; and he, in consequence, resolved that both vessels should immediately proceed to Monterey. They accordingly sailed from Port Santiago on the 7th of August; on the 15th of October they entered Port San Francisco, and on the 21st of November they arrived at San Blas, "where," says Fleurieu, with more justice than usually characterizes his remarks on Spanish voyages, "they might have passed the whole time which they spent in their expedition, without our knowledge in geography having sustained any loss by their inaction." The voyage was, in fact, productive of no benefit whatsoever, and the Spanish government should have been mortified at its results; instead of which, however, the officers engaged in it were all promoted, for their good conduct and exertions.

Of the places visited by Arteaga and Bodega, after leaving Port Bucareli, the great bay, called by them *Enseñada de Regla*, is now generally known by the name of *Prince William's Sound*, and their *Isla de la Magdalena* is the *Montague's Island* of the English maps. It is needless to mention any other of the many appellations given by the Spaniards to capes, bays, islands, and mountains, in that part of America, as they have fallen into disuse.

In 1779, Spain became involved in war with Great Britain, and her flag did not again appear on the coasts north of Cape Mendocino until 1788. Before relating the events which occurred in that interval, it will be proper to present an account of the discoveries effected in the North Pacific, since the commencement of the century, by the Russians occupying the north-eastern extremity of Asia.

CHAPTER V.

1711 TO 1779.

Discoveries of the Russians from Kamtchatka — Voyages of Bering and Tchirikof to the Arctic Sea and to the American Continent — Establishments of the Russian Fur Traders in the Aleutian Islands — Voyages of Synd, Krenitzin, and Lovashef — First Voyage from Kamtchatka to China, made by Polish Exiles under Benyowsky — General Inaccuracy of the Ideas of the Russians respecting the Geography of the northernmost Coasts of the Pacific, before 1779.

AT the beginning of the eighteenth century, the coasts of Asia on the Pacific, north of the 40th parallel of latitude, were as little known as those of America on the opposite side of the ocean.

In 1643, Martin Geritzin de Vries and Hendrick Schaep, two Dutch navigators, commanding the ships Kastrikom and Breskens, explored the seas near Japan, as far north as the 48th degree of latitude, and probably entered the great gulf, called the *Sea of Ochotsk*, between the main land of Asia on the west, and Kamtchatka and the Kurile chain of islands on the east. It is also related, that Thomas Peche, an English bucanier, sailed along the same coasts in 1673, while in search of the Strait of Anian, the entrance of which he was said to have found north of Japan, though he was unable to pass through it, on account of the violence of the winds from the north.

From such imperfect accounts the maps of that part of the world were generally constructed, before 1750. In those maps, Jesso, the northernmost of the Japan Islands, appears as part of the Asiatic continent, and Kamtchatka and the Kurile Islands are represented as one extensive territory, under the name of the *Company's Land*, united to America on the east, and separated from Jesso on the west, by a narrow passage called the *Strait of Vries*, or the *Strait of Anian*.

In 1711, the whole of Northern Asia had been completely subjugated by the Russians, to whom the rich furs * abounding in those

* See the article on *Furs and the Fur Trade*, among the Proofs and Illustrations at the concluding part of this volume, under the letter B.

regions proved as attractive as the gold and silver of America were to the Spaniards. In the course of their expeditions, the Russians had traced the northern shores of Asia, to a considerable distance eastward from Europe, and they had formed establishments on those of the peninsula of Kamtchatka. But they had not yet, by their discoveries, afforded the means of determining whether Asia and America were united on the north into one continent, or were separated by a direct communication between the Pacific and the ocean north of Asia, called the *Arctic* or *Icy Sea*; nor, indeed, was it ascertained that the sea around Kamtchatka was a part of the Pacific, though it was generally believed to be so, from the traditions preserved by the natives of that peninsula, of large ships having been wrecked on their coasts.*

By these conquests the Russians had been enabled to secure, in addition to the other advantages, a commercial intercourse with China, which was carried on, agreeably to a treaty concluded in 1689, by caravans, passing between certain great marts in each empire. But the ambitious czar Peter, who then filled the Russian throne, was not content with such acquisitions; he was anxious to know what territories lay beyond the sea bounding his dominions in the east, and whether he could not, by directing his forces in that way, invade the establishments of the French, the British, or the Spaniards, in America. With these views, he ordered that vessels should be built in Kamtchatka, and equipped for voyages of discovery, to be made according to instructions which he himself drew up; while, at the same time, other vessels should proceed from Archangel, on the White Sea, eastward, to explore the ocean north of Europe and Asia, in search of a navigable communication, or *north-east passage*, through it from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Various circumstances prevented the execution of any of these projects during the lifetime of Peter. His widow and successor, Catharine, however, resolved to carry them into fulfilment; and a small vessel was, at length, in 1728, completed and prepared at the mouth of the River of Kamtchatka, on the north-east side of that peninsula, for a voyage of discovery, to be made agreeably to the instructions of the great czar. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Vitus Bering, a Dane, who had been selected for

* The particulars related in the present chapter are derived, principally, from the History of Kamtchatka, by Krascheninikof — the Account of the Russian Voyages from Asia to America, by Muller — and the Account of the Discoveries of the Russians in the North Pacific, by Coxe, the last edition of which, published in 1803, is the most complete work on the subject.

the purpose by Peter, on account of his approved courage and nautical skill; his lieutenants were Alexei Tchirikof, a Russian, and Martin Spangberg, a German, each of whom afterwards acquired reputation as a navigator.

Bering was instructed, first — to examine the coasts north and east from Kamtchatka, in order to determine whether or not they were connected with, or contiguous to, America; and next — to reach, if possible, some port belonging to Europeans on the same sea. With these objects he sailed from Kamtchatka River, on the 14th of July, 1728, and, taking a northward course along the Asiatic shore, he traced it to the latitude of 67 degrees 18 minutes: there he found the coast turning almost directly westward, and presenting nothing but rocks and snow, as far as it could be perceived, whilst no land was visible in the north or east. From these circumstances the navigator concluded that he had reached the north-eastern extremity of Asia, that the waters in which he was sailing were those of the Icy or Arctic Sea, bounding that continent on the north, and, consequently, that he had ascertained the fact of the separation of Asia from America. Being satisfied, therefore, that he had attained the objects of his voyage in that direction, and fearing that, if he should attempt to advance farther, he might be obliged to winter in those desolate regions, for which he was unprepared, he returned to Kamtchatka, where he arrived on the 2d of September. All his conclusions have been since verified; he, however, little suspected that he had, as was the fact, *twice passed within a few leagues of the American continent, through the only channel connecting the Pacific with the Arctic Sea.* When the existence of this channel was satisfactorily determined, it received, by universal consent, the name of *Bering's Strait*, which it still bears.

In the ensuing year, Bering attempted to reach the American continent, by sailing directly eastward from Kamtchatka; but, ere he had proceeded far in that course, he was assailed by violent adverse storms, which forced his vessel around the southern extremity of the peninsula, into the Gulf of Ochotsk. He then went to St. Petersburg, from which he did not return to engage in another voyage of discovery until twelve years afterwards.

While Bering thus remained at the Russian capital, the existence of a direct communication between the sea which bathes the shores of Kamtchatka and the Pacific was proved, — first, in 1729, by the wreck of a Japanese vessel on the coast of the peninsula, — and, ten years afterwards, by the voyages of two Russian vessels, under

Martin Spangberg and William Walton, from Ochotsk, through the passages between the Kurile Islands, to Japan. Within the same period, also, the connection of the Pacific with the Atlantic, by the Arctic Sea, north of Europe and Asia, had been ascertained by means of expeditions, partly on land and partly on sea, along the northernmost shores of the continents; though all the attempts made then, and since, to pass, in one vessel, around those coasts, from Europe to the Pacific, have proved abortive. Moreover, a Russian commander, named Krupischef, had sailed, in 1732, from Kamtchatka, northward, as far as the extreme point of Asia, which had been reached by Bering in his first voyage; and he had thence been driven, by storms, eastward, upon the coast of an extensive mountainous territory, which was supposed to be, and doubtless was, a part of America. Thus the great geographical fact of the entire separation of Asia and America was supposed to be determined; and all doubts as to the practicability of navigating between the Russian dominions, in the former continent, and those of Spain, in the latter, were dissipated.

These discoveries encouraged the empress Anne, who had succeeded to the throne of Russia in 1730, to persevere in endeavoring to extend her authority farther eastward; and she accordingly commissioned Bering, in 1740, to make another expedition from Kamtchatka, in search of America. For this purpose, two vessels were built in the Bay of Avatscha, on the south-east side of Kamtchatka, which had been selected for the establishment of a marine depot; and scientific men were engaged, in France and Germany, to accompany Bering, in order that precise information might be obtained on all points connected with the seas and territories to be explored.

Before the preparations were completed, the empress Anne died; but her successor, Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, immediately declared her determination to prosecute the enterprise; and, no delays being experienced, the vessels sailed together from the Bay of Avatscha, on the 4th of June, 1741. The larger vessel, called the *St. Peter*, was commanded by Bering; the other, the *St. Paul*, by Tchirikof, who had accompanied the Dane in his previous voyages. On leaving the harbor, they took an eastern course, and continued together until the 21st of the month, when they were separated during a violent gale, after which they never met again.

Of Bering's voyage, after his separation from Tchirikof, the only definite accounts are contained in the journal of Steller, the surgeon

and naturalist of the ship, which was first published, in the original German, by Professor Pallas, in 1795. Before that year, all that was known on the subject was derived from a meagre and incorrect abstract of the same journal, in Muller's collections of Russian history. Steller is by no means precise on points of navigation and geography, in consequence of which very few spots described by him can now be identified, although the general course of the voyage may be ascertained.

From Steller's journal, we learn that Bering, after parting with Tchirikof, sailed south-eastward, as far as the 46th degree of latitude; and, not reaching America, he then altered his course to the north-east, in which he continued until the 18th of July, when land was seen ahead, nearly under the 60th parallel of latitude. The point first descried by the Russians was a mountain of such extraordinary height, as to be visible at the distance of more than eighty miles: on advancing towards it, other peaks, and then ridges, appeared, stretching along the coast, and into the interior, to the utmost limits of the view; and, on entering a narrow passage, between the main land and an island, where they anchored on the 20th, they perceived a strong current of discolored water issuing from it, which convinced them that a large river emptied into the sea in its vicinity. From these indications of the extensiveness of the territory, together with its geographical position, they concluded that they had, at length, reached the American continent; and the officers thereupon entreated their commander to pursue the discovery towards the south-east, in which direction the coast trended. But Bering was then enfeebled in mind, as well as in body, by severe illness, and was anxious to return to Kamtchatka; in consequence of which, he resisted their entreaties, and, after a supply of water had been obtained from the island, they set sail for the west. None of the crew were allowed to go on the main land, lest they should be cut off by savages. On the island were found several huts, which seemed to have been recently abandoned, and various implements of fishing, hunting, and cooking, similar to those used by the Kamtchatkans; of the natives, however, not one was seen.

According to Steller, the name of *Cape St. Elias* was, much to his discontent, bestowed on this island, or some other in its vicinity, because it was reached on the day of St. Elias, agreeably to the Russian calendar. The old accounts of the expedition, however, state that Bering honored with the name of that saint the lofty mountain which had first attracted his attention; and, under this

impression, Cook, when he explored the north-west coast of America, in 1778, applied the name of *Mount St. Elias* to a stupendous peak which he observed, rising from the shore, under the 60th parallel, believing it to be, as it most probably was, the same discovered by the Russians in 1741. Vancouver, who examined this coast minutely in 1794, was convinced that the place where the Russians first anchored is on the eastern side of a bay at the foot of Mount St. Elias, on the east, which is called *Admiralty* or *Bering's Bay*, on English maps, and *Yakutat* on those of the Russians. The current of discolored water, setting out from that part of the coast, was observed, in 1838 by Belcher.

After their departure from the island, the Russians continued sailing westward, occasionally seeing the land in the north, until the 3d of August, when, in the latitude of 56 degrees, they beheld a chain of high mountains, (those of the great peninsula of Aliaska, and the contiguous island of Kodiak,) stretching before them from north to south. Upon discovering this impediment to their progress, they turned to the south-west, in order to reach the 53d parallel, under which they were sure, from their observations in coming out, that they should find an open sea to Kamtchatka: but their course was so much retarded by violent opposing winds, that they had scarcely advanced sixty miles before the end of the month; and, being then exhausted by fatigue and sickness, they anchored among a group of small islands, on one of which they remained ashore several days. There they first saw natives of America, who resembled the aborigines of Northern Asia in their features and habits, and were provided with knives, and other articles of iron and copper; although they appeared never before to have held any intercourse with civilized people. There, also, occurred the first death among the Russians, in commemoration of which, the name of the deceased sailor, *Schumagin*, was bestowed on the group. The islands now so called are about ten in number, situated near the latitude of 55½ degrees, on the eastern side, and not far from the extremity of Aliaska.

On quitting the Schumagin Islands, the Russians continued their course south-westward, and passed by other islands, which were those of the *Aleutian Archipelago*, extending westward from Aliaska, nearly under the 53d parallel. They were then assailed by furious storms, and were, for nearly two months, driven over the seas at random, while famine, disease, and despair, were daily lessening their numbers. "The general distress and mortality," says Steller,

"increased so fast, that not only the sick died, but those who pretended to be healthy, when relieved from their posts, fainted and fell down dead; of which the scantiness of the water, the want of biscuits and brandy, cold, wet, nakedness, vermin, and terror, were not the least causes." At length, on the 5th of November, they again saw land, which proved to be an island, in the latitude of 55 degrees; and on it they resolved, at all hazards, to pass the winter. With this view, they anchored in the most secure place which could be found, close to the shore, and, having landed their stores and other necessaries, they began the construction of huts out of sails and spars; but they soon had an abundant supply of materials from the wreck of their vessel, which was dashed in pieces on the island by the waves.

On the 8th of December Bering expired, worn down by sickness, fatigue, and disappointment, and thirty of the crew were consigned to their graves on the island before the ensuing summer. The survivors recovered their health, and obtained a sufficiency of food, by hunting the sea and land animals, which were found in great numbers on and about the shores. As soon as the mild season returned, they collected the pieces of the wreck, of which they made a small vessel; and, having provisioned it as well as they could, they set sail from the western side of the island on the 14th of August, 1742. Two days after, they made the coast of Kamtchatka; and, continuing along it towards the south, they, on the evening of the 27th, landed, forty-six in number, at the place in the Bay of Avatscha from which they had taken their departure fifteen months before. The island, on which they had thus passed more than nine months, is situated about eighty miles from the eastern shore of Kamtchatka, between the latitudes of 54½ and 55½ degrees, and has, ever since its discovery, been called *Bering's Isle*; it consists entirely of granite mountains.

Such were the occurrences, and the unfortunate termination, of Bering's voyage.

Tchirikof, likewise, pursuing an eastward course, discovered land in the latitude of 56 degrees. It was a mountainous territory, with steep, rocky shores, extending on the ocean from north to south; and, the weather being unfavorable for approaching it, ten men were sent in a boat to make examinations. As these did not return, after some time, nor make any signal from the shore, six others were despatched in search of them, whose reappearance was also expected in vain; and Tchirikof was obliged, at length, to quit the

coast without learning what had befallen any of them. In the mean time, the scurvy had broken out among his crew; and as the stormy season was approaching, he resolved to hasten back to Kamtchatka. His voyage thither was attended with great difficulties, and before the 8th of October, when he reached Avatscha, he had lost twenty-one men by sickness, including the distinguished French naturalist Delile de Croyere, in addition to the sixteen whose fate was undetermined. The land discovered by him must have been, agreeably to the account given of its latitude and bearings, the western side of one of the islands, named, on English maps, the *Prince of Wales's Archipelago*, the inhabitants of which are remarkable for their fierceness and hatred to strangers. It is, therefore, most probable that the men sent ashore by Tchirikof were murdered as soon as they landed.

These discoveries of the Russians excited some attention in Europe, where they were made known, first, by the periodical publications of France, England, and Germany, and afterwards more fully, by the scientific men and historians of those countries. In 1750, a long memoir on the subject was read by the French geographer Delisle, before the Academy of Sciences of Paris,* wherein he gives the highest praise to the Russian navigators, and pronounces, as proved by their expeditions, "that the eastern portion of Asia extends under the polar circle, towards the western part of America, from which it is separated by a strait about thirty leagues wide; this strait is often frozen over, but, when free from ice, it affords communication for vessels into the Frozen Ocean."

The Russian government did not, however, consider the discoveries of its subjects as sufficiently important to justify the immediate despatch of other vessels in the same direction; and no further attempts to explore the North Pacific were made by its authority until 1766. In the mean time, accidental circumstances, connected with Bering's last voyage, had drawn the attention of individuals in Eastern Asia to the islands seen by that navigator, on his return towards Kamtchatka; and the part of the ocean in which those islands lie had been thoroughly searched.

It has been mentioned, that the crew of Bering's vessel, during the period passed by them in the island, near Kamtchatka, had subsisted chiefly on the flesh of the sea and land animals found there. The skins of these animals, particularly of the black foxes and sea otters, were preserved by the men, and carried with them to Kamt-

* Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, for 1750, p. 142.

chatka, where they were sold at such high prices, that several of the seamen, as well as other persons, were induced immediately to go to the island and procure further supplies. In the course of the voyages made for this purpose, other islands, farther east, which had been seen by Bering and Tchirikof, were explored, and found to offer the same advantages; and the number of persons employed in seeking furs was constantly increasing.

The trade thus commenced was, for some time, carried on by individual adventurers, each of whom was alternately a seaman, a hunter, and a merchant; at length, however, some capitalists in Siberia employed their funds in the pursuit, and expeditions to the islands were, in consequence, made on a more extensive scale, and with greater regularity and efficiency.* Trading stations were established at particular points, where the furs were collected by persons left for that object; and vessels were sent, at stated periods, from the ports of Asiatic Russia, to carry the articles required for the use of the agents and hunters, or for barter with the natives, and to bring away the skins collected.

The vessels employed in this commerce were, in all respects, wretched and insecure, *the planks being merely attached together, without iron, by leathern thongs;* and, as no instruments were used by the traders for determining latitudes or longitudes at sea, their ideas of the relative positions of the places which they visited were vague and incorrect. Their navigation was, indeed, performed in the most simple and unscientific manner possible. A vessel sailing from the Bay of Avatscha, or from Cape Lopatka, the southern extremity of Kamtchatka, could not have gone far eastward, without falling in with one of the Aleutian Islands, which would serve as a mark for her course to another; and thus she might go on, from point to point, throughout the whole chain. In like manner she would return to Asia, and, if her course and rate of sailing were observed with tolerable care, there could seldom be any uncertainty as to whether she were north or south of the line of the islands. Many vessels were, nevertheless, annually lost, in consequence of

* The islands discovered and frequented by the Russian fur traders were those called the *Aleyutsky*, or *Aleutian*, extending in a line nearly along the 53d parallel of latitude, from the south-west extremity of the peninsula Aliaska, across the sea, to the vicinity of Kamtchatka. Aliaska was, likewise, supposed to be an island, until 1778, when its connection with the American continent was ascertained by Cook. The inhabitants of these islands were a bold race, who, for some time, resisted the Russians, but were finally subdued, after their numbers had been considerably reduced.

this want of knowledge of the coasts, and want of means to ascertain positions at sea; and a large number of those engaged in the trade, moreover, fell victims to cold, starvation, and scurvy, and to the enmity of the bold natives of the islands. Even as lately as 1806,* it was calculated that one third of these vessels were lost in each year. The history of the Russian trade and establishments on the North Pacific, is a series of details of dreadful disasters and sufferings; and, whatever opinions may be entertained as to the humanity of the adventurers, or the morality of their proceedings, the courage and perseverance displayed by them, in struggling against such appalling difficulties, must command universal admiration.

The furs collected, by these means, at Avatscha and Ochotsk, the principal fur-trading ports, were carried to *Irkutsk*, the capital of Eastern Siberia, whence some of them were taken to Europe; the greater portion were, however, sent to *Kiakta*, a small town just within the Russian frontier, close to the Chinese town of *Maimatchin*, through which places all the commerce between these two empires passed, agreeably to a treaty concluded at Kiakta, in 1728. In return for the furs, which brought higher prices in China than any where else, teas, tobacco, rice, porcelain, and silk and cotton goods, were brought to Irkutsk, whence all the most valuable of those articles were sent to Europe. These transportations were effected by land, except in some places, where the rivers were used as the channel of conveyance; no commercial exportation having been made from Eastern Russia, by sea, before 1779: and, when the immense distances,† between some of the points above mentioned, are considered, it becomes evident that none but objects of great value, in comparison with their bulk, at the place of their consumption, could have been thus transported, with profit to those engaged in the trade, and that a large portion of the price paid by the consumer must have been absorbed by the expense of transportation. A skin was, in fact, generally worth, at Kiakta, three times as much as it cost at Ochotsk.

The Russian government appears to have remained almost entirely unacquainted with the voyages and discoveries of its subjects,

* Krusenstern's journal of his voyage to the North Pacific.

† In the following table, each number expresses nearly the distance, in geographical miles, between the places named on either side of it:—

St. Petersburg, 460, Moscow, 1500, Tobolsk, 1800, Irkutsk, 1550, Yakutsk, 600, Ochotsk, 1300, Petropawlowsk, on the Bay of Avatscha; Irkutsk, 300, Kiakta, 1000, Pekin.

engaged in the fur trade of the North Pacific, until 1764, when the empress Catharine II. ordered that proper measures should be taken to procure exact information with regard to the islands, and the American coasts, opposite her dominions in Asia. This ambitious sovereign had then just ascended the throne, and was, or chose to appear, determined to carry out the views of Peter the Great for the extension of the Russian empire eastward beyond the Pacific.

Agreeably to the orders of Catharine, Lieutenant Synd sailed, in 1766, from Ochotsk, and advanced northward, along the coast of Kamtchatka, as far as the 66th degree of latitude; and, in the following year, he made another voyage in the same direction, in which he is supposed to have landed on the American continent. Very few particulars respecting his expeditions are, however, known, as the Russian government appears to have suppressed all accounts of them, for reasons which have been suggested, but which it is unnecessary here to repeat.

In 1768, another expedition was commenced, for the purpose of surveying the islands. With this object, Captains Krenitzin and Levaschef quitted the mouth of Kamtchatka River, in July, each commanding a small vessel; and, after cursorily examining Bering's Isle, and others near the coast of the peninsula, they stretched across to the Fox Islands, the largest and easternmost of the Archipelago, among which they passed the winter. Before the ensuing summer, nearly half the crews of both vessels had perished from scurvy; and, when the navigators returned to Kamtchatka, in October, 1769, they had done nothing more than to ascertain, approximately, the geographical positions of a few points in the Aleutian chain. It appears, indeed, that Krenitzin had employed himself exclusively in collecting furs, with which his vessel was laden on her arrival from her voyage. The only valuable information obtained by the Russian government, through this costly expedition, related to the mode of conducting the fur trade between Kamtchatka and the islands; upon which subject the reports of Levaschef were curious and instructive, and served to direct the government in its first administrative dispositions, with regard to the newly-discovered territories.

The expedition of Krenitzin and Levaschef was the last made by the Russians in the North Pacific, for purposes of discovery or investigation, before 1783. In 1771, however, took place the first voyage from the eastern coast of the empire, to a port frequented

by the ships of European nations; and, strange to say, this voyage was conducted under the *Polish flag!* In the month of May of that year, a few persons, chiefly Poles, who had been exiled to Kamtchatka for political reasons, succeeded in overpowering the garrison of the small town of Bolscheretsk, on the south-west side of Kamtchatka, where they were detained, and escaped to sea in a vessel then lying in the harbor. They were directed in their enterprise by Count Maurice de Benyowsky, a Hungarian, who had been an officer in the Polish service, and from whose history of his own life, afterwards published, all the accounts of their adventures are derived. From these accounts, it appears that the fugitives, on entering the Pacific, were driven northward as far as the 66th degree of latitude; during which part of their voyage, they frequently saw the coasts of both continents, and visited several of the Aleutian Islands. At Bering's Isle they found a number of fugitive exiles, like themselves, established in possession, under the command of a Saxon; and at Unalashka, the largest of the group, they discovered crosses, with inscriptions, erected by Krenitzin, in 1768. Proceeding thence towards the south, they touched at several places in the Kurile, Japan, and Loochoo Islands, as also at Formosa; and, at length, in September, they arrived at Canton, where they carried the first furs which ever entered that city by sea.*

A circumstantial account of the principal voyages and discoveries of the Russians, made between 1741 and 1770, drawn from original sources, was published at St. Petersburg, in 1774, by J. L. Stæhlin, councillor of state to the empress.† These records are curious and interesting, but they throw very little light on the great geographical questions relative to that part of the world, which then remained unsolved; and the accompanying chart only serves, at present, to show more conspicuously the value of the discoveries effected by other nations. According to this chart, the American coast extended, on the Pacific, in a line nearly due north-west from Cali-

* Memoirs and Travels of Maurice Augustus Count de Benyowsky, written by himself, published at London, in 1790. Benyowsky's account of his escape from Kamtchatka, and his voyage to China, were for some time discredited; but they have since been confirmed, at least as regards the principal circumstances. He afterwards had a variety of adventures, especially in Madagascar, of which he pretended to be the rightful sovereign; and he was, at length, killed at Foul Point, in that island, in May, 1786, while at the head of a party of Europeans and natives, in a contest with the French from the Isle of France.

† Description of the newly-discovered Islands in the Sea between Asia and America. A translation of the greater part of this work may be found in the last edition of Coxe's History of Russian Discoveries.

fornia, to the 70th degree of latitude, and was separated from the opposite coast of Asia by a wide expanse of sea, containing many islands, several of which correspond in name with those of the Aleutian Archipelago, though the positions assigned to them are far from correct: the largest of the islands there represented, called *Alascha*, lies under the 67th parallel, between the western-most point of America and the most eastern of Asia. In the beautiful map of the Russian empire, published at St. Petersburg by Treschot and Schmidt, in 1776, no land, except some islands, appears within twenty-five degrees of longitude east of Kamtchatka. Other maps, however, which appeared at a much earlier period, offer a view more nearly correct of the extreme north-western coasts of America, although the geographer who constructed them must have been guided almost entirely by suppositions.

The errors of latitude, in all these maps, were very great, amounting to ten degrees, in some instances; and those of longitude were, as may be readily supposed, much more considerable. Indeed, before 1778, when Cook made his voyage through the North Pacific, the differences in longitude, between places in that part of the ocean, had never been estimated otherwise than by the *dead reckoning*, which, however carefully observed, cannot afford accurate results; nor had any relation, which could be considered as nearly correct, been established between the meridian of any point on the Atlantic and that of any point on the North Pacific.

CHAPTER VI.

1763 TO 1780.

Great Britain obtains Possession of Canada — Journey of Carver to the Upper Mississippi — First Mention of the Oregon River — Inaccuracy of Carver's Statements — Journeys of Hearne through the Regions west of Hudson's Bay — Voyage of Captain Cook to the North Pacific — His important Discoveries in that Quarter, and Death — Return of his Ships to Europe; Occurrences at Canton during their Stay in that Port.

WHILST the Russians were thus prosecuting the fur trade on the north-westernmost coasts of America, the British were engaged in the same pursuit on the north-eastern side of the continent.

It has been already mentioned that King Charles II. of England, in 1669, granted to an association of gentlemen and merchants of London the possession of all the territories surrounding Hudson's Bay, and the exclusive trade in those regions, with the object, expressed in the charter, of encouraging his subjects to prosecute the search for a *north-west passage* for ships from that sea to the Pacific Ocean. Under the protection of this charter, the Hudson's Bay Company erected forts and trading establishments on the shores of the bay, and carried on an extensive and profitable trade with the natives of that part of America, to the annoyance of the French, who, also, claimed the country as part of Canada, and more than once dislodged the British traders. It was, indeed, provided by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1714, that the Hudson's Bay territories should belong to the former nation, and that commissaries should be appointed, on both sides, to settle the line separating those territories from Canada: but no such boundary was ever fixed, by commissaries or otherwise, as will be shown hereafter;* and the limits of the Hudson's Bay territories remained undetermined in 1763, when Canada, with all the other dominions of France in North America, east of the Mississippi, were ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris.

* See chap. xiii., and Proofs and Illustrations, letter F.

How far the Hudson's Bay Company, also, endeavored to fulfil the intention expressed in the charter, of promoting the search for a north-west passage, it is unnecessary here to inquire; suffice it to say, that, at the end of a century from the date of the concession, the question, as to the existence of such a channel, was nearly in the same state as at the commencement of that period. Hudson's Bay had been navigated by Middleton, in 1741, to the 66th degree of latitude, beyond which it was known to extend; Baffin's Bay had not been visited since the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was examined imperfectly to the 74th parallel. The territories west of both these seas were entirely unexplored; but accounts, which seemed to merit some credit, had been received from the Indians, of great rivers and other waters in that direction. The desired communication with the Pacific might, therefore, exist; or the Pacific, or some navigable river falling into it, might be found within a short distance of places on the Atlantic side of the continent, accessible to vessels from Europe: and the determination of these questions became infinitely more important to Great Britain, after the acquisition of Canada.

The region extending south-west, from Hudson's Bay to the great lakes, and the head waters of the Mississippi, had long been frequented by the traders from Canada and Louisiana, and had been partially surveyed by French officers and missionaries, by whom several journals, histories, and maps, relating to those countries, had been given to the world. This region was also visited, immediately after the transfer of Canada to Great Britain, by an American, whose travels are here mentioned, because he is supposed to have thrown much light upon the geography of North-west America by his own observations, and by information collected from the Indians of the Upper Mississippi.

This traveller, Captain Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut, who had served with some credit in the war against the French, particularly in the country about Lakes Champlain and George, set out from Boston in 1766, and proceeded, by way of Detroit and Michilimackinac, to the regions of the Upper Mississippi, now forming the territories of Wisconsin and Iowa, where he spent two years among the Indians. His object was, as he says in the introduction to his narrative, "after gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil, and natural productions, of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, to ascertain the breadth of the vast continent which extends from the

Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadest part, between the 43d and the 46th degrees of northern latitude. Had I been able," he continues, "to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to government to establish a post in some of those parts, about the Strait of Anian, which, having been discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belongs to the English. This, I am convinced, would greatly facilitate the discovery of a north-west passage, or communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean." This extensive plan he was, however, unable to pursue, having been disappointed in his intention to purchase goods, and then to pursue his journey from the Upper Mississippi, "by way of the Lakes Dubois, Dupluie, and Ouinipique, [the old French names of *Rainy Lake*, *Lake of the Woods*, and *Lake Winnipeg*,] to the head waters of the Great River of the West, which falls into the Strait of Anian." *

This *Great River of the West* is several times mentioned by Carver, under the name of *Oregon*, or *Origan*. In another part of his introduction, he refers to his account, in the journal, "of the situation of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the centre of the great continent, viz., the River Bourbon, [*Red River* of the north,] which empties itself into Hudson's Bay, the waters of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the River Oregon, or River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Anian." At the conclusion of his work, also, in speaking of a project which had been formed, in 1774, by himself, Mr. Whitworth, a member of the British parliament, and other persons in London, to cross the American continent, he says that they would have "proceeded up the River St. Pierre, [*St. Peter's*,] and from thence up a branch of the River Messorie, till, having discovered the source of the Oregon, or River of the West, on the other side of the summit of the lands that divide the waters which fall into the Gulf of Mexico from those that fall into the Pacific Ocean, they would have sailed

* Travels throughout the interior Parts of North America, in 1766—8, by Jonathan Carver, London, 1778. It consists of — an introduction, showing what the author had done and wished to do — a journal of his travels, with descriptions of the countries visited, and — an account of the origin, habits, religion, and languages, of the Indians of the country about the Upper Mississippi, which account occupies two thirds of the work, and is extracted almost entirely, and, in many parts, *verbatim*, from the French journals and histories. The book was written, or rather made up, at London, at the suggestion of Dr. Lettsom and other gentlemen, and printed for the purpose of relieving the wants of the author, who, however, died there, in misery, in 1780, at the age of 48.

down that river, to the place where it is said to empty itself, near the Straits of Anian."

From these declarations, it has been supposed, by many, that Carver was the first to make known to the world the existence of the great stream since discovered, and named the *Columbia*, which drains nearly the whole region, on the Pacific side of America, between the 40th and the 54th parallels of latitude; and that stream is, in consequence, frequently called the *Oregon*. On examining the journal of the traveller, however, we find no further mention of, or allusion to, his river than is contained in the following passages: "From these nations, [called by him the *Naudowessies*, the *Assinipoils*, and the *Killistinoes*,] together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers on the continent of North America — viz., the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon, and the Oregon, or River of the West, (as I hinted in my introduction) — have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther west. This shows that these parts are the highest in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled in the other three quarters of the world, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together, and each, after running separate courses, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of two thousand miles from their sources; for, in their passage from this spot to the Bay of St. Lawrence east, to the Bay of Mexico south, to Hudson's Bay north, and to the bay at the Straits of Anian west, each of these traverse upwards of two thousand miles." The elevated part, to which Carver here alludes, is no otherwise described by him than as being near the *Shining Mountains*, "which begin at Mexico, and, continuing northward, on the back, or to the east, of California, separate the waters of those numerous rivers that fall into the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of California. From thence, continuing their course still northward, between the sources of the Mississippi and the rivers that run into the South Sea, they appear to end in about 47 or 48 degrees of north latitude, where a number of rivers arise, and empty themselves either into the South Sea, into Hudson's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between these two seas."

In the preceding extracts from Carver's book, embracing all that he has said respecting his Oregon, or Great River of the West, there is certainly nothing calculated to establish the identity of the stream,

to which those vague descriptions and allusions apply, with the Columbia, or with any other river. The Columbia does not rise within a few leagues, or a few hundred leagues, of the waters of the Red River, the St. Lawrence, or the Upper Mississippi, which latter Carver carefully distinguishes from the *Missouri*; nor does either of those rivers, flowing to the Atlantic, rise near the great dividing ridge of the Shining Mountains; which ridge, moreover, does not end about the 48th degree of latitude, but continues more than a thousand miles farther north-westward. If, under circumstances so different, we consider the head-waters of the Columbia to be the same described by Carver as the head-waters of the Oregon, we should, *a fortiori*, admit the mouth of the Columbia to be the same mouth of a river which Aguilar is said to have discovered in 1603.

Carver's descriptions of places, people, and things, in the Indian countries, are vague, and often contradictory; and, where they can be understood, they are, for the most part, repetitions of the accounts of those or of other parts of America, given by the old French travellers and historians, whose works he, nevertheless, takes great pains to disparage, whenever he mentions them.* In many of those works, the belief in the existence of a great river, flowing from the vicinity of the head-waters of the Mississippi, westward, to the Pacific, is distinctly affirmed, as founded on the reports of the Indians; and on nearly all maps of North America, published during the early part of the last century, may be found one or more of such streams, under the names of *River of the West*, *River of*

* In proof that no injustice is here done to Carver's memory, read his magisterial and contemptuous remarks on the works of Hennepin, Lahontan, and Charlevoix, in the first chapter of his account of the origin, manners, &c., of the Indians; and then compare his chapters describing, as from personal observation, the ceremonies of marriage, burial, hunting, and others, of the natives of the Upper Mississippi countries, with those of Lahontan, showing the conduct of the Iroquois, of Canada, on similar occasions, by which it will be seen that *Carver has simply translated from Lahontan the whole of the accounts, even to the speeches of the chiefs*. Carver's chapter on the origin of the Indians is merely an abridgment from Charlevoix's "*Dissertation*" on the same subject. His descriptions of the language, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants of the Upper Mississippi regions, are entirely at variance with those of the same tribes at the present day, as clearly shown by the observations of Pike, Long, and other persons of unquestionable character, who have since visited that part of America. Keating, in his interesting narrative of Long's expedition in 1823, expresses his belief that Carver "ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, that he saw the St. Peter, and that he may have entered it; but, had he resided five months in the country, and become acquainted with the language of the people, he would not have applied to them the name of *Naudowessies*, and omitted to call them the *Dacota Indians*, as they style themselves."

Aguilar, River Thegayo, or some other, represented on the authority of accounts received from Indians, or of erroneous or fabulous narratives of voyages along the North Pacific coasts. When we consider the many and glaring plagiarisms, from the works above mentioned, committed by Carver, we certainly have a right to suspect, if not to conclude, that he derived from the same source every thing relating to his River of the West, which he pretends to have collected from the Indians of the Upper Mississippi. As to the name *Oregon,* or the authority for its use, the traveller is silent; and nothing has been learned from any other source, though much labor has been expended in attempts to discover its meaning and derivation: it was, most probably, invented by Carver.

The most distinct and apparently authentic of these Indian accounts of great rivers flowing from the central parts of North America to the Pacific, is that recorded by the French traveller Lepage Dupratz, as received from a native of the Yazoo country, named *Moncachtabé.* The amount of this statement is — that the Indian ascended the Missouri north-westward, to its source, beyond which he found another great river, running towards the setting sun; this latter he descended to a considerable distance, though not to its termination, which he was prevented from reaching by wars among the tribes inhabiting the country on its banks; though he learned, from a woman who had been made prisoner by the tribe with which he took part, that the river entered a great water, where ships had been seen, navigated by white men with beards. All this is related, with many accompanying circumstances, tending to confirm the probability of the narrative; and there is, indeed, nothing about it which should induce us to reject it as false, except the part respecting the ships and white men, which may have been an embellishment added by Moncachtabé.* The course of this supposed stream is laid down on several maps of North America, published about 1750, in which it is called the *Great River of the West;* and one of these maps probably formed the basis of Carver's story.

The first actual discovery of a river in the northernmost section of America, not emptying into the Atlantic or Hudson's Bay, was made, in 1771, by Mr. Samuel Hearne, one of the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, who also obtained the earliest exact information respecting the regions west and north-west of that bay.

* The account may be found at length in the *Mémoires sur la Louisiane,* by the Abbé le Maurier, published at Paris in 1753, vol. ii. p. 246.

Hearne had been commissioned, by the directors of the company, to explore those regions, in order to determine, if possible, the question as to the existence of a northern passage between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific; and also, more especially, to find a rich mine of copper, which was believed, from the accounts of the Indians, to lie on the banks of a river or strait, called, in their language, "*the Far-off Metal River*." From the general tenor of the instructions given to Hearne, it is evident that the directors were convinced of the non-existence of such a passage, and that they were merely anxious to have the fact demonstrated, in order to clear themselves from the imputation often cast upon them, of endeavoring to obstruct the progress of discovery in the regions under their control.

Agreeably to these instructions, Hearne made, between 1769 and 1772, three journeys from Fort Prince of Wales, the company's chief establishment on the western shore of Hudson's Bay, near the 60th degree of latitude, through the regions west and north-west of that place, which he examined, in various directions, to the distance of about a thousand miles. In his last journey, he discovered the *Great Slave Lake*, and other similar collections of fresh water, from which issued streams flowing northward and westward; and he traced one of these streams, which proved to be the *Far-off Metal River*, since called the *Copper Mine River*, to its termination in a sea, where the tides were observed, and the relics of whales were strowed in abundance on the shores. The mouth of this river was calculated rudely by Hearne to be situated near the 72d degree of latitude, and about 20 degrees of longitude, west of the most western known part of Hudson's Bay; and he learned from the Indians that the continent extended much farther west, and that there were high mountains in that direction. The sea into which the Copper Mine River emptied was supposed by the traveller to be "a sort of inland sea, or extensive bay, somewhat like that of Hudson;" and he assured himself, by his own observations, that the territory traversed by him, between this sea and Hudson's Bay, was not crossed by any channel connecting the two waters: whence it followed, that no vessel could sail from the Atlantic to the Pacific north of America, without proceeding beyond the mouth of the Copper Mine River. Hearne also conceived that he had proved the entire impossibility of the existence of any direct communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific; in which he, undoubtedly, assumed too much, as the northern termination of that bay had not then, nor has it to this day, been discovered.

Hearne's journals were not published until 1795, though they were submitted, immediately after his return from his last journey, to the lords commissioners of the British Admiralty, who did not fail to perceive the importance of the information contained in them. The commissioners agreed with Hearne in considering the probability of reaching the Pacific through Hudson's Bay to be destroyed; but they were, on the other hand, induced to hope that the newly-discovered sea, north of America, might be found to communicate, by navigable passages, with Baffin's Bay on the east and the Pacific on the west: and it was, in consequence, resolved, that ships should be sent, simultaneously, to explore the western side of Baffin's Bay and the north-easternmost coasts of the Pacific, in search of the desired channels of connection with the Arctic Sea. By an act of parliament, passed in 1745, a reward of twenty thousand pounds had been offered for the discovery of a north-west passage, *through Hudson's Bay, by ships belonging to his majesty's subjects;* and, in order further to stimulate British navigators in their exertions, a new act, in 1776, held out the same reward to the owners of any ship belonging to his majesty's subjects, or to the commander, officers, and crew, of any vessel belonging to his majesty, which should find out, and sail through, any passage by sea between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, *in any direction*, or parallel of the northern hemisphere, to the northward of the 52d degree of latitude.

Soon after the adoption of these resolutions, Captain James Cook returned to England from his second voyage of circumnavigation, in which he had completely disproved all reports of the existence of a habitable continent about the south pole; and, his offer to conduct the proposed expedition to the North Pacific having been accepted by the government, two vessels were soon prepared and placed under his command for that purpose.

In the instructions delivered to Cook, on the 6th of July, 1776, he is directed to proceed, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, New Zealand, and Otaheite, to *the coast of New Albion*, which he was to endeavor to reach, in the latitude of 45 degrees. He was "strictly enjoined, on his way thither, not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven to it by some unavoidable accident; in which case, he was to stay no longer than should be absolutely necessary, and to be very careful not to give any umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his Catholic majesty. And if, in his

farther progress northward, he should find any subjects of any European prince or state, upon any part of the coast which he might think proper to visit, he was not to disturb them, or give them any just cause of offence, but, on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendship." This latter sentence bore reference to the Russians; the application of the name of *New Albion* to the north-west coast of North America showed that the British government had no intention to resign any rights to that region, which were supposed, or pretended, to have been acquired by Drake's visit, in 1579.

On reaching New Albion, Cook was "to put into the first convenient port to obtain wood, water, and refreshments, and thence to proceed northward along the coast to the latitude of 65 degrees," where he was to begin his search for "such rivers or inlets as might appear to be of considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays." Should he find a passage of that description, he was to endeavor to sail through it, with one or both of his ships, or with smaller vessels, of which the materials were to be carried out, prepared for being speedily put together; should he, however, be satisfied that there is no such passage to the above-mentioned bays, sufficient for the purposes of navigation, he was to repair to the Russian establishments in Kamtchatka, and to explore the seas north of them, "in further search of a north-east or north-west passage, from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic or the North Sea." The instruction, not to begin the examination of the American coast south of the 65th degree of latitude, was based on the proofs obtained by Hearne, that the continent extended much beyond that parallel; before reaching which, indeed, it was expected that the coast would be found turning north-eastward, in the direction of the mouth of the Copper Mine River.

The navigator was, likewise, "with the consent of the natives, to take possession, in the name of the king of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as he might discover, that had not been already discovered or visited by any other European power; and to distribute, among the inhabitants, such things as will remain as traces of his having been there: but, if he should find the countries so discovered to be *uninhabited*, he was to take possession of them for his sovereign, by setting up proper marks and inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors."

The preceding extracts, from the instructions given to Cook, will suffice to explain the objects and views of the British government,

with regard to the part of America bordering upon the North Pacific Ocean; which objects and views were, in every respect, conformable with justice, with the existing treaties between Great Britain and other powers, and with the principles of national law then generally admitted in civilized countries. The part of America in question was known to Europeans only through the imperfect accounts of the Russian voyages, from which nothing certain was learned, except that islands and other territories, supposed to be extensive, had been found in the sea east of Kamtchatka. Of the discoveries of the Spaniards, the most recent respecting which any exact and authentic details had been communicated, were those made by Vizcaino, in 1603: he, however, had not advanced so far north as the 45th degree of latitude, where Cook was to begin his observations; and between that parallel and the 56th, the southernmost limit of the explorations of the Russians, was a vast space of sea and land, concerning which all the accounts, previously given to the world, were generally regarded as fabulous. Before Cook's departure, information had indeed reached England, of voyages, made by Spaniards, along the north-west coasts of America, during the two preceding years,* and of colonies established by them in that quarter, which may, perhaps, have rendered the British government more solicitous to have those coasts examined by its own officers: this information was, however, too vague to have afforded any light for the direction of Cook's movements; and it has been already shown that no more satisfactory accounts of those recent Spanish voyages had been obtained in England before 1780.

With these instructions, Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of July, 1776, in his old ship, the Resolution, accompanied by another called the Discovery, under Captain Charles Clerke. Both vessels were provided with every instrument and other means which science or experience could suggest, for the effectual accomplishment of the great objects in view; and that the officers and crews were also judiciously selected, the results conclusively proved. Among the lieutenants were Gore, (a native of Virginia,) King, Bligh, and Burney, who afterwards rose to eminence in their profession: of the inferior members of the body, one deserves to be named — John Ledyard, of Connecticut, who thus passed four years of his irregular and adventurous life in the humble capacity of a corporal of marines, on board the Resolution.

* See page 124 of this History.

From England, Cook passed around the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Southern Ocean, into the Pacific; and, after spending more than a year in examinations about Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, the Society Islands, and other places in the same division of the great sea, he bent his course towards the north, in the beginning of 1778. The first fruit of his researches in the North Pacific, was the discovery, on the 18th of January, of *Atooi*, (or *Kauai*,) one of the islands of a group near the 20th degree of latitude, to which he gave the name of *Sandwich Islands*, in honor of the first lord of the Admiralty. This discovery was by no means the least important of the many effected by the great navigator; as those islands, situated nearly midway between America and Asia, possessing a delightful climate, and a fertile soil, offer invaluable facilities for the repair and refreshment of vessels traversing the vast expanse of sea which there separates the two continents, and will, no doubt, be made the basis for the exertion of a powerful influence on the destinies of North-west America.

From the Sandwich Islands, the British exploring ships took their departure for the north-west coast of America, in sight of which they arrived on the 7th of March, 1778, near the 44th degree of latitude, about two hundred miles north of Cape Mendocino. For several days afterwards, Cook was prevented from advancing northward by contrary winds, which forced him a hundred miles in the opposite course; but he was thereby enabled to see and partially examine a larger extent of coast, and to determine the longitude of that part of America, which had been left uncertain by all previous observations. The weather at length permitting, he took the desired direction, and, running rapidly northward, at some distance from the land, he was, on the 22d of the month, opposite a projecting point of the continent, a little beyond the 48th parallel, to which he gave the name of *Cape Flattery*, in token of the improvement in his prospects.

The coast south of Cape Flattery, to the 47th degree, was carefully examined by the English in search of the strait through which Juan de Fuca was said to have sailed to the Atlantic in 1592; and as, in the account of that voyage, the entrance of the strait into the Pacific is placed *between the 47th and the 48th parallels*, over which space the American coast was found to extend unbroken, Cook did not hesitate to pronounce that no such passage existed. Had he, however, also traced the coast north and east of Cape Flattery,

he would have discovered an arm of the ocean, seeming to penetrate the continent, through which he might have sailed many days, ere he could have been convinced that the old Greek pilot's account was not true in all its most essential particulars. This arm of the ocean was passed unobserved by the navigators, who, sailing northwestward, in front of its entrance, doubled a projection of the land, named, by them, *Point Breakers*, from the violence of the surf beating on it, and found immediately beyond a spacious bay, opening to the Pacific, in the latitude of 49½ degrees. Into this bay they sailed, and anchored on its northern side, at the distance of ten miles from the sea, in a safe and commodious harbor, to which they gave the name of *Friendly Cove*.

The British vessels remained at Friendly Cove nearly all the month of April, in the course of which they were completely refitted, and supplied with wood and water, and the men were refreshed, in preparation for the arduous labors of the ensuing summer. During this period, they were surrounded by crowds of natives, who came thither from all quarters, by sea and by land, to visit and trade with the strangers, "bringing," says Cook, "skins of various animals, such as wolves, foxes, bears, deer, raccoons, polecats, martins, and, in particular, of the sea otters, which are found at the islands east of Kamtchatka. Besides the skins in their native shape, they also brought garments made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp; weapons, such as bows and arrows, and spears; fish-hooks, and instruments of various kinds; wooden visors of many monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff or blanketing; bags filled with red ochre; pieces of carved work, beads, and several other little ornaments of thin brass and iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which they hang at their noses, and several chisels, or pieces of iron fixed to handles."

"In trafficking with us," continues the navigator, "some of them would betray a knavish disposition, and carry off our goods without making any return; but, in general, it was otherwise, and we had abundant reason to commend the fairness of their conduct. However, their eagerness to possess iron and brass, and, indeed, any kind of metal, was so great, that few of them could resist the temptation to steal it, whenever an opportunity offered. They were thieves in the strictest sense of the word; for they pilfered nothing from us but what they knew could be converted to the purposes of private utility, and had a real value, according to their estimation of things." Cook also observed among them a "strict

notion of their having a right to the exclusive property of every thing that their country produces," which had been remarked, by Bodega and Maurelle, in the natives at Port Remedios, farther north. "At first, they wanted our people to pay for the wood and water that they carried on board; and, had I been upon the spot when these demands were made, I should certainly have complied with them. Our workmen, in my absence, thought differently, for they took but little notice of such claims; and the natives, when they found that we determined to pay nothing, ceased to apply. But they made a merit of necessity, and frequently afterward took occasion to remind us that they had given us wood and water out of friendship."

With regard to the disposition of these people, the English commander was, on the whole, inclined to judge favorably. "They seem," he says, "to be courteous, docile, and good natured, but, notwithstanding the predominant phlegm of their tempers, quick in resenting what they look upon as an injury, and, like most other passionate people, as soon forgetting it." Experience has, however, proved that Ledyard read their characters more correctly, when he pronounced them "bold, ferocious, sly, and reserved; not easily moved to anger, but revengeful in the extreme."

From the number of articles of iron and brass found among these people, one of whom had, moreover, two silver spoons, of Spanish manufacture, hanging around his neck by way of ornament — from their manifesting no surprise at the sight of his ships, and not being startled by the reports of his guns — and from the strong inclination to trade exhibited by them, — Cook was, at first, inclined to suppose that the place had been visited by vessels of civilized nations before his arrival. He, however, became convinced, by his inquiries and observations during his stay, that this was by no means probable; for though, as he says, "some account of a Spanish voyage to this coast in 1774 or 1775 had reached England before I sailed, it was evident that iron was too common here, was in too many hands, and the use of it was too well known, for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately, or, indeed, at any earlier period, by an accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless, from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source, by way of traffic, and that not of a very late date; for they are as dexterous in using their tools as the longest practice can make them. The most probable way, therefore, by which we can suppose that they get their iron, is by trading for it with other

Indian tribes, who either have immediate communication with European settlements upon the continent, or receive it, perhaps, through several intermediate nations: the same might be said of the brass and copper found amongst them." The iron and brass, he conceived, might have been brought from Canada, or Hudson's Bay, and the silver spoons from Mexico; and he imputed the indifference of the natives, respecting the ships, "to their natural indolence of temper and want of curiosity."

On his arrival in this bay, Cook "honored it with the name of *King George's Sound;*" but he "afterwards found that it was called *Nootka*, by the natives," and it has, accordingly, ever since been known as *Nootka Sound*. No word has, however, been since found in the language of the people of this country more nearly resembling *Nootka* than *Yuquatl*, the name applied by them to Friendly Cove. The bay is situated on the south-west side of the large *Island of Vancouver and Quadra*, which was, until 1790, supposed to be a part of the American continent; and it communicates with the Pacific by two openings, the southernmost of which, the only one affording a passage for large vessels, lies under the parallel of 49 degrees 33 minutes. This southern entrance is, undoubtedly, the *Port San Lorenzo*, in which the Spanish navigator Perez lay with his ship, the Santiago, on the 10th of August, 1774; and from that vessel, most probably, were stolen the two silver spoons of Spanish manufacture, which Cook saw at Nootka, in the possession of one of the natives. The place possesses many advantages, which will render it important, whenever that part of America shall be occupied, as it certainly will be, by an enterprising and industrious people.

It was Cook's intention, on leaving Nootka Sound, to proceed, as speedily as possible, to the part of the coast under the 65th degree of latitude, from which he was to commence his search for a passage to the Atlantic. The violence of the wind prevented him from approaching the land for some days, and he thus, to his regret, left unseen the place, near the 53d parallel, "where geographers had placed the pretended Strait of Fonté. For my own part," he continues, "I gave no credit to such vague and improbable stories, that carry their own confutation along with them; nevertheless, I was very desirous of keeping the American coast aboard, in order to clear up this point beyond dispute." At length, on the 1st of May, he saw the land, about the 55th parallel; and, on the following day, he passed near the beautiful conical mountain,

under the 57th, which had received from Bodega, in 1775, the name of Mount San Jacinto. This peak was called *Mount Edgecumb* by Cook, who also gave the appellation of *Bay of Islands* to the Port Remedios of the Spaniards, on its northern side.

After leaving these places, the English observed a wide opening on the east, called by them *Cross Sound*, and beyond it a very high mountain, which obtained the name of *Mount Fairweather*; and, as the latter was situated near the 59th parallel, they had then advanced farther north than the Spaniards, or any other navigators, had proceeded from the south along that coast, and were entering upon the scenes of the labors of the Russians. Accordingly, as they expected, on the 4th of the month, they beheld, rising from the shore in the north, at the distance of forty leagues, a stupendous pile of rocks and snow, which they immediately recognized as the *Mount St. Elias*, described in the accounts of Bering's voyage; and, as the coast from its base was found to "trend very much to the west, inclining hardly any thing to the north," Cook determined to commence his survey at that point, hoping soon to discover some strait, or arm of the ocean, through which he might pass around the northwestern extremity of America, into the sea bathing the northern shores of the continent. Of the existence of such a passage he was assured by the Russian geographers, on whose maps the whole space between Mount St. Elias and Kamtchatka was represented as occupied by a collection of islands and channels.

With this expectation, the English advanced slowly along the coast, from the foot of Mount St. Elias, westward, to a considerable distance, and then south-westward, as far as the latitude of $54\frac{1}{2}$ degrees; minutely examining, in their way, every sinuosity on the shores of the ocean, and particularly those of the two great gulfs, named by them *Prince William's Sound* and *Cook's River*, which stretch northwardly into the land from the 60th parallel. They were, however, in each instance, disappointed; for the coast was found to extend continuously on their right, bordered every where by lofty, snow-capped chains of mountains along the whole line thus surveyed: and, as Cook became convinced that these territories formed part of the American continent, which thus "extended farther to the west than, from the modern most reputable charts, he had reason to expect," he saw, with regret, that the probability of his finding a passage eastward into Baffin's or Hudson's Bays was materially diminished, if not entirely destroyed. He endeavored, in his course, to identify the places described in the narrative of

Bering's voyage; but this he found, almost always, impossible, though he assigned many of the names therein mentioned to spots which seemed to correspond, in some respects, with those so called by the Russians.

Whilst this survey was in progress, particularly at *Prince William's Sound*, the ships were frequently visited by the natives of the surrounding country, who appeared to be of a different race from those seen farther south. They were as thievish as the Nootkans, though apparently less ferocious and revengeful; and Cook gives several examples of their extraordinary apathy and indifference, which appears, from all subsequent accounts, to be their most remarkable characteristic. They, also, were well acquainted with the use of iron and copper, of which metals, particularly of copper, they possessed knives, or spear-heads, rudely made. Among them were likewise found many ornaments made of glass beads, which were evidently of European manufacture: yet the English could not learn that they had ever had direct intercourse with any civilized nation; and Cook very justly concluded that the Russians "had never been among them, for, if that had been the case, we should hardly have found them clothed in such valuable skins as those of the sea otter."

Proceeding south-westward from Cook's River, along the western side of the peninsula of Aliaska, the English, on the 19th of June, fell in with a group of small islands, near the 55th parallel, which appeared to correspond, in position, with the *Schumagin Islands* of Bering; and, while sailing amongst them, they obtained, from some natives, a note written on paper, in an unknown language, which they supposed to be Russian. Having reached the extremity of the land in that direction, they doubled the point, and, sailing again towards the east, they arrived, on the 27th, at a large island, which proved to be *Unalashka*, one of the Aleutian Archipelago, frequently mentioned in the accounts of the Russians as a place of resort for their traders: natives of the island only were found there; but, as its position with reference to other points in America, and to Kamtchatka, was supposed to be represented with some approach to accuracy, on the chart published at St. Petersburg, the English, after reaching it, were better able to determine their future course.

Being still anxious to discover, if possible, during that season, how far America extended to the north-west, Cook departed from Unalashka on the 2d of July, and, sailing northward along the coast,

he carefully examined all its bays and recesses, in search of a passage towards the east, until he, at length, on the 9th of August, reached a point, in the latitude of 65 degrees 46 minutes, which his observations induced him to consider as the "north-western extremity of all America." This point he named *Cape Prince of Wales*, and thence proceeding westward, across a channel only fifty miles in breadth, he arrived at another point, supposed to be that described, in the account of Bering's first voyage, as the *Tchukotskoi Noss*, which was ascertained to be the easternmost spot in Asia, and was accordingly named *East Cape*. The passage separating these capes, which the Russians had called *Bering's Strait*, was suffered to retain that appellation, in honor of the navigator who first sailed through it.

Beyond Bering's Strait, the American coast was traced by the English, north-eastward upon the Arctic Sea, to *Icy Cape*, in the latitude of 70 degrees 29 minutes, where the progress of the explorers was arrested by the ice. In like manner, the Asiatic coast was surveyed north-westward, to *Cape North*, in the latitude of 68 degrees 56 minutes, the farthermost point to which it was then possible to advance in that direction; and, the warm season being by this time ended, Cook judged it prudent to retire to the south, deferring the continuation of his researches until the ensuing summer. He accordingly repassed Bering's Strait, and on the 3d of October his ships were again anchored in the harbor of *Samoogoonda*, on the north side of Unalashka.

From this place, Corporal Ledyard was despatched on an exploring trip into the interior of the island, where he at length discovered some Russian traders, who accompanied him back to the ships. The chief of these traders, named Gerassim Ismyloff, was an old and experienced seaman, who had formed one of the party under Benyowsky, in their adventurous voyage from Kamtchatka to China, in 1770, and had since been engaged in the navigation and traffic between Asia and the Aleutian Islands. He readily exhibited to Cook the few charts in his possession, and communicated what he knew respecting the geography of that part of the world as well as was possible, considering that neither of the two understood a word of the language of the other. The information thus received from Ismyloff, however, only served to show the entire inaccuracy of the ideas of the Russians with regard to America, and to convince the English navigator of the importance of his own discoveries.

Leaving Unalashka on the 27th of October, the English ships continued their voyage southward to the Sandwich Islands, of which the two largest, called *Owyhee* and *Mowee*, (*Hawaii* and *Mauai*,) were first discovered in the latter part of November. They passed the winter on the western side of Owyhee, in a harbor called *Karakooa Bay;* and there, on the 16th of February, 1779, the gallant and generous Cook was murdered by the natives, in an affray.

Captain Charles Clerke, who succeeded to the command of the expedition after this melancholy event, endeavored, in the summer of 1779, to effect a passage through the Arctic Sea to the Atlantic. With this view, he left the Sandwich Islands in March, and, on the 29th of April, reached the harbor of Petropawlowsk, in the Bay of Avatscha, the principal port of the Russians on the North Pacific, where the English were received with the utmost kindness by the officers of the government; and their ships were objects of the greatest curiosity to the people, being the first from any foreign country which had ever visited that part of the world. After some days spent in Kamtchatka, Clerke sailed for Bering's Strait, beyond which, however, he was unable to advance, in any direction, so far as in the preceding year, in consequence of the great accumulation of the ice. His health at that time being, moreover, in a very precarious state, he returned to Petropawlowsk, near which he died, on the 22d of August.

Lieutenant John Gore next assumed the direction of the enterprise: but the ships were considered, by him and the other officers, unfit, from the bad condition of their bottoms and rigging, to encounter the shocks of another season in that tempestuous quarter of the ocean; and it was, thereupon, determined that they should direct their course immediately for England. They accordingly sailed from Petropawlowsk in October, and in the beginning of December they anchored at the mouth of the River Tygris, near Canton.

With the stay of the English ships in China are connected some circumstances, which gave additional importance to the discoveries effected in their expedition.

It has already been mentioned that, during the voyage along the north-west coasts of America, the officers and seamen had obtained from the natives at Nootka, Prince William's Sound, and other places which they visited, a quantity of furs, in exchange for knives, old clothes, buttons, and other trifles. These furs were collected,

for the most part, without any reference to their value as merchandise, and were used on board ship as clothes or bedding; in consequence of which, many of them had become spoiled, and others were much injured, before the ships reached Petropawlowsk. At that place, a few skins were sold to the Russian traders, who were anxious to purchase the whole on similar terms; but the English officers, having, in the mean time, acquired information as to the high prices paid for furs in China, prevailed upon the seamen to retain those which they still possessed, until their arrival at Canton, where they were assured that a much better market would be found.

The hopes thus excited did not prove fallacious. The ships commanded by Gore were the only ones, with the exception of that under Benyowsky, in 1770, which had ever arrived at Canton directly from the coasts where furs were obtained; and no sooner was the nature of the merchandise which they brought known in the city, than all became eager to purchase those precious objects of comfort and luxury, either for their own use or upon speculation. The Chinese, according to custom, began by offering prices much below the ordinary; but the English, being on their guard, refused such terms, and, in the end, their whole stock of furs was sold for money and goods, to the amount of more than ten thousand dollars. The seamen, on witnessing these results, became, notwithstanding the previous length of their cruise, "possessed with a rage to return to the northern coasts, and, by another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes, which was, at one time, not far short of mutiny:" they were, however, restrained by their officers, and, after the completion of the business at Canton, the ships sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to England, where they arrived in the beginning of October, 1780.

With regard to the novelty of the discoveries effected in this voyage, it will be seen, on comparing the course of the English ships with those taken by the Spaniards, in 1774 and 1775 — that Cook saw no part of the west coast of North America, south of Mount San Jacinto or Edgecumb, which had not been previously seen by Perez, Bodega, or Heceta; and, after passing that point, he was, as he frequently admits, aided, and in a measure guided, by the accounts of the Russian voyages. The observations of the English were, however, infinitely more minute, and more important, in their results, than those of any or all the other navigators who had pre-

ceded them in the exploration of the North Pacific: for, by determining accurately the positions of the principal points on the coasts of Asia and America, bounding that sea, they first afforded the means of ascertaining the extent of those continents, and the degree of their proximity to each other, respecting which the most erroneous ideas had been adopted; and the comparative ease and security with which they executed this task, served to dispel the apprehensions, previously entertained, with regard to expeditions through that quarter of the ocean.

CHAPTER VII.

1780 to 1789.

Commercial Results of Cook's Discoveries — Settlements of the Russians in America — Scheme of Ledyard for the Trade of the North Pacific — Voyage of La Pérouse — Direct Trade between the American Coasts and Canton commenced — Voyages of the English Fur Traders — Re-discovery of the Strait of Fuca — Voyage of Meares, who endeavors to find a great River described by the Spaniards — First Voyages from the United States to the South Pacific, and to Canton — Voyage of the Columbia and Washington, under Kendrick and Gray, from Boston to the North Pacific.

Whilst Cook was engaged in his last expedition, Great Britain became involved in wars with the United States of America, France, and Spain; and, as there was no prospect of a speedy termination of the contests at the time when the ships sent out under that commander returned to Europe, the British government considered it prudent to withhold from the world all information respecting their voyage. The regular journals of the ships, together with the private notes and memoranda of the officers and men which could be collected, were, in consequence, placed under the charge of the Board of Admiralty, and thus remained concealed until peace had been restored. Notwithstanding this care, however, many of the occurrences of the expedition became known, the importance, or the novelty, of which was such as to raise to the highest degree the curiosity of the public, not only in England, but in all other civilized countries.

The wars having been, at length, concluded, the regular journals of the expedition were published at London, in the winter of 1784–5, under the care of the learned Bishop Douglas, with a number of maps, charts, and other illustrative engravings; and it is now scarcely necessary to say, that the anticipations which had been formed as to the importance of their contents, were fully realized.

The information obtained during the voyage, respecting the abundance of animals of fine fur on the north-west coasts of America, and the high prices paid for their skins in China, became

generally diffused before the publication of the journals, and it did not fail to attract the attention of enterprising men in all maritime countries. The trade in furs had been conducted, almost wholly, by the British and the Russians, between whom, however, there had been no opportunity for competition. The Russians procured their furs chiefly in the northern parts of their own empire; and they exported to China, by land, all such as were not required for their own use. The British market was supplied entirely from Hudson's Bay and Canada; and a great portion of the skins there collected was sent to Russia, whence many of them found their way to China, though none had ever been shipped directly for the latter country. That the furs of Canada and Hudson's Bay might be sold advantageously at Canton was certain, from a comparison between the prices of those articles in London and in Canton; and it was also clear that still greater profits might be secured by means of a direct trade between China and the north-west coasts of America, where the finest furs were to be obtained more easily than in any other part of the world. There could be, nevertheless, no doubt that, after the opening of such a trade, the prices in China would fall, while the difficulties and expenses of collecting the furs in America would be increased; and it was, therefore, material that those who wished to reap the fullest harvests in this new field, should begin their labors as speedily as possible.

The Russians were the first to avail themselves of Cook's discoveries, respecting which they had derived much information during the stay of the British ships at Petropawlowsk and Unalashka. In 1781, an association was formed between Gregory Schelikof, Ivan Gollikof, and other principal fur merchants of Siberia and Kamtchatka, for the more extensive and effective conduct of their business; and three vessels, equipped by them for a long voyage of trade and exploration, sailed from Ochotsk, in August, 1783, under the command of Schelikof. In this expedition they were absent three years, in the course of which the shores of the American continent and islands, between the south-west extremity of Aliaska and Prince William's Sound, were examined, and several colonies or factories were established, particularly on the large island of *Kuktak*, or *Kodiak*, near the entrance of the bay called *Cook's River*. Schelikof was a man of great intrepidity and perseverance, well acquainted with the business in which he was engaged, and apparently never troubled by scruples as to the morality or humanity of any measure, after he had satisfied himself of its expediency.

He and his followers are said to have exhibited the most barbarous dispositions in their treatment of the natives on the coasts, whole tribes of whom were put to death upon the slightest prospect of advantage from their destruction, and often through mere wantonness of cruelty.

In 1787, the Russians made establishments, also, on the shores of Cook's River; and, in the following year, two vessels were sent from Asia by the trading association, under Ismylof (one of the men found by Cook at Unalashka) and Betscharef, who proceeded as far east as the bay at the foot of Mount St. Elias, called *Yakutat* by the natives, and *Admiralty Bay* by the English. It seems to have also been the object of these traders to take possession of Nootka Sound, in which, however, they were anticipated, as will be shown in the ensuing chapter.

The empress Catharine had likewise become anxious to acquire glory by an expedition for discoveries in the North Pacific; but, as none of her subjects were qualified to conduct such an enterprise, she engaged for the purpose Captain Billings, an Englishman, who had accompanied Cook, as assistant astronomer, in his last voyage. Under his direction, two ships were built at Petropawlowsk; but they could not be completed before 1790, when Billings began his voyage, as will be hereafter related.

Among other nations, the first attempt to engage in the direct trade between the north-west coasts of America and China appears to have been made by Mr. Bolts, an eminent English merchant, residing at Trieste, who, in 1781, equipped a vessel for that purpose, to be navigated under the imperial flag of Germany; but he was obliged, from some unknown cause, to abandon the undertaking.

A similar attempt was shortly after made, with no greater success, in the United States of America. John Ledyard, who has been already mentioned as one of the crew of Cook's ship during the last voyage of that navigator, having deserted, or rather escaped, from a British frigate, in which he was serving against his countrymen, near New York, in 1782, prevailed on the celebrated merchant and financier, Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, to fit out a vessel, to be employed, under his direction, in the fur trade of the North Pacific. The pecuniary embarrassments of Mr. Morris, however, obliged him to abandon the enterprise before the vessel was ready for sea; and Ledyard, finding his efforts to procure coöperation for that object unavailing in America, went to France in

1784, where he, in concert with Paul Jones, endeavored to interest the government, or private capitalists, in his scheme.

The French gave no encouragement to Ledyard's plan for prosecuting the fur trade; and no private vessels were sent from that kingdom to the North Pacific until 1791.* The government of France, however, was not unaware of the advantages which might be derived from this branch of commerce; and their great navigator, La Pérouse, on leaving his country for the Pacific, in 1785, was specially instructed to "explore the parts of the north-west coasts of America which had not been examined by Cook, and of which the Russian accounts gave no idea, in order to obtain information respecting the fur trade, and also to learn whether, in those unknown parts, some river or internal sea might not be found communicating with Hudson's Bay or Baffin's Bay."†

The multiplicity of objects, in every department of science, to which La Pérouse was required by his instructions to attend, during his voyage, prevented him from devoting more than three months to the north-west coasts of America; and, of that time, he spent one third at anchor, in a bay at the foot of Mount Fairweather, near which he first saw the coast, on the 23d of June, 1786. In this bay, called, by La Pérouse, *Port des Français*,‡ observations were made by the French in various points of science; and they traded with the natives, of whose persons, language, arts, customs, &c., minute accounts are presented in the journals of the expedi-

* After the failure of this scheme, Ledyard undertook, at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, then minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, to proceed by land to Kamtchatka, thence by sea to Nootka Sound, or some other point on the west coast of North America, and thence across the continent, to the Atlantic states of the Federal Union. With this view, permission was obtained, through the agency of the celebrated Baron de Grimm, from the empress of Russia, for Ledyard to pass through her dominions; and, thus protected, as well as aided, by the government of that empire, he advanced as far as Irkutsk, in Siberia, on his way to Ochotsk, where he proposed to embark for America. At Irkutsk, however, he was arrested, by order of the empress, on the night of the 24th of February, 1788, and was thence conveyed to the frontiers of Poland, where he was liberated, with an injunction not again to set foot in the Russian territory. The reasons for his expulsion are unknown; but it was probably occasioned by the representations of the members of the Russian American Trading Company, already mentioned, who wished to keep their proceedings secret. On the 15th of November following, Ledyard's irregular life was ended at Cairo, whither he had gone under the auspices of the African Association of London, on his way to seek for the sources of the Nile. — See the Biography of Ledyard, by Jared Sparks.

† King Louis XVI. is said to have planned the expedition of La Pérouse himself, and to have drawn up the greater part of the instructions with his own hand, before he communicated his intentions to any other person.

‡ No account of this extraordinary place has been given by any other navigator.

tion. Quitting the Port des Français on the 4th of August, they sailed towards the south, and examined the coasts between Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb, and Port Bucareli, as well as those discovered by the Spaniards in 1774 and 1775, between the 54th and the 52d parallels, forming the western side of Queen Charlotte's Island, the separation of which from the American continent seems to have been suspected by La Pérouse. Continuing onwards, they passed the mouth of Nootka Sound without entering it, and, on the 8th of September, they reached Monterey, where they were received with the greatest attention, agreeably to orders previously sent thither from Mexico. At Monterey, the observations were renewed, and the latitude and longitude of that part of the coast were, for the first time, accurately determined; after which, on the 24th of the month, the French ships quitted the American coast forever.

The remarks and surmises of this accomplished officer, on several points connected with the north-west coasts of America, display much sagacity and science; but his labors were rendered almost useless to the world, by the delay in the publication of his journals, which did not appear until 1797, when nearly all the places visited by him had become well known, from the descriptions of many other navigators.*

The first persons who actually engaged in the direct trade between the north-west coasts of America and China, were British subjects, though sailing, nearly all, under the Portuguese flag.

At the time of the publication of Cook's journals, the British trade in the Pacific was divided between two great commercial corporations, each possessing peculiar privileges, secured to itself by act of parliament, to the exclusion of all other subjects of the same nation. Thus no British subjects, except those in the service, or bearing the license, of the *South Sea Company*, could make

* Sailing from Monterey, La Pérouse visited, in succession, Macao, the Philippine Islands, the coast of Tartary, Kamtchatka, the Navigators' Islands, and New Holland. After leaving the latter country, in February, 1787, nothing was heard of his ships until 1826, when information was received by the French government, in consequence of which a vessel was sent to the Pacific, and the wrecks of both vessels were discovered on the little island of Malicolo, one of the New Hebrides Archipelago, east of New Holland. From the accounts of the natives, it appeared that a number of the French landed on the island after the wreck of their ships, and built a small vessel, in which they took their departure, and were doubtless lost. The journals of the expedition, and letters received from the commander and other officers, were published at Paris in 1797, under the direction of Clairet de Fleurieu, and were immediately translated into English and other European languages.

expeditions, for trade or fishery, by way of Cape Horn or Magellan's Straits, to any part of the west coast of America, or the seas and islands within three hundred leagues of it: while no British subjects, not employed or licensed by the *East India Company*, could proceed, for either of those purposes, around the Cape of Good Hope, to any seas or lands east of that point, between it and Magellan's Straits; with the provision, however, that the privileges conferred on the East India Company should not be considered as interfering with those previously granted to the other association. All British vessels, found trading or fishing contrary to the acts by which these privileges were conferred, became liable to confiscation, and the persons directing such expeditions to heavy penalties.

Thus the East India Company could carry on the direct trade between the north-west coasts of America and China, at the risk of a dispute with the South Sea Company, as to the extent of the interference with the privileges of the latter; while those privileges were rendered entirely useless to the South Sea Company, for the purposes of that trade, by the exclusion of its vessels from the Chinese ports, which offered the principal, if not the only, profitable market for furs. Accordingly, some of the earliest commercial expeditions of the British to the north-west coasts were made under the flag of the East India Company; while other subjects of that nation eluded the regulations of both companies, by engaging in the fur trade, under the flag of Portugal, or with licenses granted by the Portuguese authorities at Macao, near Canton.

The earliest of these expeditions appears to have been that of James Hanna, an Englishman, who sailed from Macao, in a small vessel under Portuguese colors, in April, 1785,* and arrived at Nootka Sound in August following. The natives of that country at first refused to have any dealings with him, and endeavored to seize his vessel, and murder his crew; but they were foiled in the attempt, and, after some combats between the parties, a trade was established, the result of which was, that Hanna brought back to

* The following account of the movements of the fur traders in the North Pacific, between 1785 and 1789, is derived principally from the Narrative of the Voyage of the Ship Queen Charlotte, by her captain, John Dixon, or rather by her supercargo, Beresford — the Narrative of the Voyage of the Ship King George, by her captain, Nathaniel Portlock — the Narrative of the Voyages of Captain John Meares, to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Probability of a Northern Passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and the memorial and documents in proof, presented by Captain Meares to the British parliament in May, 1790. Many notable differences will be shown to exist between the statements of Meares in his *narrative* and his *memorial*.

China, before the end of the year, furs worth more than twenty thousand dollars, in return for the old clothes, iron, and trifles, which he had carried out in the spring.

In 1786, Hanna made another voyage to the coasts; but he had then to compete with traders from Bengal and England, in consequence of which his profits were much less than in the preceding voyage. In the same year, also, an attempt was made to establish a direct trade between Macao and Kamtchatka, to be carried on under the Portuguese flag. With this view, Captain Peters was sent in the brig Lark to Petropawlowsk, where he made arrangements with Schelikof, the head of the American Trading Company, to supply them regularly with European and Chinese goods, taking furs in return; but the Lark was lost, with nearly all on board, on Copper Island, one of the westernmost of the Aleutian Archipelago, in her voyage back to China, and no attempt for the same purpose was afterwards made.

Voyages were, about the same time, made to the North Pacific, in search of furs, by Captains Lowrie and Guise, in two small vessels from Bombay, and by Captains Meares and Tipping, in two others from Calcutta, all under the flag of the East India Company. Lowrie and Guise went to Nootka Sound, and thence northward, along the coasts, to Prince William's Sound, from which they proceeded to Macao. Meares and Tipping sailed to the Aleutian Islands, and thence to Prince William's Sound, after leaving which nothing was ever heard of Tipping or his vessel: Meares spent the winter of 1786–7 in that sound, where more than half of his crew died from want or scurvy.

In the above-mentioned voyages, nothing of importance was learned respecting the geography of North-west America. In order to convey a clear idea of the extent and value of the discoveries effected by the fur traders in the three years next ensuing, it should be premised that, in the beginning of that period, the coast of the American continent was supposed, according to the best accounts and charts, to run in a regular, and almost unbroken, line northwestward, from Cape Mendocino, near the 40th degree of latitude, to Mount St. Elias, near the 60th; the innumerable islands which are now known to extend in chains between the continent and the open Pacific Ocean, from the 48th degree to the 58th, being regarded as the main land of North America. The western sides of the most western of these islands had been examined, though imperfectly, in their whole length, by the Spaniards, in 1774 and

1775: Cook had, in 1778, seen the portions about Nootka Sound and Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb, leaving unexplored the intermediate shores, which were represented — as expressed on the charts attached to his journal — according to the accounts of the Spanish navigators; and those coasts had also been seen by La Pérouse, who seems to have been the first to suspect their separation from the continent, though he took no measures to ascertain the fact, by penetrating any of the numerous openings which he observed when passing them in 1786. The coasts south of Nootka Sound, to Cape Mendocino, were not visited by the people of any civilized nation between the period of Cook's voyage and 1787; and the best charts of them were those of the Spaniards, founded on the observations of Heceta and Bodega. The parts respecting which the most accurate information had been obtained were those westward from Mount St. Elias, to the Aleutian Islands: that division of the coast was, indeed, so thoroughly examined by Cook, in 1778, that very little was left for subsequent navigators, except to verify his statements and conclusions.

The principal places of resort for the fur traders on the American coasts were, Nootka or King George's Sound, — Norfolk Sound, the Port Guadelupe of the Spaniards, near their Mount San Jacinto, — Prince William's Sound, and Cook's River. The two last-mentioned places, having been, in 1788, occupied by the Russians, under Schelikof, were seldom visited afterwards by the vessels of other nations; and, as the country about Nootka was well supplied with wood fit for ship-building, and had a more agreeable climate than could be found farther north, it was generally selected as the point of destination, rendezvous, and departure, by the traders. The people there, as already mentioned, exhibited, at first, great opposition to the foreigners; but they soon acquired a taste for knives, blankets, and other such articles of luxury or use, to gratify which they were ready not only to traffic, but even to engage in labor with some show of assiduity. Their king was named Maquinna: his relations, Wicanish and Tatoochscatticus, ruled over the tribes farther south-westward, inhabiting the shores of two large bays, called *Clyoquot* and *Nittinat*. Maquinna, whose name will frequently appear in the following pages, possessed in a high degree the cunning, ferocity, and vindictiveness, characteristic of his race; for, though he occasionally exhibited evidences of better qualities, yet, like the other chiefs, he seldom lost an opportunity for the

commission of an act of blood or perfidy, in gratification of his desires for revenge or profit.

The importance of the Sandwich Islands to the commerce of the whole North Pacific was also soon made apparent; and they became, in a few years, the favorite places of refreshment of all vessels navigating between Cape Horn and the north-west coasts of America, and between those coasts and China. Their soil is fertile, their climate delightful, and their productions are precisely those most useful to vessels engaged in long voyages. Their inhabitants, though naturally indolent, false, and treacherous, are not positively ferocious; and they are endowed with much cunning and mechanical aptitude, which led them quickly to perceive the immediate benefits to be derived from an intercourse with strangers, and to submit to restraints, in order to secure such advantages. At the time of their discovery, the islands were governed by separate chiefs: in the course of the ensuing fifteen years, however, they all fell under the authority of one man, *Mahe-Mahe*, or *Tamahamaha*, who, by the possession of extraordinary acuteness and sagacity, combined with courage and steadiness of purpose, overcame all his rivals, and kept up something like a regular government until his death. The most formidable opponent of Tamahamaha was Tianna, a resolute and ferocious chief, who accompanied Meares to Canton in 1787, and there acquired many new ideas, which gave him, for some time, considerable advantages; but he was, in the end, defeated and slain by his rival.

The first discoveries, worthy of note, made on the north-west coasts of America, after Cook's voyage, were those of Captains Portlock and Dixon, who were sent from London, in 1785, in command of the ships King George and Queen Charlotte, by a mercantile association, styled the *King George's Sound Company*. The object of this association was to monopolize the direct trade between the North Pacific coasts and China, with which view its operations were to be conducted in the following manner: — Under the protection of licenses, granted by the South Sea Company, its vessels were to proceed, by way of Cape Horn, to the north-west coasts of America, laden with goods, which were there to be bartered for furs; the furs were to be carried to Canton, and there sold by the agents of the East India Company, agreeably to a contract with that body; and the produce of their sale was to be vested in teas, and other Chinese commodities, which were to be

brought by the ships, around the Cape of Good Hope, to England. Portlock and Dixon were both intelligent men, well acquainted with the theory and practice of navigation, and their ships were well provided with instruments for ascertaining geographical positions; the narratives published by them, after their return to England, though tedious to the general reader, from the minuteness of the details of trifling or personal matters, and not always strictly true, are, nevertheless, valuable, as showing the history of the fur trade in the North Pacific, and of the discovery of the American coasts of that ocean, between the time of Cook's expedition and the year 1788.

Portlock and Dixon left England together in August, 1785, and, passing around Cape Horn, and through the group of the Sandwich Islands, they reached Cook's River in July, 1786. There they met some Russians, though no establishment had been then formed by that nation east of the Island of Kodiak; and, after a short stay, they proceeded to Nootka Sound, where they expected to spend the winter. They were, however, unable to enter that bay, or any other place on the American coast, in consequence of the violence of the winds, and were obliged to return to the Sandwich Islands, where they remained, very uncomfortably, until the spring of 1787: they then again went to the coasts about Cook's River and Prince William's Sound, in the latter of which places they found Captain Meares, with his vessel frozen up, more than half of his crew dead, and the remainder suffering dreadfully from scurvy, as already mentioned. The manner in which Meares was treated by his countrymen on this occasion, has been represented by him, in the narrative of his voyages, in a manner very different from that in which it appears on the pages of Portlock and Dixon; the latter asserting that they rendered him every assistance in their power, while he, on the other hand, declares that their conduct towards him was selfish and inhuman in the extreme.

At Prince William's Sound Dixon left Portlock, and proceeded along the coast, eastward, to the inlet on the south side of Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb, called *Port Remedios* by Bodega, but to which he thought proper to give the name of *Norfolk Sound*. He "had, indeed, heard that the Spaniards anchored very near this place in 1775;" but this account, "he was afraid, was not absolutely to be depended on," although Maurelle's journal, containing accurate descriptions of that part of the coast, had been published in English, at London, in 1781. In like manner, Dixon claimed the

discovery of the land farther south, between the 54th and the 52d degrees of latitude, on the ground that it had not been seen by Cook, though it is specially marked on the chart of that navigator, as found by the Spaniards in 1775; and, having become convinced, from the reports of the natives, that this land was separated from the American continent by water, he bestowed on it the name of *Queen Charlotte's Island*, and on the passage immediately north of it, that of *Dixon's Entrance*. From this part of the coast Dixon proceeded to Nootka, and thence, by the Sandwich Islands, to Canton, where he rejoined Portlock, who had passed the whole of the trading season on the coast, between Prince William's Sound and Mount St. Elias.

In China, Portlock and Dixon found the price of furs much reduced, from the great quantities of those articles which had entered the country during the season; so great, indeed, was the fall in their value, that, according to La Pérouse, they were higher at Petropawlowsk than at Canton during the whole of 1787. From this circumstance, and also from the alleged unfairness of the East India Company's agents towards them, in the sale of their cargoes, the profits of the voyage of the King George and the Queen Charlotte, from the teas and silks which they carried to England, were not sufficient to cover the expenses of their expedition.

Before Portlock and Dixon quitted the north-west coasts of America, in 1787, they met two other vessels, the Princess Royal, commanded by Captain Duncan, and the Prince of Wales, under Captain Colnett, which had been also sent, by the King George's Sound Company, to prosecute the fur trade in the North Pacific. Duncan, in the following year, ascertained the separation of Queen Charlotte's Island from the main land, which had been assumed by Dixon, and, before him, by La Pérouse; he also explored the sea between that island and the continent, in which he discovered a group of small islands, named by him the *Princess Royal's Archipelago;* and thence he ran down the coast, by Nootka Sound and Cape Flattery, to the 47th degree of latitude, from which he took his departure for the Sandwich Islands and China.

The discovery of these islands, and of numerous openings in the coast, which appeared to be the mouths of channels, from that part of the Pacific, extending far eastward into the land, led to the suspicion that *the whole north-western division of America might be a vast collection of islands;* and the old story of Admiral Fonté's voyage began to gain credit. The islands and reputed islands in

question were supposed to be the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, through which the admiral was said to have sailed two hundred and sixty leagues before reaching the continent; and the commanders of exploring vessels, sent from Europe and America to the North Pacific, for some years after, were generally directed to seek, near the 53d parallel, for the mouth of the river which he was reported to have ascended, into a lake communicating with the Atlantic.

The name of the old Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, was also, about the same time, rescued from oblivion, by the discovery, or rediscovery, of a "broad arm of the sea," stretching eastwardly from the Pacific, almost exactly in the position of the southern entrance of the strait, through which he declared that he had sailed from the Pacific to the Atlantic in 1592. This discovery was effected in 1787 by Captain Berkeley, an Englishman commanding a ship called the Imperial Eagle, which had sailed from Ostend in the preceding year, under the flag of the Austrian East India Company. The passage thus found was situated immediately north of Cape Flattery, to the coast south of which point Cook had confined his search for it in 1778; and it opened to the ocean between the 48th and 49th parallels, instead of between the 47th and 48th, as stated in the account of the voyage of Fuca. Berkeley did not attempt to explore the passage, but, sailing along the coast south of Cape Flattery, which had not been seen by the people of any civilized nation since Cook's voyage, he sent a boat ashore with some men, who were murdered by the savages, in the same manner, and almost at the same spot, where the Spaniards of Bodega's crew were massacred in 1775. In commemoration of this melancholy event, the name of *Destruction Island* was given to the small point of land near the continent, in the latitude of 47 degrees 35 minutes, which had, for the like reason, been called by the Spaniards *Isla de Dolores*. Berkeley, on his arrival at Canton, in November following, communicated the account of his rediscovery of the Strait of Fuca to Meares, as expressly stated by the latter, in the Dissertation prefixed to the narrative of his voyages in the Pacific, published in 1790; though, in the narrative itself, Meares unequivocally claims as his own the whole merit of finding the passage.

At the time when Berkeley made this communication, Meares was engaged in preparations for a trading expedition to the north-west coasts of America, of which a particular notice will be here presented; as the circumstances connected with it led to the first

dispute, and the first treaty, between civilized nations, relative to that part of the world.

For the expedition in question, two vessels were fitted out at the Portuguese port of Macao, near Canton, in China, from which, as already mentioned, several voyages had been previously made to the north-west coasts of America, in search of furs. They were both placed under the direction of John Meares, a lieutenant in the British navy, on half pay, who sailed in the ship Felice as supercargo; the other vessel, the brig Iphigenia, also carried a British subject, William Douglas, in the same capacity: both vessels were, however, commanded, ostensibly at least, by Portuguese captains; they were both furnished with passports, and other papers, in the Portuguese language, granted by the Portuguese authorities of Macao, and showing them to be the property of Juan Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of that place; the instructions for the conduct of the voyage were written only in the Portuguese language,* and contained nothing whatsoever calculated to afford the slightest grounds for suspicion that other than Portuguese subjects were interested in the enterprise; finally, the vessels sailed from Macao on the 1st of January, 1788, under the Portuguese flag, and there is no sufficient proof that any other was displayed by them during the expedition.

Notwithstanding these evidences of ownership and national character, which appear to be complete and unequivocal, Mr. Meares, in the *Memorial*† addressed by him to the British government, in May, 1790, asserts that the Felice and Iphigenia, as well as their cargoes, were actually and *bona fide* British property, employed in the service of British subjects only; that Cavallo had no concern nor interest in them, his name being merely used, with his consent, for the purpose of obtaining from the governor of Macao, who

* See the Journal of Douglas, the captain or supercargo of the Iphigenia, attached to the Memorial of Meares, and the quotation from it in the ensuing chapter, at page 192.

† The London Annual Register for 1790 contains what purports to be the *Substance of the Memorial of Lieutenant Meares, &c.*, drawn up by Meares himself, or some one in his interests. In this *Substance*, the word *Portuguese* does not occur, nor is any thing mentioned relative to the apparent character of the vessels, which are, on the contrary, directly asserted to have been British in all respects, and navigated under the British flag. Meares's explanations, in his Memorial, relative to the arrangements with Cavallo, are all omitted, the following short paragraph being inserted in their place:—"Here Mr. Meares, by way of illustration, introduces a transaction no otherwise connected with his narrative, but as it proves the merchandise, &c., of which the British ships were plundered, to have been British property."!!! Such are the materials from which histories are generally composed.

connived at the whole deception, permission to navigate under the Portuguese flag, and thereby to evade the excessive port charges demanded, by the Chinese authorities, from vessels of all other European nations; and that Messrs. Meares and Douglas were really the commanders of the vessels in which they respectively sailed, instead of the Portuguese subjects, who figure as such in all the papers. Some of these assertions may have been true; yet the *documents* annexed to the Memorial conclusively prove that all these deceptive appearances were kept up at Nootka Sound, where there were no Chinese authorities; though, in the *narrative of the voyage*, published by Mr. Meares, with the Memorial and documents, no hint is given that either of the vessels were, or ever seemed to be, other than British.

The instructions, of which an English copy or version — dated *China, December 24th*, 1787, and signed *The Merchant Proprietors* — is appended to the Memorial, contain general directions for the conduct of the voyage, but *no allusion whatsoever to the acquisition of lands, the erection of buildings, or the formation of settlements or establishments of any kind, in America or elsewhere*. The Felice was to go to Nootka Sound, from which she was to make trips northward and southward, for the purposes of trade and exploration; the Iphigenia was to sail first to Cook's River, and thence to trade along the coasts, southward, to Nootka, where she was expected to arrive in September: all the furs collected were then to be placed in one of the vessels, and brought to Macao, the other vessel remaining, until the spring, either on the American coast or at the Sandwich Islands. These instructions conclude with the following remarkable order to the commanders of the vessels: — "Should you, in the course of your voyage, meet with any Russian, English, or Spanish vessels, you will treat them with civility and friendship, and allow them, if authorized, to examine your papers; but you must, at the same time, guard against surprise. Should they attempt to seize you, or even to carry you out of your way, you will prevent it by every means in your power, and repel force by force. You will, on your arrival in the first port, protest, before a proper officer, against such illegal procedure, and ascertain, as nearly as you can, the value of your vessel and cargo, sending your protest, with a full account of the transaction, to us at China. Should you, in such a conflict, have the superiority, you will take possession of the vessel that attacked you, and bring both, with the

officers and crew, to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes, and the crews punished as pirates."

The latter part of these instructions, independently of numerous other circumstances connected with the expedition, is sufficient, alone, to show that the owners of the Felice and Iphigenia meant to represent them as Portuguese vessels. As British vessels, they could not legally navigate the North Pacific Ocean, being unprovided with licenses or authority from the South Sea or the East India Company: if found so doing, they would be subject to seizure, and their officers and crew to punishment; and it was, doubtless, in order to evade such penalties, to which they might have been subjected by coming in contact with the vessels of the King George's Sound Company, that their commanders were directed to take, and bring to a Portuguese port, for trial before Portuguese courts, any *English* vessels which should attempt to arrest them in their voyages.

From Macao the Iphigenia went to Cook's River, at which place, and others farther south-east, she passed the summer in trading. The Felice sailed direct to Nootka Sound, where her crew immediately began the construction of a small vessel, on the shore of Friendly Cove, near which was situated the village of Maquinna, the king of the surrounding country. Meares, being desirous, whilst this work was in progress, to take a voyage along the coast to the south, made arrangements with Maquinna, who, as related in the narrative of the expedition, "most readily consented to grant us a spot of ground in his territory, whereon an house might be built, for the accommodation of the people we intended to leave behind, and also promised us his assistance and protection for the party who were destined to remain at Nootka during our absence. In return for this kindness, and to insure the continuance of it, the chief was presented with a pair of pistols, which he had regarded with an eye of solicitation ever since our arrival. Upon this spot a house, sufficiently capacious to contain all the party intended to be left at the sound, was erected; a strong breastwork was thrown up around it, 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."

That this spot of ground was granted by Maquinna, and was to be occupied by Meares, *only for temporary purposes*, is clear from

the above statement; and Meares nowhere in his *narrative* pretends that he acquired permanent possession of it, or of any other land in America. On the contrary, he expressly says that, "as a bribe to secure Maquinna's attachment, he was promised that, when we finally left the coast, he should enter into full possession of the house, and all the goods thereunto belonging." In the *Memorial* addressed to his government, however, Meares declares that, "immediately on his arrival at Nootka Sound, he purchased from Maquinna, the chief of the district surrounding that place, a spot of ground, whereon he built an house, for his occasional residence, as well as for the more convenient pursuit of his trade among the natives, and hoisted British colors thereon." Of this asserted purchase of land and erection of buildings at Nootka, no evidence or mention whatsoever is to be found among the documents submitted with the Memorial to the British ministry, except in the deposition of William Graham, of Grub Street, a seaman of the Felice, *taken in London after the date of the Memorial.*

Having completed these arrangements, Meares sailed from Nootka in the Felice, leaving a part of his crew employed in building the small vessel, and proceeded to the entrance of the passage supposed to be the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which, as he expressly states in the Dissertation prefixed to his narrative, had been discovered in the preceding year by Berkeley. The following extract from his narrative will serve still further to show what value is to be placed on his testimony in matters in which his own reputation or interests are involved: —

"*June* 29th. At noon the latitude was 48 degrees 39 minutes north, at which time we had a complete view of an inlet, whose entrance appeared very extensive, bearing east-south-east, distant about six leagues. We endeavored to keep up 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 knew no other navigator, said to have been this way, except Maurelle;* and his chart, which we now had on board, convinced us that he had either never seen this part of the coast, or that he had purposely misrepresented it. By three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the entrance of the great inlet, which appeared to be twelve or fourteen leagues broad. From the mast head, it was observed to stretch to the east by the north, and a clear and unbounded horizon was seen, in this direction, as far as the eye

could reach. The strongest curiosity impelled us to enter this strait, which we shall call by the name of its original discoverer, John de Fuca."

To examine the passage, — of which he thus claims the discovery, after having distinctly assigned the merit of it to another, — Meares sent his mate, Duffin, with a party of men, in a boat. In a few days the boat returned, with several of her crew disabled by wounds received in a conflict with the natives on the northern shore. "She had sailed," writes Meares, "near thirty leagues up the strait; and, at that distance from the sea, it was fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon stretching to the east for fifteen leagues more." Yet, from Duffin's journal, which is given entire in Mr. Meares's work, it seems that the boat did not advance ten miles within the strait; and we now know that the width of the passage nowhere, within thirty leagues of its mouth, exceeds five leagues.

From the entrance of this passage, which has ever since been distinguished by the name of *Strait of Fuca,* Meares sailed along the shore of the continent, towards the south. His object was to examine the opening in the coast, laid down on Spanish charts in his possession, near the 46th degree of latitude, under the name *Rio de San Roque,* or *River of Saint Roc,* which had been first observed by Heceta, on the 16th of August, 1775, as mentioned in the account of that voyage.* Proceeding in this course, he, on the 5th of July, remarked a headland, in the latitude of 46 degrees 47 minutes, which he named *Cape Shoalwater;* on the following day, he writes in his journal, —

"At half past ten, being within three leagues of Cape Shoalwater, we had a perfect view of it; and, with the glasses, we traced the line of coast to the southward, which presented no opening that promised any thing like an harbor. An high, bluff promontory bore off us south-east, at the distance of only four leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoalwater we should find some sort of harbor. We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape St. Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port. By half past eleven, we doubled this cape, at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious easterly swell rolled on the shore, and

* Page 120.

the soundings gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a hard, sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation. The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at a great distance, and a flat, level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck, right ahead, and, from the mast head, they were observed to extend across the bay; we therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port. The name of *Cape Disappointment* was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title of *Deception Bay*. By an indifferent meridian observation, it lies in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes north, and in the computed longitude of 235 degrees 34 minutes east.

"*We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of St. Roc exists*, as laid down in the Spanish charts. To those of Maurelle we made continual reference, but without deriving any information or assistance from them. We now reached the opposite side of the bay, where disappointment continued to accompany us; and, being almost certain that there we should obtain no place of shelter for the ship, we bore up for a distant headland, keeping our course within two miles of the shore." This distant headland, in the latitude of 45 degrees 37 minutes, named by Meares *Cape Lookout*, and probably the same called by the Spaniards *Cape Falcon*, was the southernmost point seen by him; thence he returned to the Strait of Fuca, without again observing the land, having, as he conceived, "traced every part of the coast, which unfavorable weather had prevented Captain Cook from approaching."

The language of Mr. Meares in the preceding extracts, though somewhat ungrammatical, is yet clear and explicit. He records with satisfaction his conviction, founded on his own observations, that "*no such river as that of St. Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts*;" in token of which conviction, he assigns the names of *Deception Bay* and *Cape Disappointment* to the places on the American coast, near the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes, where the mouth of the river should have been found, according to the Spanish charts. Yet, strange though it may appear, the commissioners, appointed by the British government, in 1826, to treat

with the plenipotentiary of the United States at London, on the subject of the claims of the respective parties to territories on the north-west side of America, insisted that Meares, on this occasion, *discovered the great River Columbia*, which actually enters the Pacific at Deception Bay, and *cited, in proof of their assertion, the very parts of his narrative above extracted.**

On his way back to Nootka, Meares visited the two large bays, called by the natives *Clyoquot* and *Nittinat*, and by himself *Port Cox* and *Port Effingham*, situated a little north-west of the entrance of Fuca's Strait, where, he declares in his Memorial to Parliament, "he obtained from Wicanish, the chief of the surrounding districts, in consequence of considerable presents, the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district, as also permission to build any storehouses or other edifices which he might judge necessary; and he also acquired the same privileges of exclusive trade from Tatooche, the chief of the country bordering upon the Strait of Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the said strait, which one of his officers took possession of, in the king's name, calling the same Tatooche, in honor of the chief." These purchases and cessions of territory are not, however, in any manner noticed, either in the documents annexed to the Memorial, or in the narrative of the voyage, which is most tediously minute as to the circumstances of Mr. Meares's interviews with those chiefs.

At the end of July, Meares returned to Nootka Sound, where the Iphigenia soon after arrived from the northern coasts, laden with furs. The small vessel, which had been begun at Friendly Cove, was then launched, and received the name of the *North-West America*; and Meares, considering the season as not too far advanced for a voyage across the Pacific, transferred to the Felice all the furs which had been collected, and sailed in her, on the 28th of September, for China, leaving directions that the Iphigenia and the North-West America should proceed to the Sandwich Islands for the winter, and return in the following spring to Nootka, where he would rejoin them.

Before the departure of Meares from Nootka, two other vessels entered the sound, whose voyages merit particular attention.

Immediately after the recognition of the independence of the United States of America, the citizens of that republic resumed the

* See British statement, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, letter H.

whale and seal fishery around Cape Horn, which they had carried on before the revolution, and also engaged in the direct trade with India and China. In the latter countries, however, they labored under great disadvantages, from the inferiority in value of the articles carried thither to those brought back by them, in consequence of which they were obliged to take out large quantities of specie, in order to obtain full homeward cargoes. With the view of obviating this inequality, some merchants of Boston, in 1787, formed an association for the purpose of combining the fur trade of the North Pacific with the China trade, as attempted by the King George's Sound Company of London; and in such an enterprise they certainly had reason to anticipate success, as, with industry and nautical skill unsurpassed by any other nation, the Americans were free from the restrictions imposed on British subjects by the charters of the South Sea and East India Companies.*

In prosecution of this scheme, the ship Columbia, of two hundred and twenty tons, and the sloop Washington, of ninety tons, were fitted out at Boston in the summer of 1787, and laden with blankets, knives, iron bars, copper pans, and other articles proper for the trade with the Indians on the north-west coasts. The Columbia was commanded by John Kendrick, to whom was intrusted the

* The first American citizens who engaged in the whaling and sealing business around Cape Horn, after the peace of 1783, were the Nantucket men, as will be hereafter more particularly stated.

The first American vessel which entered the port of Canton was the ship Empress of China, from New York, commanded by Daniel Parker, with Samuel Shaw as supercargo: she arrived in China in the latter part of the summer of 1784, and returned to New York in May of the following year. Mr. Shaw was appointed consul of the United States at Canton in January, 1786; and, on the 31st of December of the same year, he addressed to his government, from Canton, an interesting memoir on the state of commerce at that place, which still remains, with many other communications from him, unpublished, in the archives of the Department of State at Washington. In 1787, not less than five American vessels were employed in the trade with China; among them were the *Canton*, under Captain Thomas Truxton, who afterwards distinguished himself in the naval service of his country, and the old frigate *Alliance*, so celebrated during the war of the revolution, which had been sold by order of Congress, and fitted out as a trading vessel, under the command of John Reed. The Alliance entered Canton on the 29th of December, 1787; and her arrival at that season caused much astonishment, as it had been previously considered impossible for a vessel to sail from the Cape of Good Hope to China between October and April, on account of the violence of the winds, blowing constantly, during that period, from the north-east. Reed, however, had steered eastward from the Cape of Good Hope, to the southern extremity of Van Dieman's Land, around the east coasts of which island, and of New Holland, he sailed into the China Sea; and the course thus pointed out by him has been since often taken, especially by American vessels.

direction of the expedition; and her mate was Joseph Ingraham, whose name will often appear in the following pages. The master of the Washington was Robert Gray. They were provided with sea letters issued by the federal government, agreeably to a resolution of Congress, and with passports from the state of Massachusetts; and they received letters from the Spanish minister plenipotentiary in the United States, recommending them to the attention of the authorities of his nation on the Pacific coasts. They, moreover, carried out, for distribution at such places as they might visit, a number of small copper coins, then recently issued by the state of Massachusetts,* and likewise medals of copper, struck expressly for the purpose, of one of which a representation is here given.

The two vessels sailed together from Boston on the 30th of September, 1787: thence they proceeded to the Cape Verd Islands, and thence to the Falkland Islands, in each of which places they procured refreshments; and, in January, 1788, they doubled Cape Horn, immediately after which they were separated during a violent gale. The Washington, continuing her course through the Pacific, made the north-west coast in August, 1788, near the 46th degree of latitude, where she was in danger of destruction, having grounded while attempting to enter an opening, which was, most probably, the mouth of the great river afterwards named by Gray the Columbia. She was also attacked there by the savages, who killed one of her men, and wounded the mate; but she escaped without further injury, and, on the 17th of September, reached Nootka

* Alexander Mackenzie, in July, 1793, found, in the possession of a native of the country east of the Strait of Fuca, a "halfpenny of the state of Massachusetts Bay, coined in 1787," which was doubtless one of those taken out by Kendrick and Gray.

Sound, where the Felice and Iphigenia were lying, as already mentioned.* The Columbia did not enter the sound until some days afterwards. She had been seriously injured in the storm which separated her from her consort; and Kendrick was obliged, in consequence, to put into the harbor of the Island of Juan Fernandez, where he was received with great kindness, and aided in refitting his vessel, by Don Blas Gonzales, the commandant of the Spanish garrison. The repairs having been completed, the Columbia continued her voyage, and arrived at Nootka, which had been selected as the place of rendezvous, without further accident, in October.

Soon after the arrival of the Columbia at Nootka, the Iphigenia and North-West America took their departure for the Sandwich Islands, where they remained until the spring of 1789. The two American vessels spent the winter in the sound, where the Columbia also lay during the whole of the following summer, whilst the important events related in the next chapter were in progress.

* Meares, in his narrative, gives the following account of the arrival of the Washington at Nootka Sound:—

"*September* 17th, 1788.—A sail was seen in the offing. The long-boat was immediately sent to her assistance, which, instead of the British vessel we expected, conveyed into the sound a sloop named the Washington, from Boston, in New England, of about one hundred tons' burthen. Mr. Gray, the master, informed us that he had sailed, in company with his consort, the Columbia, a ship of three hundred tons, in the month of August, 1787, being equipped, under the patronage of Congress, to examine the coast of America, and to open a fur trade between New England and this part of the American continent, in order to provide funds for their China ships, to enable them to return home teas and China goods. The vessels were separated in a heavy gale of wind, in the latitude of 59 south, and had not seen each other since the period of their separation; but, as King George's Sound was the place of rendezvous appointed for them, the Columbia, if she was safe, was every day expected to join her consort at Nootka. Mr. Gray informed me that he had put into an harbor on the coast of New Albion, where he got on shore, and was in danger of being lost on the bar; he was also attacked by the natives, had one man killed, and one of his officers wounded, and thought himself fortunate in having been able to make his escape. This harbor could only admit vessels of small size, and must lie somewhere near the cape to which we had given the name of Cape Lookout."

That this *harbor* was the *mouth of the great river since called the Columbia*, is most probable from its situation, and because there is no evidence or reason to suppose that Gray visited that part of the coast on any other occasion prior to his meeting with Vancouver, on the 29th of April, 1792, as will be related in the eleventh chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

1788 AND 1789.

Uneasiness of the Spanish Government at the Proceedings of the Fur Traders in the North Pacific — Voyage of Observation by Martinez and Haro to the Russian American Settlements — Remonstrances of the Court of Madrid to that of St. Petersburg, against the alleged Encroachments of the latter Power — Martinez and Haro sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to take Possession of Nootka Sound — Seizure of British and other Vessels at Nootka by Martinez — Captain Gray, in the Washington, explores the East Coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, and enters the Strait of Fuca — Return of the Columbia to the United States.

HAVING, in the preceding chapter, presented a sketch of the geographical discoveries effected on the north-west coasts of America, in the interval between the time of Cook's last voyage and the year 1790, we now proceed to relate the important events of a political nature, which occurred on those coasts during the latter part of the same period. These events have been variously represented — or rather misrepresented — by the historians to whom reference is usually made for information respecting them; * and ample proofs will be here offered, that the most essential circumstances have been exhibited in false forms, and under false colors, either designedly, or from indifference and want of research on the part of the authors.

The movements of the fur traders in the North Pacific were, from the beginning, regarded with dissatisfaction and mistrust by the court of Madrid. It was at first proposed to counteract them by monopolizing that branch of commerce; for which object an agent was despatched to California, in 1786, with orders to collect all the

* Namely, the histories of England, by Bissett, Miller, Belsham, (in which latter the accounts are more fair and more nearly correct than in any other,) Hughes, Wade, and the Pictorial History of England — Schoell's Histoire des Traites de Paix — Brenton's Naval History of Great Britain, last edition — Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes — History of Maritime and Inland Discovery, by T. D. Cooley — Gifford's *Life of William Pitt, &c.* In the most recent of these works, namely, the Pictorial History of England, the account is farthest from the truth; the author has evidently not consulted any original evidence on the subject, except, possibly, the Memorial of Meares, or the abstract of that paper in the Annual Register.

sea otter skins * obtainable there, and carry them for sale to Canton: but the enterprise proved unsuccessful, as the agent could only obtain a small number of furs, of inferior quality, the produce of the sale of which in China did not cover the expenses of their transportation.

Considerable uneasiness was also created at Madrid, by the endeavors of the British government to advance the whale and seal fishery in the seas surrounding the southern extremity of America. A number of experienced whalers, especially from Nantucket, had been induced, immediately after the peace of 1783, to engage in this business, under the British flag; and high premiums were offered by act of Parliament, in 1786, to encourage perseverance in the pursuit. As British vessels and subjects would thus necessarily frequent the unoccupied coasts of Patagonia and the adjacent islands, it was apprehended, by the Spanish government, that establishments might be formed in those regions, for their protection; the natural consequence of which would be, the introduction of foreign merchandise, and of opinions contrary to the interests of Spain, into the contiguous provinces. In order to provide against these evils, the Spaniards increased their garrison at Port Soledad, in the Falkland Islands, as well as their naval force in that quarter; and an attempt was made, under the patronage of their government, to organize a company for the whale and seal fishery in the Southern Ocean, which proved entirely abortive.

It was from Russia, however, that the Spanish government anticipated the greatest danger to its dominions on the Pacific side of America. Of the commerce and establishments of that nation on the northernmost coasts of the Pacific, enough had been learned from the narrative of Cook's expedition, and other works then recently published, to show their advancement, and the enterprise of those by whom they were conducted, as well as the determination of the Russian government to maintain and encourage them; and La Pérouse, during the stay of his ships at Conception, in Chili, in 1786, promised, at the particular request of the captain-general, to communicate confidentially to the viceroy of Mexico the results of the observations on those subjects which he might make in Kamtchatka and the islands and coasts of America adjacent. La Pérouse, however, did not return to America after his visit to Kamtchatka, nor was any information on the points in question received from him by the Spanish authorities; and the viceroy of Mexico,

* La Pérouse — Portlock.

having waited in vain for the promised intelligence until the end of 1787, resolved to despatch vessels to the North Pacific, in order to ascertain the truth with regard to the trade and settlements of the Russians and other foreign nations on the coasts of that division of the ocean.

Before relating the particulars of the expedition made for that purpose, a circumstance may be mentioned, which serves to show the state of feeling of the Spanish government at the period in question, with regard to the proceedings of foreigners in the Pacific, and the extent of the measures which it was ready to adopt in order to exclude them from that ocean. It has been said, in the preceding chapter, that the ship Columbia having received some damage on her way from Boston to the north-west coast of America, in May, 1788, entered a harbor in the Island of Juan Fernandez, where assistance was afforded in refitting her by the Spanish commandant Don Blas Gonzales and his garrison. After her departure, the commandant communicated the circumstances, by a despatch, to his immediate superior, the captain-general of Chili, who thereupon recalled Gonzales from the island, and placed him in arrest, addressing, at the same time, a report on the subject, with a request for instructions, to the viceroy of Peru. The viceroy, after consulting with his official legal adviser, replied to the captain-general at length on the subject, and expressed his surprise and displeasure at the misconduct of the commandant of Juan Fernandez, in allowing the strange ship to leave the harbor, instead of seizing her and her crew; as he should have known that, by the royal ordinance of November, 1692, every foreign vessel found in those seas, without a license from the court of Spain, was to be treated as an enemy, even though belonging to a friend or ally of the king, seeing that no other nation had, or ought to have, any territories, to reach which its vessels should pass around Cape Horn or through Magellan's Straits. In so serious a light did the viceroy regard the matter, that a ship was sent from Callao to track or intercept the Columbia; the authorities on the coasts of Peru and Chili were specially enjoined to be vigilant, and, in case any foreign vessel should appear in the vicinity, to seize her; and the whole affair was made known by a despatch to the viceroy of Mexico, in order that similar precautions might be adopted on his part. The unfortunate commandant Gonzales was cashiered for his remissness; and he subsequently addressed a petition to the government of the United States for its intercession with his sovereign. Thus were half of the Spanish do-

minions in America thrown into alarm and agitation, by the appearance of a trading ship from the United States on the Pacific: yet Teodor Lacroix, the viceroy of Peru, and Ambrose O'Higgins, captain-general of Chili, were men of education and experience, distinguished for their courage and sagacity; but such was the jealous system which they were bound to support.*

For the expedition of inquiry to the north-west coasts of America, the viceroy of Mexico employed two vessels, the corvette Princesa, commanded by Estevan Martinez, (who had been the pilot in the voyage of Juan Perez, in 1774,) and the schooner San Carlos, under Lieutenant Gonzalo Haro. They were instructed to proceed directly to Prince William's Sound, and to make every possible inquiry and examination respecting the establishments of the Russians there and in other parts of America adjacent; having completed which, they were to explore the coasts southward to California, if time should be left for that purpose, seeking particularly for places convenient for the reception of Spanish colonies: and they were especially enjoined to treat the natives of the places which they might visit with kindness, and not to engage in any quarrel with the Russians.

Of this voyage of Martinez and Haro, a short account will suffice. They quitted San Blas on the 8th of March, 1788, and, on the 25th of May, they anchored in the entrance of Prince William's Sound, where they lay nearly a month, without making any attempt to examine the surrounding shores. At length, in the end of June, Haro, having sailed, in the San Carlos, along the coast of the ocean farther south-west, discovered a Russian establishment on the east side of the Island of Kodiak, under the command of a Greek, named Delaref, with whom he was able to communicate; and from this person he received detailed accounts of all the Russian establishments in that quarter. On the 3d of July, Haro rejoined Martinez, who had, in the mean time, explored the coasts of Prince William's Sound; and they proceeded together along the eastern side of the

* The petition of Gonzales, with copies of his reports to the captain-general, and the sentence pronounced against him, remain in manuscript in the archives of the Department of State at Washington. Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state of the United States, recommended his case to the Spanish government, in a letter to Mr. Carmichael, then plenipotentiary at Madrid, dated April 11th, 1790, with what success is not known. The other particulars here related of this curious affair are derived from the General Report, or Instructions, left by the viceroy of Peru to his successor, on his retirement from that office, which was published at London in 1822, in the *Biblioteca Americana*.

peninsula of Aliaska, to Unalashka, the largest of the Aleutian Islands, where they arrived on the 30th of August. There they remained until the 18th of September, receiving every attention from the Russians belonging to the factory, and then sailed for the south. In their voyage homeward, the vessels were separated: Haro reached San Blas on the 22d of October; Martinez did not enter that port until the 5th of December, having put into Monterey for refreshments.*

The geographical observations made in this expedition were of little value at the time; and it would be needless to notice them here, as the coasts to which they relate have been since completely surveyed. Agreeably to the report presented by Martinez, on his return to the viceroy of Mexico, the Russian establishments in America at that time were in number eight, all situated east of Prince William's Sound, on which, however, one was then in progress; and they contained, together, two hundred and fifty-two Russian subjects, nearly all of whom were natives of Kamtchatka or Siberia. Martinez was, moreover, informed that two vessels had been sent in that summer from Kodiak, to found a settlement at Nootka Sound, and that two large ships were in preparation at Ochotsk, for further operations of the same nature. The vessels sent from Kodiak were doubtless those which proceeded, under Ismyloff and Betscharef, along the coast eastward to the foot of Mount St. Elias; the others were those intended for the expedition under Billings, which was not begun until 1790.

These accounts of the establishments and projects of the Russians were immediately communicated to the court of Madrid, which addressed to the empress of Russia a remonstrance against such encroachments of her subjects upon the territories of his Catholic majesty. In the memorial conveying this remonstrance, it is to be remarked that *Prince William's Sound* is assumed as separating the dominions of the two sovereigns; it being doubtless intended,

* The preceding account of this voyage is derived from the journal of Martinez, of which a copy, in manuscript, was obtained from the hydrographical office at Madrid.

The first notice of this expedition, published in Europe, was taken from a letter written at San Blas, soon after the arrival of Haro at that port, in which it was said that the Spaniards had found Russian establishments *between the forty-ninth and the fiftieth degrees of latitude*, instead of *between the fifty-ninth and the sixtieth degrees*, and on this error, such as is daily committed by persons ignorant of nautical matters, M. Poletica, the Russian envoy in the United States, endeavored, in 1822, to found a claim for his sovereign to *the whole of the American coasts and islands on the Pacific north of the forty-ninth parallel*. See hereafter, chap. xvi.

by means of this geographical obscurity, to leave undefined the delicate question as to the limits of Spanish America in the northwest. The empress of Russia answered — that orders had been given to her subjects not to make settlements in places belonging to other nations; and, if those orders had been violated with regard to Spanish America, she desired the king of Spain to arrest the encroachments, in a friendly manner. With this answer, more courteous than specific, the Spanish minister professed himself content; observing, however, in his reply, that Spain "could not be responsible for what her officers might do, at places so distant, whilst they were acting under general orders to allow no settlements to be made by other nations on the Spanish American continent." *

In the mean time, however, the viceroy of Mexico, Don Manuel de Flores, had, in virtue of his general instructions, taken a decisive measure with regard to Nootka Sound. For that purpose, he despatched Martinez and Haro from San Blas, early in 1789, with their vessels manned and equipped effectively; ordering them, in case any British or Russian vessel should appear at Nootka, to receive her with the attention and civility required by the peace and friendship existing between Spain and those nations, but, at the same time, to declare the paramount rights of his Catholic majesty to the place, and the adjacent coasts, firmly, though discreetly, and without using harsh or insulting language.†

Before entering upon the narrative of the events which followed, it should be observed, with regard to the right of the Spanish government thus to take possession of Nootka, that, before the 6th of May, 1789, when Martinez entered the sound with that object, no settlement, factory, or other establishment whatsoever, had been founded or attempted, nor had any jurisdiction been exercised by the authorities or subjects of a civilized nation, in any part of America bordering upon the Pacific, between Port San Francisco, near the 38th degree of north latitude, and Prince William's Sound, near the 60th. The Spaniards, the British, the Russians, and the French, had, indeed, landed at many places on those coasts, where they had displayed flags, performed ceremonies, and erected monuments, by way of *taking possession* — as it was termed — of the ad-

* Memorial addressed by the court of Spain to that of London, dated June 13th, 1790, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter D, No. 3.

† Abstract of these instructions to Martinez, in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, p. 10b.

jacent territories for their respective sovereigns; but such acts are, and were then, generally considered as empty pageants, securing no real rights to those by whom, or in whose names, they were performed. Nor does it appear that any portion of the above-mentioned territories had become the property of a foreigner, either by purchase, occupation, or any other title, which can be regarded as valid. It has been already said that Mr. Meares, in his *Memorial*, addressed to the British Parliament, in 1790, laid claim to certain tracts of land about Nootka Sound, as having been ceded to him by the natives of the country, in 1788; but it was, at the same time, shown that this claim was unsupported by sufficient evidence, and was, moreover, directly, as well as indirectly, contradicted by Mr. Meares himself, in his *journal* of the same proceedings: and other circumstances will be mentioned hereafter, serving to prove the falsehood of that person's assertions, and of his pretensions to the possession of any part of the American territory.

The right of exclusive sovereignty over these extensive regions was claimed by Spain, in virtue of the papal concession, 1493, of the first discovery of their coasts by Spanish subjects, and of the contiguity of the territories to the settled dominions of Spain. Of the validity of the title derived from the papal concession it appears to be needless, at the present day, to speak. That the Spaniards were the first discoverers of the west coasts of America, at least as far north as the 56th parallel of latitude, has been already shown; and the fact is, and has been ever since the publication of Maurelle's Journal, in 1781, as indisputable as that the Portuguese discovered the south coasts of Africa. The extent of the rights derived from discovery are, however, by no means clearly defined by writers on public law; and the practice of nations has been so different in different cases, that it seems impossible to deduce any general rule of action from it. That a nation whose subjects or citizens had ascertained the existence of a country previously unknown, should have a better right than any other to make settlements in that country, and, after such settlement, to own it, and to exercise sovereignty over it, is in every respect conformable with nature and justice; but this principle is liable to innumerable difficulties in its application to particular cases. It is seldom easy to decide how far a discovery may have been such, in all respects, as should give this strongest right to settle, or to what extent of country a title of sovereignty may have been acquired by a particular settlement: and even where the novelty or priority and sufficiency of the discovery are admit-

ted, the right of prior occupation cannot surely be regarded as subsisting forever, to the exclusion of all other nations; and the claims of states occupying contiguous territories are always to be taken into consideration

Agreeably to these views, it could not with justice be assumed that Spain, from the mere fact of the first discovery of the north-west coasts of America by her subjects, acquired the right to exclude all other nations from them forever; but it would be most unjust to deny that her right to occupy those vacant territories, contiguous as they were to her settled dominions, even if they had not been first discovered by her subjects, was much stronger than that of any other nation. Thus the occupation, and even the exploration, of any part of the north-west coasts by another power, might have been reasonably considered by Spain as an unfriendly, if not as an offensive, act; while she might, on the contrary, have extended her establishments at least as far north as the 56th parallel, and have claimed the exclusive right of occupying all the coasts south of her most northern establishment, without giving just cause of dissatisfaction to any other power. The *exclusive right of occupation* must be here distinguished from the *exclusive right of sovereignty;* as no nation could be justified, by virtue of the former right, and without occupation or the performance of acts indicating an intention to occupy, in depriving others of the trade of extensive vacant sea-coasts, unless upon the ground that the exercise of such trade would be injurious to its actual interests in those countries.

Resuming the narrative of events in the North Pacific — It has been mentioned, in the preceding chapter, that Meares sailed in the Felice from Nootka Sound to China, in the end of September, 1789. On reaching Macao, in December following, he learned that, during his absence, Juan Cavallo, the Portuguese merchant, whose name appeared on the papers of the Felice and Iphigenia as their owner, had become a bankrupt. What steps were taken immediately, in consequence of this event, is not related; but an arrangement was soon after made between the anonymous merchant proprietors and Mr. Etches, the agent of the King George's Sound Company, who was then at Macao, with the ship Prince of Wales and sloop Princess Royal, for a union of the interests of the two parties. Agreeably to this arrangement, the Felice was sold, and the Prince of Wales returned to England; and a ship called the Argonaut was purchased, in which Colnett, a lieutenant in the British navy, previously commanding the Princess Royal, was despatched, in April,

1789, to Nootka, as captain, and agent for the proprietors on the American coast, accompanied by the Princess Royal, under Captain William Hudson.

The management of the affairs of the association at Macao appears to have been committed entirely to Meares, who drew up the instructions for Colnett. From these instructions, of which a copy is appended by Meares to his Memorial, it is evident that there was really an intention to found a permanent establishment on some part of the north-west coast of America, although no spot is designated as its site, and no hint is given of any acquisition of territory having been already made at or near Nootka Sound. Indeed, the only reference to that place, in the whole paper, is contained in the words, "We recommend you, if possible, to form a treaty with the various chiefs, particularly at Nootka." Yet Meares, in his Memorial, strangely enough says, "Mr. Colnett was directed to fix his residence at Nootka Sound, and, with that view, to erect a substantial house on the spot which your memorialist had purchased in the preceding year, *as will appear by a copy of his instructions hereunto annexed.*" The Argonaut and Princess Royal were, moreover, certainly navigated under the British flag; there being no object in using any other, as they were both provided with licenses from the East India and the South Sea Companies, which afforded them the requisite authorization.*

Whilst these vessels were on their way to Nootka Sound, their first place of destination on the coast, the brig Iphigenia, and schooner North-West America, belonging to the same association, though under Portuguese colors, arrived in that bay from the Sandwich Islands, where they had passed the winter, agreeably to the instructions of Mr. Meares. They entered the sound on the 20th of April, in the most wretched condition imaginable. The Iphigenia was a mere wreck; according to the journal of Douglas, her supercargo or captain, annexed to the Memorial of Meares,

* The following account of the occurrences at Nootka in the summer of 1789 is taken from — the journal or narrative of the voyage of Meares, and the documents attached to it, consisting of his *Memorial* to Parliament, and papers in proof, among which is especially worthy of notice the journal of Douglas, the captain or supercargo of the Iphigenia — the journal of Colnett's voyage, in 1789, in which some of those circumstances are related in a note, at page 96 — the journal of Vancouver's voyage in 1792 — the letter addressed by the American Captains Gray and Ingraham to the Spanish commandant at Nootka, in 1792, which will be found at length among the Proofs and Illustrations, at the end of this volume, under the letter C — and the memorials and other papers relative to the dispute which ensued between Great Britain, in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter D.

"she had like to have foundered at sea, for want of pitch and tar to stop the leaks; she had no bread on board, and nothing but salt pork for her crew to live on; she was without cables," and, on attempting to moor her in the harbor, it was necessary to "borrow a fall from the American sloop Washington," which, with the ship Columbia, was found lying there. The North-West America was in no better condition; and, as they had no articles for barter with the natives, they must have remained inactive for some time, had they not procured some assistance and supplies from the American vessels, by means of which the schooner was enabled to leave the sound on the 28th of the month, for a short trading trip along the coasts. The Washington, about the same time, also departed on a similar expedition; and the Iphigenia, lying at Friendly Cove, and the Columbia, at Mawhinna, a few miles higher up, were the only vessels in Nootka Sound on the 6th of May, when the Spanish commander Martinez arrived there in the corvette Princesa, to take possession of the country for his sovereign.

Martinez immediately communicated his intentions to the captains of the other vessels, whose papers he also examined; and, appearing to be content, he landed materials and artillery, and began to erect a fort on a small island at the entrance of Friendly Cove. With this assumption of authority on his part, no dissatisfaction appears to have been expressed or entertained by either of the other parties; on the contrary, the utmost good feeling for some time prevailed on all sides: the officers of the different vessels visited and dined with each other, and Martinez readily supplied the Iphigenia with articles of which she was in need, in order to go to sea immediately, accepting, in return for them, bills drawn by her Portuguese captain, Viana, upon Juan Cavallo, the Portuguese merchant of Macao, as her owner.

Things remained thus at Nootka for a week, at the end of which time the other Spanish vessel, the San Carlos, arrived, under Captain Haro. On the following day, the 15th of May, Martinez invited Viana and Douglas to come on board his ship; and, on their doing so, he immediately told them that they were prisoners, and their vessel was to be seized. "I inquired," says Douglas, in his journal, "the cause of his not taking the Washington sloop, as he had orders from the king of Spain to take every vessel he met out on this coast. He gave me no satisfactory answer, but told me my papers were bad; that they mentioned I was to take all English, Russian, and Spanish vessels that were of inferior force to the

Iphigenia, and send or carry their crews to Macao, there to be tried for their lives as pirates. I told him they had not interpreted the papers right; that, *though I did not understand the Portuguese, I had seen a copy of them in English, at Macao,* which mentioned, if I was attacked by any one of those nations, to defend myself, and, if I had the superiority, to send the captains and crews to Macao, to answer for the insult they had offered." Martinez, however, was not, or did not choose to be, content with this explanation, which certainly did not place the Iphigenia and her owners in a position conformable with the usages of civilized nations; and, in obedience to his orders, that brig was boarded by the Spaniards, her men, with her charts, papers, and instruments, were transferred to the ships of war, and preparations were begun for sending her, as a prize, to San Blas.

Whilst these preparations were in progress, the Spanish commandant altered his intentions, and proposed to release the Iphigenia and her crew, on condition that her officers would sign a declaration to the effect that she had not been interrupted, but had been kindly treated and supplied by him during her stay at Nootka. This proposition was at first refused; an arrangement was, however, afterwards made between the parties, in consequence of which the declaration was signed by the officers of the Iphigenia, and she and her crew were liberated on the 26th of May. Messrs. Viana and Douglas at the same time engaged for themselves, as "*captain and supercargo respectively, and for Juan Cavallo, of Macao, as owner of the said vessel,*" to pay her value, on demand, to the order of the viceroy of Mexico, in case he should pronounce her capture legal.

This seizure of the Iphigenia by Martinez can scarcely be considered unjust or unmerited, when it is recollected that, if, in attempting to enforce, with regard to her, the orders of his government, — which were perfectly conformable with the principles of national law as then recognized, and with treaties between Spain and the other powers, — he had been resisted and overcome, he, with his officers and men, would have been carried to Macao as prisoners, to be tried in Portuguese courts for piracy. Moreover, he had been informed that Meares was daily expected to arrive at Nootka, with other vessels belonging to the same concern; and it was his duty to provide against the probability of being overpowered or insulted, by lessening the forces of those from whom he had every reason to apprehend an attack. He was, indeed, specially enjoined, by the viceroy of Mexico, to treat English and Russian

vessels with respect; but the contingency of his meeting with a Portuguese vessel at Nootka, furnished with such instructions as those carried by the Iphigenia, could not have been foreseen; and the only grounds upon which he could have excused himself to his government for releasing her, even under the pledge given by her officers, must have been, that, at the time when those instructions were written, it was not anticipated, by her proprietors, that Spain would take possession of any place on the north-west coast of America.

That the detention of the Iphigenia by the Spaniards was not injurious to the interests of her owners, is clearly proved. The distressed condition in which she reached Nootka has been already shown from the accounts of her officers; and she must have remained at that place, unemployed, during the greater and better part of the trading season, had she not been refitted and supplied as she was by the Spaniards. According to the *narrative* of Meares, she sailed from the sound on the 1st of June, to the coasts of Queen Charlotte's Island, where she collected a number of valuable furs in a few weeks: the trade was "so brisk," writes Meares, "*that all the stock of iron was soon expended, and they were under the necessity of cutting up the chain plates and hatch-bars of the vessel,*" in order to find the means of purchasing the skins offered; thence she departed for the Sandwich Islands, and, after a short stay there, continued her voyage to Macao, where she arrived in October, with about seven hundred sea otter skins, all collected since leaving Nootka Sound. Mr. Meares, in his *Memorial,* however, presents a very different picture of these circumstances: he there says, "During the time the Spaniards held possession of the Iphigenia, she was stripped of all the merchandise which had been prepared for trading, as also of her stores, provisions, nautical instruments, charts, &c., and, in short, of every article, *except twelve bars of iron,* which they could conveniently carry away, even to the extent of the master's watch, and articles of clothing;" he then goes on to state that, "on leaving Nootka Sound, the Iphigenia, though in a very unfit condition for such a voyage, proceeded from thence to the Sandwich Islands, and, after obtaining there such supplies as they were enabled to purchase *with the iron before mentioned,* returned to China, and anchored there in the month of October, 1789"—thus omitting all notice of the trip to the northern coasts, and of the *brisk trade* with the natives, in which the *whole stock of iron*

(including, of course, the twelve bars before mentioned) was exchanged for furs.

Before taking leave of the Iphigenia, it may be added, in evidence of her true character, that Douglas quitted her immediately on her arrival in China; after which she continued to trade under the command of Viana, and under the flag of Portugal.

On the 8th of June, after the departure of the Iphigenia, the schooner North-West America returned from her voyage along the southern coasts, in which she had collected about two hundred sea otter skins, and was immediately seized by Martinez, in consequence, as he at first said, of an agreement to that effect between himself and the captain of the Iphigenia. This agreement is expressly denied by Douglas, who declares that both promises and threats had been used in vain to induce him to sell the small vessel at a price far below her real value; and, in proof, he cites a letter given by him to Martinez, addressed to the captain of the North-West America, in which he merely tells the latter to act as he may think best for the interest of the owners. Meares, in his Memorial, however, admits that the letter did not contain what Martinez understood to be its purport when he received it, and that advantage had been taken by Douglas of the Spaniard's ignorance of the English language; from which circumstances it is most probable that the agreement, whether voluntary on the part of the captain of the Iphigenia, or unjustly extorted from him, was actually made as asserted by Martinez. A few days afterwards, the sloop Princess Royal, one of the vessels sent from Macao by the associated companies, entered the sound under the command of William Hudson, bringing information of the failure of Cavallo, the Portuguese merchant, upon whom, as owner of the Iphigenia, the bills in payment for the supplies furnished to that vessel, were drawn. Upon learning this, Martinez announced his determination to hold the North-West America in satisfaction for the amount of those bills: she was thereupon immediately equipped for a trading voyage, and sent out under the command of one of the mates of the Columbia; but her officers and men were at the same time liberated, and nearly all the skins collected by her were placed on board the Princess Royal, for the benefit of the owners in China.

The Princess Royal remained at Nootka until the 2d of July, during which period she was undisturbed, and her officers and men were treated with perfect civility and respect by the Span-

iards. As she was leaving the sound on that day, her consort, the ship Argonaut, came in from Macao, under Captain Colnett, who, as already mentioned, had been charged by the associated companies with the direction of their affairs on the American coasts, and the establishment of a factory and fort for their benefit. What followed with regard to this ship has been represented under various colors; but the principal facts, as generally admitted, were these: —

As soon as the Argonaut appeared at the entrance of the sound, she was boarded by Martinez, who presented to Colnett a letter from the captain of the Princess Royal, and pressed him earnestly to enter the sound, and supply the Spanish vessels with some articles of which they were much in want. Several of the officers of the North-West America and the Columbia also came on board the Argonaut, and communicated what had occurred respecting the Iphigenia and the small vessel to Colnett, who, in consequence, hesitated as to entering the sound; but he was finally induced, by the assurances of Martinez, to do so, and before midnight his ship was anchored in Friendly Cove, between the Princesa and the San Carlos.

On the following day, Colnett, having supplied the Spanish ships with some articles, was preparing, as he states, to leave the sound, when he received an invitation to go on board the commandant's ship and exhibit his papers. He accordingly went, in uniform, and with his sword by his side, into the cabin of the Princesa, where he displayed his papers, and informed Martinez of his intention to take possession of Nootka, and erect a fort there under the British flag. The commandant replied, that this could not be done, as the place was already occupied by the forces and in the name of his Catholic majesty; and an altercation ensued, the results of which were the arrest and confinement of Colnett, and the seizure of the Argonaut by the Spaniards. From the moment of his arrest, Colnett became insane or delirious, and continued in this state for several weeks, during which Duffin, the mate of his vessel, acted as the representative of the proprietors: in the mean time, her cargo had been all placed on board the Spanish ships of war; and, on the 13th of July, she sailed, with her officers and nearly the whole of her crew as prisoners, under the command of a Spanish lieutenant, for San Blas.

If the accounts of these transactions, presented by Meares in his Memorial, and by Colnett in the narrative which he afterwards published, be admitted as conveying a full and correct view of the

circumstances, the conduct of Martinez must be considered as nearly equivalent to piracy. From these accounts it would appear that the ship was treacherously seized, without any reasonable ground, or even pretext, and with the sole premeditated object of plundering her; and that the most cruel acts of violence, insult, and restraint, were wantonly committed upon the officers and men during the whole period of their imprisonment. Colnett relates * — that, when he presented his papers to Martinez in the cabin of the Princesa, the commandant, without examining them, pronounced them to be forged, and immediately declared that the Argonaut should not go to sea — that, upon his "*remonstrating* [in what terms he does not say] *against this breach of good faith, and forgetfulness of word and honor pledged*," the Spaniard rose, in apparent anger, and introduced a party of armed men, by whom he was struck down, placed in the stocks, and then closely confined — that he was afterwards carried from ship to ship like a criminal, threatened with instant execution as a pirate, and subjected to so many injuries and indignities as to throw him into a violent fever and delirium, which were near proving fatal — and that his officers and men were imprisoned and kept in irons from the time of their seizure until their arrival at San Blas, where many of them died in consequence of ill treatment. Meares, in his Memorial, makes the same assertions, many of which are supported by the deposition of the officers and seamen of the North-West America, taken in China, and appended to the Memorial. On the other hand, Gray, the captain of the Washington, and Ingraham, the mate of the Columbia, both of whom were at Nootka during the occurrence of the affair, "were informed by those whose veracity they had no reason to doubt," † that Colnett, in his interview with Martinez on board the Princesa, denied the right of the Spaniards to occupy Nootka, and endeavored to impose upon the Spanish commandant, by representing himself as acting under direct orders from the British government; and that he afterwards insulted the Spaniard by threatening him and drawing his sword. Colnett himself says that he attempted to draw his sword on the occasion, but that it was in defence against those who assailed him; and it must be allowed to be very difficult to "*remonstrate*" with a man upon "*his breach of faith, and forgetful-*

* Account of his Voyage in the Pacific in 1793, note at p. 96; also Vancouver's Journal, vol. iii. p. 402. These two accounts differ in some points.

† Letter of Gray and Ingraham, in the Proofs and Illustrations, letter C.

ness of his word and honor pledged," without insulting him. Duffin, the mate of the Argonaut, writing to Meares from Nootka, ten days after the seizure of the ship, gives nearly the same account of the interview, adding that the misunderstanding was probably occasioned by the interpreter's ignorance of the English language: he says that Martinez appeared to be very sorry for what had happened, and had "behaved with great civility, by obliging his prisoners with every liberty that could be expected;" and he complains of no violence, either to the feelings or to the persons of any of the crews of the vessels seized, although he charges the Spaniards with plundering both openly and secretly. Moreover, Duffin declares, and Meares repeats, in his Memorial, that the disease with which Colnett was afflicted after his arrest was a fit of insanity, occasioned by fear and disappointment operating upon a mind naturally weak and hereditarily predisposed to such alienation.

On the part of Spain, the only statements which have been publicly made are those contained in the notes and memorials addressed by the court of Madrid to other governments in 1790; and in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes — all of which, though officially presented, are nevertheless imperfect and evidently erroneous on several important points.*

Upon reviewing the circumstances of the affair, there appears to be no reason to doubt that Colnett entered the sound, relying on the assurances of Martinez, that he should be undisturbed while

* These notes and memorials, which will be mentioned more particularly hereafter, may be found in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter D. All that is said in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes respecting the dispute, or the circumstances which led to it, is contained in the paragraph of which the following is a translation: —

"On the 2d of July, the English ship Argonaut, which had been sent by an English company from Macao, entered the port. Her captain, James Colnett, came, with authority from the king of England, to take possession of the port of Nootka, to fortify it, and to establish there a factory for the collection of sea otter skins, and to prevent other nations from engaging in this trade, with which objects he was to build a large ship and a schooner. This manifest infraction of the rights over that region led to a serious quarrel between the Spanish commandant and the English captain, which extended to Europe; and, the two powers being alarmed, the world was for some time threatened with war and devastation, the results of discord. Captain Colnett refused, repeatedly and obstinately, to exhibit to Martinez the instructions which he brought; and he expressed himself in language so indecorous and irritating, that our commandant, having exhausted all the measures of prudence which he had hitherto employed, resolved to arrest the British captain in the cabin of his ship, and to declare all the persons on board the Argonaut prisoners of war, and to send them to San Blas, to be there placed at the disposition of the viceroy of Mexico."

there, and be allowed to depart at his pleasure; and it seems to be equally certain that the English captain did afterwards conduct himself with so much violence and extravagance towards the Spanish commandant, as to render his own arrest perfectly justifiable. The seizure of the Argonaut, the imprisonment of her other officers and crew, and the spoliation of her cargo, cannot, however, be defended on those or on any grounds afforded by the evidence of any of the parties; for Martinez had no reason to apprehend an attack from the Argonaut, and he had been specially instructed, by his immediate superior, the viceroy of Mexico, to suspend, with regard to British vessels on the north-west coasts, the execution of the general orders to Spanish commandants, for the seizure of foreign vessels entering the ports of the American dominions.

Still less excusable was the conduct of Martinez towards the sloop Princess Royal, on her second arrival at Nootka. She appeared at the entrance of the sound on the 13th of July, having made a short trading cruise along the northern coasts; and her captain, Hudson, on coming up to Friendly Cove in a boat, was arrested, after which his vessel was boarded and brought in as a prize by a party of Spaniards despatched for the purpose. On the following day, the majority of her crew were transferred to the Argonaut, which carried them as prisoners to San Blas; her cargo was then taken out, and she was herself afterwards employed for nearly two years in the Spanish service, under Lieutenant Quimper.

The schooner North-West America was also retained in the national service of Spain; her officers and men, with some of those of the Argonaut and Princess Royal, were, however, placed on board the American ship Columbia, to be carried as passengers to China, one hundred of the sea otter skins found in the Princess Royal being allowed in payment of their wages and transportation. Martinez remained at Nootka until November, when he departed, with his three vessels, for San Blas, agreeably to orders received by him from Mexico.

The Columbia had remained in the sound ever since her first arrival there, in October, 1788; the Washington being, in the mean time, engaged in trading along the coasts north and south of that place, to which she, however, frequently returned, in order to deposit the furs collected. The officers of these vessels were thus witnesses of nearly all the occurrences at Nootka during the summer of 1789, in which, indeed, they frequently took part as mediators;

and the only evidence, with regard to those events, except the journal of Douglas, which can bear the test of strict examination, is contained in a letter addressed, three years afterwards, to the Spanish commandant of Nootka, by Gray, the captain of the Washington, and Ingraham, the mate of the Columbia.* Meares and Colnett endeavor to cast blame on the Americans for their conduct in these proceedings; their complaints, however, on examination, seem to rest entirely on the fact that the Washington and Columbia were undisturbed, while their own vessels were seized by the Spaniards. That Gray and Kendrick profited by the quarrels between the other two parties is probable, and no one can question their right to do so; but no evidence has been adduced that they, on any occasion, took an unfair advantage of either: though it is also probable that their feelings were rather in favor of the Spaniards, by whom they were always treated with courtesy and kindness, than of the British, to whom, if we are to judge by the expressions of Meares and Colnett, they were, from the commencement, the objects of hatred and ridicule.

In one of the above-mentioned trading excursions of the Washington, made in June, 1789, Gray explored the whole east coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, which had never before been visited by the people of any civilized nation, though Duncan, in the Princess Royal, had, in the preceding year, sailed through the sea separating it from the main land and other islands. The American, being ignorant of this fact, as also of the name bestowed on the territory by Dixon, called it *Washington's Island;* and thus it was, for a long period, always distinguished by the fur traders of the United States. Meares endeavors, in his narrative, to secure to Douglas, the captain of the Iphigenia, the merit of having first established the insulation of the territory; though Douglas, in his journal annexed to that narrative, expressly alludes to the previous visits of the Washington to many places on the east coast. The assertion of this claim for Douglas was one of the causes of the dispute between Meares and Dixon, in 1791, which will be hereafter mentioned more particularly.

In a subsequent excursion from Nootka, Gray entered the opening south-east of that place, between the 48th and 49th parallels of latitude, which had been found by Berkely in 1787, and was supposed to be the mouth of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Through

* See Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter D.

this opening Gray sailed, as he informed Vancouver in 1792, "fifty miles in an east-south-east direction, and found the passage five leagues wide." He then returned to the Pacific, and, on his way to Nootka, he met the Columbia, which had just quitted the sound, with the crew of the North-West America on board as passengers, for China; and it was agreed between the two captains that Kendrick should take command of the sloop, and remain on the coast, while Gray, in the Columbia, should carry to Canton all the furs which had been collected by both vessels. This was accordingly done; and Gray arrived, on the 6th of December, at Canton, where he sold his furs, and took in a cargo of tea, with which he entered Boston on the 10th of August, 1790, having carried the flag of the United States for the first time around the world. Kendrick, immediately on parting with the Columbia, proceeded in the Washington to the Strait of Fuca, through which he passed, in its whole length, as will be hereafter more fully shown.

The Argonaut, with Colnett and his men on board as prisoners, arrived, on the 16th of August, at San Blas, near which place they were kept prisoners until the arrival of the commandant of that department, Captain Bodega y Quadra, by whom Colnett was treated with great kindness, and soon after sent to the city of Mexico. There he remained several months, during which the examination of the cases of the seized vessels was in progress; and it was at length decided — that, although Martinez had acted conformably with the general laws and regulations of Spain, forbidding all aliens from resorting to the Spanish American coasts, and the vessels might therefore be retained as lawful prizes, yet, in consideration of the apparent ignorance of their officers and owners with regard to the laws and rights of Spain, as also for the sake of peace with England, they should be released, with the understanding, however, that they were not again to enter any place on the Spanish American coasts, either for the purpose of settlement or of trade with the natives. In virtue of this decision, Colnett returned to San Blas, where he learned that several of his men had died of the fever endemic at that place, and his ship was much injured by the service to which she had been subjected; she was, nevertheless, refitted, and, with the remainder of her crew, he sailed in her for Nootka, to receive possession of the Princess Royal, for which he had an order. On arriving at the sound, Colnett found the place deserted; and, not knowing where to seek

the sloop, he sailed for Macao, which he reached in the latter part of 1790. Thence he went, in the following year, to the Sandwich Islands, where the Princess Royal was restored to him, in March, by Lieutenant Quimper, the Spanish officer under whose command she had been employed for nearly two years.

The political discussions between the governments of Great Britain and Spain, which had meanwhile taken place, in consequence of the seizures at Nootka, will be related in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

1790.

Controversy between Great Britain and Spain respecting the North-West Coasts of America and the Navigation of the Pacific — The Owners of the Vessels seized at Nootka apply for Redress to the British Government, which demands Satisfaction for the alleged Outrages — Spain resists the Demand, and calls on France for Aid, agreeably to the Family Compact — Proceedings in the National Assembly of France on the Subject — Spain engages to indemnify the British for the Property seized — Further Demands of Great Britain — Designs of Pitt against Spanish America — Secret Mediation of France, through which the Dispute is settled — Convention of October, 1790, called the *Nootka Treaty* — Proceedings in Parliament, and Reflections on this Convention.

The Columbia arrived at Macao from Nootka in December, 1789, bringing as passengers the officers and crew of the North-West America, who communicated the news of the capture of that vessel, and of the Argonaut and Princess Royal, by the Spaniards. The owners immediately determined to apply to the British government for redress; and Meares was accordingly despatched to London, where he arrived in April, 1790, provided with depositions, and other documents, in substantiation of their claims. While he was on his way, however, the circumstances on which his application was to be founded had already become the subject of a serious discussion between the courts of London and Madrid.

On the 10th of February, 1790, the Spanish ambassador at London presented to the British ministry a note, in which, after communicating the fact of the seizure of a British vessel (the Argonaut) at Nootka, he required, in the name of his government, that the parties who had planned the expedition should be punished, in order to deter other persons from making settlements on territories long occupied and frequented by the Spaniards; and he at the same time complained of the trade and fishery, by British subjects, in the seas adjoining the Spanish American continent on the west, as contrary to the rights of Spain, guarantied by Great Britain in the treaty of Utrecht, and respected by all European nations. To this the British ministers answered, on the 26th, that, although they had not received exact information as to the facts stated by the

ambassador, yet the act of violence against British subjects described in his note necessarily suspended all discussion of the claims advanced by him, until adequate atonement should have been made for the outrage. In the mean time, they demanded the immediate restoration of the vessel seized, reserving further proceedings on the subject until more complete details of the circumstances could be obtained.

This unexpected answer, with other circumstances, induced the Spanish cabinet to suspect that more was meant than had been openly declared by Great Britain; that this power was, in fact, only seeking an occasion to break the peace with Spain for some ulterior object: and, under the influence of this suspicion, preparations for war were commenced in all the naval arsenals of the latter kingdom. The king of Spain being, however, anxious to prevent a rupture, if possible, his ambassador at London addressed another note to the British government in April, declaring that, although the Spanish crown had an indubitable right to the continent, islands, harbors, and coasts, of America on the Pacific, founded upon treaties and immemorial possession, yet, as the viceroy of Mexico had released the vessel seized at Nootka, his Catholic majesty regarded the affair as concluded, without entering into any disputes and discussions on the undoubted rights of Spain; and, desiring to give a proof of his friendship for Great Britain, he should rest satisfied, if her subjects were commanded to respect those rights in future.

This last communication was received about the time when Meares arrived in London from China; and the information brought by him was not calculated to render the British government inclined to accept the pacific overture of Spain. On the contrary, orders were issued for arming two large fleets, and the whole affair, which had been previously kept secret, was submitted to Parliament by a message from the king on the 5th of May.

In this message, his majesty states that two vessels, belonging to his subjects, and navigated under the British flag, and two others, of which the description was not then sufficiently ascertained, had been captured at Nootka Sound, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war; the cargoes of the two British vessels had been seized, and their crews had been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port; — that, as soon as he had been informed of the capture of one of these vessels, he had ordered a demand to be made for her restitution, and for adequate satisfaction, previous to any other discussion; from the answer to which demand, it appeared that the

vessel and her crew had been liberated by the viceroy of Mexico, on the supposition, however, that ignorance of the rights of Spain alone induced individuals of other nations to frequent those coasts, for the purposes of trade and settlement; — but that no satisfaction was made or offered by Spain, and a direct claim was asserted by her government to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coasts, and seas, of that part of the world. In consequence of all which, his majesty had directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on the subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently required. Having, moreover, been informed that considerable armaments were in progress in the ports of Spain, he had judged it indispensable to make preparations for acting with vigor and effect in support of the honor of his crown, and the interests of his people; and he recommended that Parliament should enable him to take such other measures, and to make such augmentations of his forces, as might be eventually requisite for this purpose.*

The recommendations in this message were received with every mark of concurrence in Parliament and throughout the kingdom; the supplies were immediately voted, and the preparations for war were continued with unexampled activity. On the day in which the message was sent, a note was addressed to the Spanish ambassador at London, containing a reiteration of the demands previously made, and of the declaration that, until those demands should have been satisfied, the question of the rights of Spain would not be discussed. "His majesty," says the note, "will take the most effectual pacific measures to prevent his subjects from trespassing on the just and acknowledged rights of Spain: but he cannot accede to the pretensions of absolute sovereignty, commerce, and navigation, which appeared to be the principal objects of the last note from the Spanish ambassador; and he considers it his duty to protect his subjects in the enjoyment of the right of fishery in the Pacific Ocean." The British Chargé d'affaires at Madrid also presented, in the name of his government, formal demands for the restitution of the other vessel [the Princess Royal] and cargo seized at Nootka, and for reparation of the losses and injuries sustained by the British subjects trading in the North Pacific under the British flag; asserting,

* This message, and all the other official documents relative to the discussion which have been published, will be found in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter D.

at the same time, as a principle which would be maintained by his government, that "*British subjects have an indisputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce, and fishery,* and to the possession of such establishments as they should form, with the consent of the natives of the country, not previously occupied by any of the European nations."

To these formal exactions of the British government, the court of Madrid replied, at first indirectly, by a circular letter addressed, on the 4th of June, to all the other courts of Europe. This letter was couched in the most conciliatory language: it contained a recapitulation of the circumstances of the dispute, according to the views of Spain; denying all intention, on her part, to commit or defend any act of injustice against Great Britain, or to claim any rights which did not rest upon irrefragable titles; insisting that the capture of the British vessel had been repaired by the conduct of the viceroy of Mexico in immediately restoring her; and declaring the readiness of his Catholic majesty to satisfy any demands which should prove to be well founded, after an investigati n of the question of right between the two crowns. This reply not being considered sufficient by the British ambassador, a *Memorial* was delivered to him, on the 13th of the same month, by count de Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister of state, not differing essentially in its import from the circular letter; which, however, served only to render the ambassador still more urgent for a specific answer to the demands of his government. At length, after repeated conferences, the Spanish minister, on the 18th, officially signified that his sovereign, having approved the restitution of all the vessels and their cargoes seized at Nootka, was willing to indemnify the owners for their losses, and also to make satisfaction for the insult to the dignity of the British crown; provided, that the extent of the insult and of the satisfaction should be settled, in form and substance, either by one of the kings of Europe, to be selected by his Britannic majesty, or by a negotiation between the two governments, in which no facts were to be admitted as true, except such as were fully established; and that no inference affecting the rights of Spain should be drawn from the act of giving satisfaction.

This offer of reparation was accepted by the court of London; and, on the 24th of July, count de Florida Blanca presented to Mr. Fitzherbert, the British ambassador at Madrid, a *Declaration,* in the name of his sovereign, to the effect — that he would restore the vessels and indemnify the owners for their losses, so soon as the

amount should have been ascertained, and would give satisfaction to his Britannic majesty for the injury of which he had complained; and this Declaration, together with the performance of the engagements made in it, was admitted by the ambassador in his *Counter Declaration*,* as full and entire satisfaction for those injuries: it being, however, at the same time admitted and expressed on both sides, that the Spanish "Declaration was not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which his Catholic majesty might claim to form an exclusive establishment at Nootka Sound."†

The affair had thus far proceeded, nearly in the same course as that of the expulsion of the British from the Falkland Islands, twenty years previous; and the government of Madrid probably expected that it would have been terminated in the same manner. But Mr. Pitt, then in the fulness of his power in England, had inherited his father's hatred for and contempt of the Spanish nation; and he was determined either to bend their government to his views, or to strike a decisive blow at their empire. He had already, in an inconceivably short space of time, assembled a mighty armament, which he intended, in the event of a war, to direct against the Spanish possessions in America, for the purpose of wresting those countries from their actual rulers, either by conquest or by internal revolution;† and, having assumed this position, he did not hesitate to require from Spain the surrender of many of the exclusive rights with regard to navigation, commerce, and territorial sovereignty, upon which her dominion in the western continent was supposed, with reason, to depend. The negotiation on the subject of these demands was continued at Madrid for three months after the acceptance of the Spanish Declaration; during which period couriers were constantly flying between that city and London, and the whole

* The Declaration and Counter Declaration may be found among the documents connected with the discussion, in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter D.

It may be here mentioned that the amount of the indemnification for the seizures at Nootka was, after a long negotiation on the subject, finally settled by a Commission of subjects of both nations, appointed for the purpose, who, in 1792, awarded to the proprietors of the property the sum of two hundred and ten thousand dollars — a third of the amount demanded by Meares, but undoubtedly far more than was justly due.

† Mr. Pitt's scheme for detaching from Spain her transatlantic dominions is believed, with reason, to have been suggested to him by Francisco Miranda, a native of Caracas, through whose agency a number of exiles and fugitives from those countries, including many of the expelled Jesuits, were engaged in the plan, and correspondences were commenced with the principal persons inclined to a separation from Spain in all parts of her American territories. On this subject, many curious particulars may be found in the Edinburgh Review for January, 1809. The subsequent history and the melancholy fate of Miranda are well known.

civilized world was in suspense and anxiety as to the issue. The particulars of the negotiation have never been officially made public; and we are therefore only able to form suppositions as to its nature and course from its result, and from other circumstances connected with the dispute. The manner in which that result was effected appears, however, to have been as follows: —

As soon as the dispute between Great Britain and Spain, and the preparations of those powers for war, became known, King Louis XVI. of France ordered fourteen sail of the line to be equipped for active service; either in consequence of an application for aid from Spain, or in order to be ready to meet contingencies. He was, however, under the necessity of communicating this measure to the National Assembly, then in session, which seized the occasion to deprive the crown of one of its most essential attributes. On the 24th of May, a decree was passed by that body, establishing that the right to make war or peace belonged to the nation, and could only be exercised through the concurrence of the legislative and the executive branches of the government; and that no treaty with another power could have effect until it had been ratified by the representatives of the nation: a committee was at the same time appointed to examine and report upon all the existing treaties of alliance between France and other nations. This decree was itself equivalent to an annulment of the *Family Compact* between the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon: nevertheless, when the king of Spain found himself pressed by Great Britain to relinquish his exclusive pretensions with regard to America, he formally applied to his cousin of France for aid, agreeably to that compact, in resisting those demands; declaring, at the same time, that, unless the assistance should be given speedily and effectually, "Spain would be under the necessity of seeking other friends and allies among all the powers of Europe, without excepting any on whom she could rely in case of need."

The letter of the king of Spain was submitted by Louis XVI. to the National Assembly, by which it was referred to the committee appointed to examine the existing treaties between France and other nations; and, in the name of that committee, the celebrated Mirabeau, on the 24th of August, presented a luminous report, including considerations of the character of the Family Compact and other engagements between France and Spain, and a view of the actual positions of Spain and Great Britain towards each other and towards France. The questions raised by this report

were debated,* with great display of eloquence and political wisdom, by Mirabeau, the Abbé Maury, Lameth, Barnave, and other distinguished members of the Assembly: and it was decreed that France, while taking proper measures to maintain peace, should observe the existing commercial and defensive engagements between her government and that of Spain; but that a new and *national* treaty should be immediately negotiated, wherein the relations of the two countries towards each other should be defined and fixed with precision and clearness, agreeably to the views of general peace, and the principles of justice, which were, in future, to prevail in France; and that, taking into consideration the armaments then in progress throughout Europe, and the dangers to which the commerce and colonies of France might be exposed, the marine force of the kingdom should be increased, without delay, to forty-five sail of the line, and a proportionate number of frigates.

Although this decree contained no direct promise of assistance to Spain, yet it showed that the French government penetrated the designs of the British, and considered them inimical to its own interests; while, at the same time, the report, on which the decree was based, evinced an ardent desire, on the part of the French reformers, to preserve peace. Meanwhile, revolutionary, anti-monarchical principles were rapidly spreading, not only through France, but in all the surrounding countries, and even in England. The Dutch, who had engaged to assist the British with a fleet, in case of a war with Spain, found their forces necessary at home; and Sweden, having, much to the dissatisfaction of the court of London, made peace with Russia, the latter power was left at liberty to prosecute its schemes for the dismemberment of "England's old ally," Turkey. Moreover, the financial condition of Great Britain was not such as to encourage her government to begin a war, which would, in all probability, become general. Under these circumstances, Mr. Pitt's views were necessarily changed; and peace, and even alliance, with Spain were considered preferable to a rupture with that power. He therefore commissioned a gentleman at Paris, upon whom he could rely, to sound Mirabeau, and other leaders of the National Assembly; and, having reason to believe them sincerely anxious to prevent hostilities, he instructed his agent to propose a secret negotiation, to be carried on through the medium of the French government, for the restoration of a good understanding between Great Britain and Spain.

* Paris Moniteur for August 25th, and succeeding numbers.

In the letter of instructions from Mr. Pitt to his agent at Paris,* he declares it to be essential that "the French should not appear in the business as mediators, still less as arbitrators," and that no encouragement should be given to them to propose any other terms than those on which Great Britain had already insisted; that, "whatever confidential communications may take place with the diplomatic committee of the National Assembly, for the sake of bringing them to promote the views of Great Britain, no ostensible intercourse could be admitted, except through accredited ministers;" and especially that "no assurances be given, directly or indirectly, which go further than that Great Britain means to persevere in the neutrality which she has hitherto observed with respect to the internal dissensions of France, and is desirous to cultivate peace and friendly relations with that country." The agent, thus instructed, presented himself to the diplomatic committee of the National Assembly, which at once resolved to do all in its power to strengthen the relations with England, and to prevent a war, if possible; and, with this view, three of its most influential members, Fréteau, Barnave, and Menou, were deputed to conduct the business on its part. These members conferred with the British agent, and also with M. de Montmorin, the minister of foreign relations of France, who communicated directly with the Spanish government; and in this manner the controversy was brought to a close, by a convention signed, at the palace of the Escurial, on the 28th of October, by Mr. Fitzherbert, the British ambassador, and count de Florida Blanca on the part of Spain.

This convention, commonly called the *Nootka treaty*, contains eight articles, of which the substance is as follows: —

With respect to the circumstances which occasioned the dispute, it was stipulated, by the first and second articles, that the buildings and tracts of land, on the north-west coasts of America, of which British subjects were dispossessed by a Spanish officer, "*about the month of April*, 1789," shall be restored; a just reparation shall be made for all acts of violence or hostility committed by the subjects of either party against those of the other, "*subsequent to the month of April*, 1789;" and, in case the subjects of either should have been, "*since the same period*," forcibly dispossessed of their lands, vessels, or other property on the American coasts, or the

* The whole letter is given by Bishop Tomline, in his Life of Pitt, chap. xii. The name of the person to whom it is addressed does not appear; he is simply mentioned as "a gentleman resident at Paris, of considerable diplomatic experience."

adjoining seas, they shall be reëstablished in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for their losses.

For the future, it was agreed, by the third article of the convention, that the subjects of the two parties shall not be disturbed in navigating or fishing in the South Seas, or the Pacific Ocean, or in landing on the coasts thereof, in places not already occupied, for the purposes of settlement or of trade with the natives; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions specified in the three following articles, to wit: — that his Britannic majesty shall take the most effectual means to prevent his subjects from making their navigation or fishery in those seas a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; with which view it is agreed that British subjects shall not navigate or fish within ten leagues of any part of the coast already occupied by Spain; that the subjects of both nations shall have free access and right of trading in the places restored to British subjects by this convention, and in any other parts of the north-west coasts of America, north of the places already occupied by Spain, where the subjects of either party shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or may in future make any; and that no settlement shall in future be made, by the subjects of either power, on the eastern or the western coasts of South America, or the adjacent islands, south of the parts of the same coasts or islands already occupied by Spain; though the subjects of both remained at liberty to land on those coasts and islands, and to erect temporary buildings only, for the purposes of their fishery.

Finally, it was agreed, by the seventh article, that, in cases of infraction of the convention, the officers of either party shall, without committing any act of violence themselves, make an exact report of the affair to their respective governments, which would terminate such differences in an amicable manner. The eighth article relates merely to the time of ratification of the convention.*

The convention, together with the declaration and counter declaration preceding it, were submitted to Parliament on the 3d of December, unaccompanied by any other papers relative to the negotiation; and they became the subjects of animated debates, in which the most distinguished members of both houses took parts. The arrangements were extolled by the ministers and their friends in general terms, as vindicating the dignity of the nation, and

* The convention will be found at length among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter K, No. 1.

providing reparation for the injuries sustained by its subjects, and as securing to those subjects, in future, the rights of navigation and fishery in the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and of settlement on their unoccupied coasts, and establishing the long-discussed questions on those points, on such grounds as must prevent all further dispute. The opposition, on the other hand, contended that the reparation promised by Spain was incomplete and insufficient; that the arrangements for the prevention of future difficulties were merely culpable concessions to that power, whereby the rights of British subjects were materially abridged, and the Spaniards would be encouraged to commit further acts of violence; and, finally, that all the advantages which could be expected from the convention, even according to the views of the ministers, were far below the amount of the expense at which they had been obtained.

It was noticed by Mr. Charles Fox, as a curious and inexplicable incongruity in the treaty, that "*about the month of April*, 1789," should have been inserted as the date of what was known to have taken place, agreeably to all the evidence produced, in *May* of the same year; and that, although, by the first article, the lands and buildings declared to have been taken from British subjects by a Spanish officer, "*about the month of April*, 1789," were to be restored, yet, by the second article, the lands, buildings, and other property, of which the subjects of either party had been dispossessed "*subsequent to the month of April*, 1789," were to be restored, *or* compensation was to be made to the owners for the losses which they might have sustained. Upon this point, it will be seen that, if the word "*or*," in the concluding part of the second article, were replaced by *and*, the incongruity would disappear; but then, also, the first article would become entirely superfluous. It would, however, be idle to suppose that any *error* could have been committed with regard to matters so essential, or that the want of accordance between the different provisions of the convention, noticed by Mr. Fox, should have been the result of accident or carelessness. The ministers, when pressed for explanations on this head, answered, indirectly, that the Spanish government would make the restitutions as agreed in the first article.

It may here be observed, that no notice whatsoever of a claim, on the part of British subjects, to *lands or buildings* on the north-west coast of America, appears either in the king's message to Parliament, communicating the fact of the seizures at Nootka, or

in the debates in Parliament on that message, or in the official correspondence between the two governments on the subject, so far as published; and the only evidence of such acquisition of lands or erection of buildings to be found among the documents annexed to the Memorial presented by Meares to the ministry, is contained in the *information of William Graham*, a seaman of the Felice, which was *taken in London five days after the date of the Memorial.* "The *statement of actual and probable losses*," for which the memorialists prayed to be indemnified, to the amount of six hundred and fifty thousand dollars, is, moreover, confined entirely to losses consequent upon the seizure of the vessels and cargoes at Nootka. This silence, with regard to lands and buildings, in all the documents brought from China by Meares, certainly authorizes the suspicion that the idea of advancing a claim on those points may have occurred to that gentleman, or may have been suggested to him after his arrival in England, and even after his first communications with the ministers.

With respect to the rights of navigation and fishery in the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and of settlement on their unoccupied coasts, it was insisted by Fox, Grey, the marquis of Lansdowne, and other eminent members of the opposition in Parliament, that nothing had been gained, but, on the contrary, much had been surrendered, by the convention. "Our right, before the convention," said Mr. Fox, —"*whether admitted or denied by Spain was of no consequence,*— was to settle in any part of South or North-West America, not fortified against us by previous occupancy; and we were now restricted to settle in certain places only, and under certain conditions. Our rights of fishing extended to the whole ocean; and now it was limited, and not to be exercised within certain distances of the Spanish settlements. Our right of making settlements was not, as now, a right to build huts, but to plant colonies, if we thought proper. In renouncing all right to make settlements in South America, we had given to Spain what she considered as inestimable, and had, in return, been contented with dross." "In every place in which we might settle," said Grey, "access was left for the Spaniards. Where we might form a settlement on one hill, they might erect a fort on another; and a merchant must run all the risks of a discovery, and all the expenses of an establishment, for a property which was liable to be the subject of continual dispute, and could never be placed upon a permanent footing."

As to the utility of the convention in preventing disputes in future between the two nations, Mr. Fox was wholly incredulous; and he predicted that difficulties would soon arise (as they did) from the impossibility of devising and enforcing any measures on the part of Great Britain, which could be considered "*effectual*," in checking illicit trade between British subjects and the Spanish settlements in America. "This treaty," says he, in conclusion, "reminds me of a lawyer's will, drawn by himself, with a note in the margin of a particular clause — '*This will afford room for an excellent disquisition in the Court of Chancery.*' With equal propriety, and full as much truth, might those who had extolled the late negotiation, for the occasion it had given to show the vigor and promptitude of the national resources, write in the margin of most of the articles of the convention — '*This will afford an admirable opportunity for a future display of the power and energy of Great Britain.*'"

To all these objections the ministers and their friends gave only short, general, and evasive answers. Their great majorities in both houses enabled them to dispense with arguments, and to evade the calls for information or papers relating to the transaction; and, having triumphantly carried their vote of thanks to the sovereign, they were left at liberty to execute the new engagements, according to their own construction, for which they had certainly provided themselves with ample space.

As the convention of October, 1790, was the first diplomatic arrangement between the governments of civilized nations with regard to the north-west coast of North America, its conclusion forms an important era in the history of that part of the world. On examining its stipulations, we shall see that they were calculated to produce very few and slight changes in any way, and that those changes were not, upon the whole, disadvantageous to the real interests of Spain. The exclusive navigation of the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and the sovereignty of the vacant territories of America bordering upon them, were claimed by Spain, only with the object of preventing other nations from intercourse with her settlements; as her government foresaw that such intercourse, particularly with the British, who had for more than two centuries been striving to establish it, would be fatal to the subsistence of Spanish supremacy over those dominions. By the convention, both parties were admitted, equally, to navigate and fish in the above-

named seas; but the British were, at the same time, specially prohibited from approaching the territories under the actual authority of Spain, and were thus debarred from the exercise of a privilege advantageous to themselves and most annoying to Spain, which they previously possessed in virtue of their maritime superiority. Both parties were by the convention equally excluded from settling on the vacant coasts of South America, and from exercising that jurisdiction which is essential to political sovereignty, over any spot north of the most northern Spanish settlement on the Pacific: but the British and the Russians were the only nations who would be likely to occupy any of those territories, and the British would not, probably, concede to the Russians any rights greater than those which they themselves possessed; and any establishment which either of those powers might form in the north, under circumstances so disadvantageous, would be separated from the settled provinces of Spain by a region of mountains, forests, and deserts, of more than a thousand miles in extent. The convention, in fine, established new bases for the navigation and fishery of the respective parties, and their trade with the natives on the unoccupied coasts of America; but it determined nothing regarding the rights of either to the sovereignty of any portion of America, except so far as it may imply an abrogation, or rather a suspension, of all such claims, on both sides, to any of those coasts.

It is, however, probable that the convention published, as the result of this negotiation, did not contain all the engagements contracted by Great Britain and Spain towards each other on that occasion. It was generally believed in Europe that a secret treaty of alliance was at the same time signed, by which the two nations were bound, under certain contingencies, to act together against France, with the understanding that the stipulations of the convention published should remain inoperative; and this supposition is strengthened by the third article of the treaty of alliance between those powers, concluded on the 25th of May, 1793, setting forth that, "Their majesties having perceived just grounds of jealousy and uneasiness for the safety of their respective dominions, and for the maintenance of the general system of Europe, in the measures which have been for some time past adopted by France, *they had already agreed to establish between them an intimate and entire concert*, upon the means of opposing a sufficient barrier to those dangerous views of aggression and aggrandizement," &c. It was even

supposed, and insinuations to that effect were thrown out in the debates in Parliament on the convention, that the dispute with Spain was prolonged by Mr. Pitt in order to have a pretext for assembling a large force, which might serve to overawe the revolutionary party in France, and also to suppress tendencies of the same nature in England. The preparations for war cost three millions of pounds sterling; but the result proved that this sum was wisely bestowed; for the fleets thus armed in 1790 did "yeoman's service" under Howe four years afterwards.

CHAPTER X.

1790 TO 1792.

Vancouver sent by the British Government to explore the Coasts of America, and receive Possession of Lands and Buildings agreeably to the Convention with Spain — Passage of the Washington, under Kendrick, through the Strait of Fuca, in 1789 — Nootka reoccupied by the Spaniards — Voyages of Fidalgo, Quimper, Elisa, Billings, Marchand, and Malaspina — Voyages of the American Fur Traders Gray, Ingraham, and Kendrick — Discovery of the Washington Islands by Ingraham.

In execution of the first and second articles of the convention of October, 1790, between Spain and Great Britain, commissioners were appointed on each side, who were to meet at Nootka Sound, and there to determine what lands and buildings were to be restored to the British claimants, or what amount of indemnification was to be made to them by Spain. The British government at first selected Captain Trowbridge as its agent for this purpose; but the business was afterwards committed to Captain George Vancouver, who was then about to sail on a voyage of exploration to the Pacific.

Vancouver was instructed to examine and survey the whole shores of the American continent on the Pacific, from the 35th to the 60th parallels of latitude; to ascertain particularly the number, situation, and extent of the settlements of civilized nations within these limits; and especially to acquire information as to the nature and direction of any water-passage, which might serve as a channel for commercial intercourse between that side of America and the territories on the Atlantic side occupied by British subjects. For this last-mentioned object, he was particularly to "examine the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, said to be situated between the 48th and the 49th degrees of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop Washington is reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka."*

* Introduction to Vancouver's narrative of his voyage.

With these orders, Vancouver sailed from England in January, 1791, in the ship Discovery, accompanied by the brig Chatham, under the command of Lieutenant Robert Broughton. The instructions for his conduct as commissioner were afterwards despatched to him in the store-ship Dædalus.

The account of the passage of the Washington through the Strait of Fuca, mentioned in the instructions to Vancouver, had appeared in the "*Observations on the probable Existence of a North-West Passage*," prefixed by Meares to the narrative of his voyages, which had then been recently published at London. Meares there says, "The Washington entered the Straits of John de Fuca, the knowledge of which she had received from us; and, penetrating up them, entered into an extensive sea, where she steered to the northward and eastward, and had communications with the various tribes who inhabit the shores of the numerous islands that are situated at the back of Nootka Sound, and speak, with some little variation, the language of the Nootkan people. The track of this vessel is marked on the map, and is of great moment, as it is now completely ascertained that Nootka Sound and the parts adjacent are islands, and comprehended within the great northern archipelago. The sea also which is seen to the east is of great extent, and it is from this stationary point, and the most westerly parts of Hudson's Bay, that we are to form an estimate of the distance between them. The most easterly direction of the Washington's course is to the longitude of 237 degrees east of Greenwich. It is probable, however, that the master of that vessel did not make any astronomical observations, to give a just idea of that station; but, as we have those made by Captain Cook at Nootka Sound, we may be able to form a conjecture, somewhat approaching the truth, concerning the distance between Nootka and the easternmost station of the Washington in the northern archipelago; and consequently this station may be presumed to be in the longitude, or thereabout, of 237 degrees east of Greenwich." In another place, Meares speaks of the proofs brought by the Washington, "which sailed through a sea extending upwards of eight degrees of latitude," in support of his opinion, that the north-western portion of America was a collection of islands: and in the chart annexed, "*the sketch of the track of the American sloop Washington in the autumn of* 1789," is represented by those words running in a semi-oval line from the southern entrance of the Strait of Fuca, at Cape Flattery, eastward, to the longitude of 237 degrees, then north-westward, to the 55th parallel of latitude, then west-

ward, through the passage north of Queen Charlotte's Island, to the Pacific. The sea through which the track extends is represented as unlimited in the east, and communicating, in the west, with the Pacific by channels between islands: no pretension to accuracy is, however, made in this part of the chart, the object being merely to show that the Washington sailed from the southern entrance of the strait eastward to the longitude of 237 degrees, and northward to the latitude of 55 degrees.

The name of the person under whose command the passage was said to have been effected is not given; but, Gray being frequently mentioned by Meares, in his narrative and accompanying papers, as the captain of the Washington, it was naturally supposed that, *if that sloop did pass through the strait, she must have done so under the command of Gray;* and when Vancouver, who met Gray near Nootka in 1792, as will be hereafter related, was assured by him *that he had entered the opening, but had only advanced fifty miles within it*, the entire erroneousness of the account given by Meares was regarded as established.

However, about the time of Vancouver's departure from England, an angry discussion was carried on through the medium of pamphlets, between Meares, and Dixon the captain of the ship Queen Charlotte, (one of the vessels sent to the Pacific by the King George's Sound Company of London,) in consequence of the severe remarks made by Meares, in his work, on the character of Dixon, and on many parts of his journal, which had been published in 1789. Dixon, in his first pamphlet,* particularly attacked and ridiculed the account given by his opponent of the passage of the Washington, and sneeringly summoned him to "inform the public from what authority he had introduced the track of that vessel into his chart." To this Meares, in his Answer,† says, "Mr. Neville, a gentleman of the most respectable character, who came home in the Chesterfield, a ship in the service of the East India Company, made that communication to me which I have communicated to the public. Mr. Kendrick, who commanded the Washington, arrived at China, with a very valuable cargo of furs, previous to the departure of the Chesterfield; and Mr. Neville, who was

* Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares, in a Letter to that Gentleman, by George Dixon, late Commander of the Queen Charlotte in a Voyage around the World. London, 1790.

† An Answer to Mr. George Dixon, &c., by John Meares; in which the Remarks of Mr. Dixon are fully considered and refuted. London, 1791.

continually with him during that interval, and received the particulars of the track from him, was so obliging as to state it to me."

Thus it appears that the passage of the Washington through the strait, as reported by Meares, took place under Kendrick, after Gray had quitted the command of that sloop. This explanation was published in London subsequent to the departure of Vancouver for the Pacific; and, the discussion between Meares and Dixon being on matters in which the public could have taken little or no interest, it was doubtless forgotten, and their pamphlets were out of circulation, long before the return of the navigator to England.

With regard to the truth or falsehood of the account, no information has been obtained, in addition to that afforded by Meares; and, although little dependence can be placed on his statements, when unsupported by other evidence, yet they should not be rejected in this case, because — *first*, he had no interest in ascribing any thing meritorious to citizens of the United States, whom he uniformly mentions with contempt or dislike in his work, and accuses of taking part with the Spaniards against his vessels; — *secondly*, the subject was one with which he was perfectly conversant, and on which he would not probably have been deceived, or have committed any error of judgment; and, — *lastly*, the geography of that part of the American coasts corresponds exactly with the descriptions given by Kendrick of what he had seen, though the inferences drawn from them by Meares are incorrect. Thus the easternmost part of the Strait of Fuca is now known to be in the meridian of 237½ degrees east from Greenwich, and under the parallel of 48½ degrees, from the intersection of which lines the coast of the continent runs north-westward, through ten degrees of latitude, penetrated by numerous inlets, and bordered by thousands of islands; so that a navigator, sailing along this coast, without tracing to their terminations all these channels and inlets, might well have supposed himself in a sea extending far on either side, and filled with islands.

Under these circumstances, Kendrick is to be considered as the first person, belonging to a civilized nation, who sailed through the Strait of Fuca, after its discovery by the Greek pilot, in 1592.

Vancouver did not reach the north-west coasts of America until March, 1792. In the mean time, the Spaniards had resumed their position at Nootka Sound, and formed another establishment in its vicinity; and several voyages of discovery had been made by their navigators along those coasts. The Spanish government was,

indeed, then seriously directing its attention to the discovery and occupation of the territories north of its settlements in California, agreeably to the plan devised in 1765, and with the same object of preventing those territories from falling into the possession of other nations; and, for these purposes, the viceroy of Mexico was directed to employ every means at his disposal. Martinez was, indeed, deprived of his command, immediately on his arrival in San Blas, in December, 1789: but his vessels, including the Princess Royal, which had been taken from the English in the preceding summer, were sent back to Nootka Sound, under Captain Francisco Elisa, in the spring of 1790; and preparations were immediately begun for a permanent establishment on Friendly Cove.

As soon as the first arrangements for this purpose were completed, Elisa despatched Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo, in the schooner San Carlos, to examine the coasts occupied by the Russians, and inquire into the proceedings of that nation in America. Fidalgo accordingly sailed for Prince William's Sound, in which, and in Cook's River, he spent nearly three months, engaged in surveying and in visiting the Russian establishments; his provisions being then exhausted, he took his departure for San Blas, where he arrived on the 14th of November. The geographical information obtained by him was scanty; and the only news which he brought back, respecting the proceedings of the Russians, was, that they had formed an establishment on Prince William's Sound, and that a ship had passed that bay from Kamtchatka, on an exploring expedition towards the east.*

The Russian ship, thus mentioned by Fidalgo, was one of those which had been begun at Ochotsk in 1785, by order of the empress Catharine, for a † "secret astronomical and geographical expedition, to navigate the Frozen Ocean, and describe its coasts, and to ascertain the situation of the islands in the sea between the continents of Asia and America." For this expedition, a number of officers and men of science, from various parts of Europe, were engaged; and the command was intrusted to Joseph Billings, an Englishman, who had accompanied Cook, in his last expedition, as assistant astronomer: but the preparations proceeded so slowly, in consequence of the want of every thing requisite for the purpose at

* Manuscript journal of the voyage of Fidalgo, among the documents obtained from the hydrographical department of Madrid.

† Narrative of the Russian expedition under Billings, by Martin Sauer.

Ochotsk, that the vessels were not ready for sea until 1789, and then one of them was wrecked immediately after leaving the port. With the other vessel Billings took his departure, on the 2d of May, 1790, and sailed eastward, stopping, in his way, at Unalashka, Kodiak, and Prince William's Sound, as far as Mount St. Elias; but there his provisions began to fail, and he returned to Petropawlowsk, soon after reaching which he abandoned the command of the enterprise. In the following year, the same vessel, with another, which had been built in Kamtchatka, quitted the Bay of Avatscha, under Captains Hall and Sarytscheff, neither of whom advanced beyond Bering's Strait on the north, or Aliaska on the east, or collected any information of value within those limits. A melancholy picture of the sufferings experienced in these vessels has been presented in the narrative of Martin Sauer, a German, who, in an unlucky moment, agreed to act as secretary to the expedition: another account, contradicting that of Sauer in many particulars, has been published by Sarytscheff, who attributes the failure of the enterprise to the incapacity of Billings.

In the summer of 1790, an attempt was also made, by the Spaniards, to explore the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca. For that purpose, Elisa, the commandant of Nootka, detached Lieutenant Quimper, in the sloop Princess Royal, who traced the passage in an eastwardly direction, examining both its shores, to the distance of about a hundred miles from its mouth, where it was observed to branch off into a number of smaller passages, towards the south, the east, and the north, some of which were channels between islands, while others appeared to extend far into the interior. Quimper was unable, from want of time, to penetrate any of these passages; and he could do no more than note the positions of their entrances, and of several harbors, all of which are now well known, though they are generally distinguished by names different from those assigned to them by the Spaniards. Among these passages and harbors were the *Canal de Caamano*, afterwards named by Vancouver *Admiralty Inlet*; the *Boca de Flon*, or *Deception Passage*; the *Canal de Guemes*, and *Canal de Haro*, which may still be found under those names in English charts, extending northward from the eastern end of the strait; *Port Quadra*, the *Port Discovery* of Vancouver, said to be one of the best harbors on the Pacific side of America, with *Port Quimper*, near it on the west; and *Port Nuñez Gaona*, called *Poverty Cove* by the American fur traders, situated a few miles east of Cape

Flattery, where the Spaniards attempted, in 1792, to form a settlement. Having performed this duty as well as was possible under the circumstances in which he was placed, Quimper returned to Nootka, where he arrived in the beginning of August.*

On the 2d of June, 1791, Captain Alexandro Malaspina,† an accomplished Italian navigator in the service of Spain, who was then engaged in an expedition of survey and discovery in the Pacific, arrived on the coast, near Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb, with his two ships, the *Descubierta*, commanded by himself, and the *Atrevida*, under Captain Bustamente. The principal object of their visit was to determine the question as to the existence of the Strait of Anian, described in the account of Maldonado's pretended voyage, the credibility of which had been, in the preceding year, affirmed, by the French geographer Buache, in a memoir read before the Academy of Sciences of Paris. With this view, they carefully examined the coast between Prince William's Sound and Mount Fairweather, running nearly in the direction of the 60th parallel, under which Maldonado had placed the entrance of his strait into the Pacific, searching the various bays and inlets which there open to the sea, particularly that called by the English Admiralty Bay, situated at the foot of Mount St. Elias. They found, however, — doubtless to their satisfaction, — no passage leading northward or eastward from the Pacific; and they became convinced that the whole coast thus surveyed was bordered by an unbroken chain of lofty mountains. Want of time prevented them from continuing their examinations farther south; and they could only, in passing, determine the latitudes and longitudes of a few

* The journal of this voyage is among the manuscripts obtained from the hydrographical department of Madrid: annexed to it is a memoir on the manners, customs, and language, of the Indians about Nootka Sound, translated from the English of Joseph Ingraham, the mate of the American ship Columbia, who wrote it, at the request of Martinez, in 1789.

† The journals of Malaspina's expedition have never been published. A sketch of his voyage along the north-west coasts of America is given in the Introduction to the Journal of Galiano and Valdes, in which the highest, and, in some places, the most extravagant, praise is bestowed on the officers engaged in it. Yet — will it be believed? — the *name of Malaspina does not appear there or in any other part of the book*. The unfortunate commander, having given some offence to Godoy, better known as the Prince of the Peace, who then ruled Spain without restriction, was, on his return to Europe in 1794, confined in a dungeon at Corunna, and there kept as a prisoner until 1802, when he was liberated, after the peace of Amiens, at the express desire of Napoleon. The name of one who had thus sinned could not be allowed to appear on the pages of a work published officially, by the Spanish government, for the purpose of vindicating the claims of its navigators.

points between Mount San Jacinto and Nootka Sound, where they arrived on the 13th of August.

The visit made to the north-west coasts of America, in the summer of 1791, by Captain Etienne Marchand, in the French commercial ship Solide, from Marseilles, is only mentioned on account of the Introduction by Fleurieu to the Journal of her voyage, to which allusion has been often made in the preceding pages. Marchand landed on the shore of the Bay of Guadalupe, or Norfolk Sound, near the 56th degree of latitude, where he remained two weeks, engaged in trading with the natives; after which he sailed along the coasts southward, occasionally landing and making observations, to the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and thence took his departure for Canton.*

In the mean time, nine vessels from England and seven from the United States were engaged in the trade on the north-west coasts of America. Of the movements of the English traders few accounts have been made public: the most active and enterprising among them appears to have been Captain Brown,† of the ship Butterworth, from London, to whom Vancouver acknowledges himself indebted for useful information on several occasions. In what manner the British navigator treated citizens of the United States, from whom he derived information much more important, will be shown hereafter.

* Respecting the places thus visited, very little exact information is to be derived from the Journal of Marchand, though hundreds of its pages are devoted to philosophical speculations (doubtless by the editor) on the origin and capacity of the north-west American Indians, their languages and political and religious institutions, and political and religious institutions in general. The Journal, indeed, seems to have been published merely in order to afford a frame-work for the comments and disquisitions of the editor, Fleurieu, which, with all their faults, are the only parts of the work of any value.

The Introduction to this Journal is a memoir read by Fleurieu before the National Institute at Paris, in 1797, on the subject of the discovery of the north-west coasts of America, in which he presents a history, with reviews of all other accounts, of the several exploring voyages made by people of civilized nations along those coasts, from the period of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards to the year 1790, when Marchand began his voyage. For such a task, Fleurieu was well fitted, by his previous labors, his general science, and his acquaintance with geography and maritime affairs: his memoir is elegantly written, and his accounts and opinions are, for the most part, clear, fair, and liberal towards individuals and nations. This praise is, however, not to be awarded to every portion of his work. He was extravagant in generalizing, and often careless in the examination of his authorities, in consequence of which he committed numerous errors; and his devotion to his own country, and his contempt for the Spaniards and their government, led him frequently to make assertions and observations at variance with justice and truth.

† Brown was killed by the natives, at Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands, in January, 1795.

The second trading adventure to the North Pacific made by citizens of the United States was that of Captain Metcalf, who sailed from New York in 1788, in the brig Eleonora, for Canton, and there purchased a small schooner, which he named the *Fair American*, and placed under the command of his son, a youth of eighteen. With these vessels he arrived, in November, 1789, at Nootka Sound, where the schooner was seized by the Spanish commandant Martinez; but she was soon liberated, unfortunately, as it proved, for her captain and crew. On their way from the American coast, the vessels were separated. The Eleonora, on the 30th of January, 1790, reached a small bay in Mowee, one of the Sandwich Islands, where she anchored; and, on the same night, her boat, and a seaman who was sleeping in it, were taken away by the natives. On the following day, the islanders began to assemble in the bay in canoes, and on the shores, in great numbers, armed, and showing evidently the intention to take the vessel; and one of them was seized in the act of endeavoring to strip off a piece of her copper, under the idea, as he confessed, that she would in consequence sink. The natives becoming more daring, Metcalf fired on them with grape, and burnt their village; and, having thus apparently quieted them, he went farther up the bay, in order to obtain water. Three or four days afterwards, a native came on board, who offered to bring back the boat and the sailor for a certain reward; his offer was accepted, and, on the following day, he reappeared with the rudder of the boat and some of the bones of the man, who had been sacrificed to the gods of the island, and coolly demanded the promised recompense. This demand was granted, with a view to conciliation; but the opposite effect was produced: for the islanders, supposing that they had intimidated the Americans, again surrounded the ship in their canoes in vast numbers. Metcalf thereupon, either from exasperation, or from his seeing no other mode of safety, fired all his guns, charged with grape and nails, among them, and killed, as was said, more than one hundred and fifty; after which he sailed for Owyhee, and anchored in Karakakooa Bay.*

* The account of these transactions is taken principally from a letter written by a person on board of the Eleonora, which was published in the newspapers of the United States soon after the occurrences; and from the manuscript journal of Captain Ingraham, which confirms all the statements of the letter writer. Vancouver (vol. ii. p. 136) represents the affair as disadvantageously to the Americans as possible, according to his constant practice. Jarvis, in his History of the Sandwich Islands, gives the account as handed down by the natives, holding Metcalf up to view as a monster of cruelty, and the capture of the Fair American as "an awful retribution."

While the Eleonora was lying in this bay, the natives of Owyhee signally avenged the slaughter of their brethren at Mowee.

On the 5th of February, the schooner Fair American, which had been separated from the brig, anchored in the Bay of Toyahyah, (now called *Kawaihae*,) on the north-west side of Owyhee, about thirty miles north of Karakakooa Bay, where trade was begun with the natives. As these people conducted themselves peaceably, they were allowed to come on board the vessel without restriction; at length, a chief named Tamaahmoto, or Kamamoko, appeared, with a number of attendants, to present the captain with a feather cap, and while in the act of placing this ornament on young Metcalf's head, he seized him and threw him overboard, where he was immediately killed; the other seamen, with the exception of one, were in like manner despatched, and the schooner was then drawn on shore and rifled. There is no reason to believe that this was done in consequence of the proceedings of the captain of the Eleonora at Mowee, or, indeed, that those proceedings were known at Owyhee when the schooner was taken; on the contrary, Tamaahmoto, in 1794, assured Vancouver that he was induced to act as he did, by the ill-treatment of Metcalf, who had whipped him severely when at Toyahyah, in 1789.

A plan was, at the same time, formed by Tianna and Tamahamaha, the principal chiefs of the island, to take the Eleonora. The boatswain of that brig, named John Young, happened, however, to be on shore, and there met with two English seamen, from whom he received information of the plan; and they succeeded in prevailing on Tamahamaha to allow them to write a letter to Captain Metcalf, urging his immediate departure, on condition that they should enter the service of the native chief. Metcalf took their advice, and sailed away without learning the news of his son's fate. Young also succeeded in saving the life of Isaac Davis, the mate of the Fair American, who had been severely wounded at the time of the capture of that schooner; and these two men remained in the service of Tamahamaha until their deaths.*

The ship Columbia returned to Boston from Canton, under the command of Gray, on the 10th of August, 1790, as already mentioned: but the cargo of Chinese articles brought by her was insufficient to cover the expenses of her voyage; and her owners were

* Davis died in 1808. Young was, for many years, governor of Woahoo, and died in 1836, nearly ninety years old: for an anecdote illustrative of his character, see Commodore Porter's Journal of his Cruise in the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 215.

so little satisfied with these results, that some of them sold out their shares to the others, who, determining to persevere in the enterprise, refitted the Columbia for a new voyage of the same kind. Before her departure, however, the brig Hope, of seventy tons, which had also been equipped for the North Pacific trade, sailed from Boston, under the command of Joseph Ingraham, the former mate of the Columbia; and these vessels were followed by the Hancock, under Captain Crowel, and the Jefferson, under Captain Roberts, likewise from Boston, and the Margaret, under Captain Magee, from New York. A short notice of Ingraham's voyage will be first presented.

The brig Hope quitted Boston on the 16th of September, 1790, and, taking the usual course by the Cape Verd Islands and Brazil, she arrived on the 13th of January, 1791, at the entrance of Berkeley Sound, or Port Soledad, in the Falkland Islands, where she found a Spanish establishment on the shore, and a Spanish vessel of war in the harbor.* Ingraham was anxious to visit the establishment, but the commandant was unwilling to allow him to do so, though he furnished him liberally with provisions. Quitting the Falkland Islands, Ingraham doubled Cape Horn, and, on the 19th of April, he discovered six islands previously unknown, in the centre of the Pacific Ocean, between the 8th and the 10th parallels of latitude,† to which he gave the names severally of *Washington, Adams, Franklin, Knox, Federal,* and *Lincoln;* and after some days

* Manuscript journal of the Hope's voyage, written by Ingraham.

† These islands are situated a little north of the group called the Marquesas de Mendoza, discovered by the Spanish navigator Mendana, in 1568, and about six hundred miles north-east of Otaheite, directly in the course of vessels sailing from Cape Horn to the north-west coast of America, or to China, to which they offer convenient places for obtaining water and other refreshments. They were not seen by Cook, who visited the Marquesas in 1774; nor does any notice of them appear on any chart or account of earlier date than 1791, when they were discovered by Ingraham, as above stated. They were afterwards seen successively, on the 21st of June, 1791, by Marchand, in the French ship Solide, who named them *Iles de la Récolution;* on the 30th of June, 1792, by Hergest, in the British brig Dædalus, after whom Vancouver called them *Hergest's Islands*, though he was well aware of their previous discovery by Ingraham; and on the 6th of March, 1793, by Roberts, in the Jefferson, from Boston, who bestowed on them the name of *Washington's Islands.* The earliest notice of them was published in the form of an extract from Ingraham's Journal, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collection, at Boston*, in 1793: the volume of the same work, for 1795, contains Roberts's account of his visit, after which appeared, in succession, the accounts of Hergest in Vancouver's Journal, and of Marchand; and they have since been visited and described by Krusenstern, Lisiansky, Langsdorf, Porter, Belcher, Wilkes, and other navigators. Porter, during his cruise in the Pacific, in the Essex, in 1813, remained some time at Nooahivah, the largest of the islands. The recent occupation of this group by the French is well known.

spent in examining them, he took his course for Owyhee, where he arrived on the 20th of May.

At Owyhee, the Hope was visited by Tamahamaha, whose power was then rapidly increasing, as well as by his rival Tianna; and both these chiefs were earnest in their solicitations that Ingraham should go on shore and visit their towns. The American captain, however, feeling some distrust, did not think it prudent to leave his vessel; and, after obtaining some provisions and water, he sailed to the adjacent Island of Mowee, where he received from two white men, who escaped to the Hope, the news of the capture of the schooner Fair American, and the murder of her crew at Owyhee, in February of the preceding year. He then had reason to congratulate himself at having resisted the invitations of Tamahamaha and Tianna, as he had no doubt that he and his vessel and crew would otherwise have been sacrificed to their hatred or cupidity. At Mowee, on the 26th, the brig was honored by the presence of Titeree, or Kahikili, the king, and Taio, a principal chief; and Ingraham obtained from them the liberation of an American seaman, who had been, for some time, detained as prisoner in the island. On the following day, at Woahoo, the natives surrounded the vessel in their canoes, to the number of many thousands, evidently with the intention of taking her; and it became necessary to fire several muskets upon them before she could be freed from the danger.

On the 1st of June, Ingraham left the Sandwich Islands, and on the 29th of the same month he dropped anchor in a harbor on the south-east side of Queen Charlotte's, or Washington's, Island, to which he gave the name of *Magee's Sound*, in honor of one of the owners of his vessel. On the coasts of this island, and of the other islands, and the continent adjacent on the north and east, he spent the summer in trading, and collecting information as to the geography and natural history, and the languages, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants, on all which subjects his journal contains minute and interesting details; and at the end of the season he took his departure for China, where he arrived on the 1st of December, 1791.

At Macao, Ingraham found the French ship Solide, under Captain Marchand, whose visit to the north-west coast of America, in the preceding summer, has been already mentioned; and he received much kindness, which he acknowledges by grateful expressions in his journal, from Roblet, the surgeon, and Chanal, the first

officer of that vessel. To these gentlemen he also communicated the particulars of his voyage; and thus they learned, to their great regret, that they had been anticipated, by the American captain, in a discovery which was expected by them to cast considerable *éclat* on their expedition. Marchand had, in the month of June previous, seen a group of islands in the centre of the Pacific Ocean, of which he believed himself to be the discoverer, as they were not described in any narrative or chart then published; and, under this impression, he named them *Iles de la Révolution*, and had just sent an account of them to France, to be submitted formally to the National Assembly: on examining the journal of the Hope, however, he could have no doubt that this was the same group which had been found by Ingraham in April; and the fact is admitted, though with evident reluctance, in the narrative of his voyage.*

Captain Kendrick, in the Washington, which had been altered into a brig, also arrived at Macao while the Hope was lying there. He had been engaged, since 1789, in various speculations, one of which was the collection and transportation to China of the odoriferous wood called *sandal*, which grows in many of the tropical islands of the Pacific, and is in great demand throughout the Celestial Empire. Vancouver pronounced this scheme chimerical; but experience has proved that it was founded on just calculations, and the business has been ever since prosecuted with advantage, especially by the Americans.

Another of Kendrick's speculations has not hitherto produced any fruit. In the summer of 1791, he purchased from Maquinna, Wicanish, and other chiefs, several large tracts of land near Nootka Sound, for which he obtained deeds duly *marked* by those personages, and witnessed by the officers and men of the Washington. Attempts were made, by the owners of that vessel, to sell these lands at London, in 1793, but no purchasers were found; and applications have since been addressed, by the legal representatives of the owners and of Kendrick, to the government of the United

* Ingraham's name is not mentioned in the narrative of Marchand, though many particulars of his voyage are there given. The editor, Fleurieu, thus *ingeniously* concludes the discussion as to the first discovery of the islands: "Captain Marchand undoubtedly cannot aspire to the honor of priority; but, like the American captain who preceded him, he has not, on that account, the less pretension to the honor of the discovery; for he could not know, in the month of June, 1791, while he was navigating the great ocean, that, a month before, another navigator, standing in the same course with himself, had made the same discovery." This is not the only instance in which Fleurieu has displayed his powers as a sophist.

States, for a confirmation of the title.* That the lands were thus sold by the savage chiefs, there is no reason to doubt; and Maquinna or Wicanish would as readily have conveyed the whole of America to any one for the consideration of a copper kettle: but the validity of the acquisition will scarcely be recognized by the civilized nation which may hereafter hold the sovereignty of the country about Nootka Sound. Neither Kendrick nor his vessel ever returned to America: he was killed, in 1793, at Karakakooa Bay, in Owyhee, by a ball accidentally fired from a British vessel, while saluting him.

At Canton, Ingraham disposed of his furs advantageously, and vested the proceeds in teas, which he sent to Boston by a vessel chartered for the purpose. He then sailed, on the 3d of April, for the north-west coasts of America, and spent the summer in trading in and about Queen Charlotte's Island, which was then the principal resort of the Americans.

The Columbia, under her former captain, Gray, left Boston on the 28th of September, 1790, ten days after the departure of the Hope;† and, without the occurrence of any thing worthy of note on her way, she arrived at Clyoquot, near the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, on the 5th of June, 1791. Thence she proceeded, in a few days, to the eastern side of Queen Charlotte's Island, on which, and on the coasts of the continent and islands in its vicinity, she remained until September, engaged in trading and exploring. During this time, Gray examined many of the inlets and passages between the 54th and the 56th parallels, in one of which — most probably the same afterwards called by Vancouver the *Portland*

* The circular addressed by the owners of the Washington, on this occasion, is a curious document. It is written in four languages, and is couched in terms the most unspecific which could have been selected. The "*inhabitants of Europe*" are informed that, "in 1787, Captain J. Kendrick, while prosecuting an advantageous voyage with the natives for furs, purchased of them, for the owners, a tract of delightful country, comprehending four degrees of latitude, or two hundred and forty miles square;" and that "such as may be inclined to associate, for settling a commonwealth on their own code of laws, on a spot of the globe nowhere surpassed in delightful and healthy climate, and fertile soil, claimed by no civilized nation, and purchased, under a sacred treaty of peace and commerce, and for a valuable consideration, of the friendly natives, may have the best opportunity of trying the result of such an enterprise." Of the situation of this tract of delightful country we learn nothing from the circular, except that it lies in America. The deeds for the lands are declared to have been registered in the office of the American consul at Macao; and these deeds, or some of them, have been lately published, referring only to the territories about Nootka Sound, which, though including all the dominions of the chiefs conveying them, do not amount to one twenty-fourth part of two hundred and forty miles square.

† Log-book of the Columbia, from September 28th, 1790, to February 20th, 1792.

Canal — he penetrated from its entrance, in the latitude of 54 degrees 33 minutes, to the distance of a hundred miles northeastward, without reaching its termination. This inlet he supposed to be the *Rio de Reyes* of Admiral Fonté; a part of it was named by him *Massacre Cove*, in commemoration of the murder of Caswell, the second mate, and two seamen of his vessel, by the natives, on its shore, on the 22d of August. Shortly after this melancholy occurrence, the Columbia fell in with the Hope, and the two captains communicated to each other, though apparently with some reserve, the results of their observations. They then separated, Ingraham going to China, as above related, while Gray returned to Clyoquot.

At Clyoquot, the crew of the Columbia passed the winter in a fortified habitation, which they erected on the shore of the bay, and called *Fort Defiance;* and they were employed in building a small vessel, which was launched, and named the *Adventure*. Whilst preparing for sea, they were visited by Tatoochsecatticus and Wicanish, the principal chiefs of the surrounding country, with a number of followers, between whom and a Sandwich Islander on board the Columbia it soon became evident that some understanding had been established. Gray's suspicions being excited, he questioned the Sandwich Islander, who at length confessed that the Indians had formed a plan for the seizure of the vessels, and the murder of their crews, and had promised to spare his life, and make him a chief, if he would aid them by wetting the priming of all the guns at a particular time. Thus forewarned, the Americans were on their guard; and the savages, who surrounded the vessel on the following day, were kept at a distance.

In the spring of 1792, the Adventure sailed for Queen Charlotte's Island, under the command of Haswell, the first mate of the Columbia; and Gray took his departure in the ship, on a cruise southward along the coasts of the continent, the particulars of which will appear in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

1792 TO 1796.

Vancouver and Broughton arrive on the American Coasts in 1792, and meet with Gray, who informs them of his Discovery of the Columbia River — The Strait of Fuca surveyed by Vancouver, Galiano, and Valdes — Negotiations between Vancouver and Quadra at Nootka — Vancouver's Injustice to the Americans — Broughton's Examination of the lower Part of the Columbia River — Vancouver's Proceedings at the Sandwich Islands — He completes the Survey of the North-West Coasts of America, and returns to England — The Spaniards abandon Nootka — Conclusions with Regard to the Dispute between Great Britain and Spain, and the Convention of 1790.

THE viceroy of Mexico, count de Revillagigedo, on learning the results of the voyages of Fidalgo, Quimper, and Malaspina, along the north-west coasts of America, ordered three other vessels to be prepared, for continuing the exploration of those coasts. In one of them, the corvette Aransasu, Lieutenant Jacinto Caamano was directed to seek, particularly near the 53d degree of latitude, for the mouth of the *Rio de Reyes*, through which Admiral Fonté was said to have sailed, in 1640, north-eastward, into a lake communicating with the Atlantic; while Lieutenants Dionisio Alcala Galiano and Cayetano Valdes were to survey the Strait of Fuca, in the small schooners Sutil and Mexicana. These vessels sailed from San Blas in the spring of 1792, and arrived in May at Nootka Sound, whence they soon after departed on their respective expeditions.*

Captain Bodega y Quadra, the superintendent of the marine department of San Blas, was at the same time despatched to Nootka, to take the command of the forces in that quarter, and to treat with Captain Vancouver, who was expected to arrive there in the following summer, with regard to the lands and buildings claimed by British subjects, in virtue of the first and second articles of the convention of 1790. He was instructed, in case it should

* The works which have served principally as authorities for the accounts in this chapter are — the journal of Captain George Vancouver, three vols. 4to., published at London in 1797 — the journal of Galiano and Valdes — and the manuscript journal of the voyage of the American brig Hope, written by her captain, J. Ingraham — with others, to which reference will be made.

be requisite, to abandon Nootka, and withdraw all the Spanish forces and settlers to some convenient point of the coast farther south; and, in anticipation of such a contingency, a vessel was sent from San Blas, under the command of Fidalgo, to seek for a proper spot, and make preparations on it for a permanent establishment.

Vancouver and Broughton reached the American coast in April, 1792, a little south of Cape Mendocino, whence they sailed slowly northward, to the Strait of Fuca, which they were instructed particularly to explore. On their way, they carefully examined the shores, and determined the geographical positions of all the most prominent points, comparing the results of their observations with those obtained by Cook and others who had preceded them. Near the 43d degree of latitude, they sought in vain for the river which Martin de Aguilar was said to have seen, entering the Pacific thereabouts, in 1603; and they appeared inclined to admit as identical with the Cape Blanco of that navigator, a high, whitish promontory, in the latitude of 42 degrees 52 minutes, to which they, however, did not scruple to assign the name of *Cape Orford*.

Vancouver also observed with attention the Deception Bay of Meares, which was represented on Spanish charts as the mouth of a river. Of this part of his voyage, he presents the following account in his journal, under date of

"*April* 27th. — Noon brought us up with a conspicuous point of land, composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high, and projecting into the sea. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land not indicating it to be of any great extent, nor did it seem to be accessible for vessels of our burden, as the breakers extended from the above point, two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach, nearly four leagues farther south. On reference to Mr. Meares's description of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first inclined to believe it was Cape Shoalwater; but, on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be that which he calls Cape Disappointment, and the opening south of it Deception Bay. This cape we found to be in latitude of 46 degrees 19 minutes, longitude 236 degrees 6 minutes [east]. The sea had now changed from its natural to river-colored water, the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the opening north of it, through the low land. *Not considering this opening worthy of more attention*, I continued our pursuit to the north-west, being desirous to embrace the advantages of the now prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to an examination of the coasts."

Vancouver accordingly sailed onwards, to the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, which he was eager to explore; having, as he believed, ascertained that "the several large rivers and capacious inlets, that have been described as discharging their contents into the Pacific, between the 40th and the 48th degrees of north latitude, were reduced to *brooks insufficient for our vessels to navigate*, or to bays inaccessible as harbors for refitting." Again he says, "Considering ourselves now on the point of commencing an examination of an entirely new region, I cannot take leave of the coast already known, without obtruding a short remark on that part of the continent, comprehending a space of nearly two hundred and fifteen leagues, on which our inquiries had been lately employed, *under the most fortunate and favorable circumstances of wind and weather. So minutely has this extensive coast been inspected, that the surf has been constantly seen to break on its shores from the mast-head;* and it was but in a few small intervals only where our distance precluded its being visible from the deck. Whenever the weather prevented our making free with the shore, or on our hauling off for the night, the return of fine weather and of daylight uniformly brought us, if not to the identical spot we had departed from, at least within a few miles of it, and never beyond the northern limits of the coast which we had previously seen. An examination so directed, and circumstances happily concurring to permit its being so executed, *afforded the most complete opportunity of determining its various turnings and windings*, as also the position of all its conspicuous points, ascertained by meridional altitudes for the latitude, and observations for the chronometer, which we had the good fortune to make constantly once, and in general twice, every day, the preceding one only excepted. It must be considered a very singular circumstance, that, in so great an extent of sea-coast, *we should not until now have seen the appearance of any opening in its shore which presented any certain prospect of affording a shelter, the whole coast forming one compact and nearly straight barrier against the sea.*"

On the same day, the 29th of April, 1792, Vancouver writes in his journal, "At four o'clock, a sail was discovered to the westward, standing in shore. This was a very great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort during the last eight months. She soon hoisted American colors, and fired a gun to leeward. At six we spoke her; she proved to be the ship Columbia, commanded by Captain Robert Gray, belonging to Boston, whence she had been absent nineteen months. Having little doubt of his being the same

person who had formerly commanded the sloop Washington, I desired he would bring to, and sent Mr. Puget and Mr. Menzies on board, to acquire such information as might be serviceable in our future operations. On the return of the boat, we found our conjectures had not been ill grounded; that this was the same gentleman who had commanded the sloop Washington, at the time, we are informed, she had made a very singular voyage behind Nootka. It was not a little remarkable, that, on our approach to the entrance of this inland sea, we should fall in with the identical person who, it was said, had sailed through it. His relation, however, differed very materially from that published in England. It is not possible to conceive any one to be more astonished than was Mr. Gray, on his being made acquainted that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop Washington; in contradiction to which, he assured the officers that he had penetrated only fifty miles into the straits in question, in an east-south-east direction; that he found the passage five leagues wide, and that he understood from the natives that the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; that this was all the information he had acquired respecting this inland sea, and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he had entered at. The inlet he supposed to be the same that De Fuca had discovered, which opinion seemed to be universally received by all the modern visitors. He likewise informed them of his having been off the mouth of a river, in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes, where the outset or reflux was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. This was probably the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the 27th, and was apparently inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it. He had also entered another inlet to the northward, in latitude of 54½ degrees, in which he had sailed to the latitude of 56 degrees, without discovering its termination. The south point of entrance into De Fuca's Straits he stated to be in 48 degrees 24 minutes; and he conceived our distance from it to be about eight leagues. The last winter he had spent in Port Cox, or, as the natives call it, Clyoquot, from whence he had sailed but a few days," &c.

The part of this account relating to the Strait of Fuca appears to have been received with much satisfaction by Vancouver, as it seemed to assure him that he had not been anticipated in the exploration of that passage; to Gray's statement of his discovery of a river emptying into the Pacific, in the latitude of 46 degrees 10

minutes, he gave little, or rather no credit, being content with his own examination of that part of the coast. On the day after his meeting with the Columbia, he writes, "The river mentioned by Mr. Gray should, from the latitude he assigned to it, have existence in the bay south of Cape Disappointment. This we passed in the forenoon of the 27th; and, as I then observed, if any inlet or river should be found, it must be a very intricate one, and *inaccessible to vessels of our burden, owing to the reefs and broken water*, which then appeared in its neighborhood. Mr. Gray stated that he had been several days attempting to enter it, which, at length, he was unable to effect, in consequence of a very strong outset. This is a phenomenon difficult to account for, as, in most cases where there are outsets of such strength on a sea-coast, there are corresponding tides setting in. Be that, however, as it may, *I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbor, or place of security for shipping, on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the promontory of Classet*, [Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca;] nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert in that space the existence of arms of the ocean communicating with a mediterranean sea, and extensive rivers with safe and convenient ports."

Having thus recorded his convictions, the British navigator proceeded to survey the Strait of Fuca; whilst the American fur trader sailed towards the mouth of the river, into which he resolved, if possible, to effect an entrance.

After parting with the English ships, Gray sailed along the coast of the continent to the south, and, on the 7th of May, he "saw an entrance which had a very good appearance of a harbor," in the latitude of 46 degrees 58 minutes. Passing through this entrance, he found himself in a bay "well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits," where he remained at anchor three days, engaged in trading with the natives; and he then resumed his voyage, bestowing on the place thus discovered the name of *Bulfinch's Harbor*, in honor of one of the owners of his ship.

At daybreak on the 11th, after leaving Bulfinch's Harbor, Gray observed "the entrance of his desired port, bearing east-south-east, distant six leagues;" and running into it, with all sails set, between the breakers, (which Meares and Vancouver pronounce impassable,) he anchored, at one o'clock, "*in a large river of fresh water*," ten

miles above its mouth. At this spot he remained three days, engaged in trading and filling his casks with water, and then sailed up the river about twelve or fifteen miles along its northern shore; where, finding that he could proceed no farther, from having "taken the wrong channel," he again came to anchor. During the week which followed, he made several attempts to quit the river, but was constantly baffled, until, at length, on the 20th, he crossed the bar at the mouth, by beating over it with a westerly wind, and regained the Pacific.*

On leaving the river, Gray gave to it the name of his ship — the *Columbia* — which it still bears; though attempts are made to fix upon it that of *Oregon*, on the strength of the accounts which Carver pretended to have collected, in 1766, among the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, respecting a *River Oregon, rising near Lake Superior, and emptying into the Strait of Anian.*† The extremity of the sand-bank, projecting into the sea on the south side of its entrance, was called by Gray *Point Adams;* and he assigned the name of *Cape Hancock* to the opposite promontory, on the north side, being ignorant that Meares had already called it *Cape Disappointment*, in token of the unsuccessful result of his search for the river.

The principal circumstances relating to the discovery of this river, the greatest which enters the Pacific from America, have now been fairly presented. It has been shown — that the opening through which its waters are discharged into the ocean was first seen in August, 1776, by the Spanish navigator Heceta,‡ and was distinguished on Spanish charts, within the thirteen years next following, as the mouth of the *River San Roque* — that it was examined in July, 1788, by Meares,§ who quitted it with the conviction that no river existed there — and that this opinion of Meares was subscribed, without qualification, by Vancouver, after he had minutely examined that coast, "*under the most favorable conditions of wind and weather,*" and notwithstanding the assurances of Gray to the contrary. Had Gray, after parting with the English ships, not returned to the river, and ascended it as he did, there is every reason to believe that it would have long remained unknown; for the assertions of Vancouver that *no opening, harbor, or place of refuge for vessels, was to be found between Cape Mendocino and the*

* See the extract from the log-book of the Columbia, containing the account of the entrance of Gray into the river, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter E, No. 2.

† See p. 142. ‡ See p. 120. § See p. 177.

Strait of Fuca, and that *this part of the coast formed one compact, solid, and nearly straight, barrier against the sea*, would have served completely to overthrow the evidence of the American fur trader, and to prevent any further attempts to examine those shores, or even to approach them.*

From the mouth of the Columbia River, Gray sailed to the east coast of Queen Charlotte's Island, near which his ship struck on a rock, and was so much injured that she was with difficulty kept afloat until she reached Nootka Sound, where the damage was repaired. The Hope also arrived at Nootka at this time, and Gray communicated the particulars of his recent discoveries to Ingraham, and to the Spanish commandant Quadra, to whom he also gave charts and descriptions of Bulfinch's Harbor, and of the mouth of the Columbia. On this occasion, moreover, the two American captains addressed to Quadra, at his request, a letter † containing a narrative of the transactions at Nootka in 1789, to which particular reference will be hereafter made. Having soon completed their business on the north-west coasts, Gray and Ingraham departed severally for Canton, in September, and thence they sailed to the United States. ‡

* It was, nevertheless, insisted, on the part of the British government, in a discussion with the United States, in 1826, that *the merit of discovering the Columbia belongs to Meares!* "that, in 1788, four years before Gray entered the mouth of the Columbia River, Mr. Meares, a lieutenant of the royal navy, who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the north-west coast of America, had already minutely explored the coast from the 49th to the 54th degree of north latitude; had taken formal possession of the Straits of De Fuca in the name of his sovereign; had purchased land, trafficked and formed treaties with the natives; and had actually entered the Bay of the Columbia, to the northern headland of which he gave the name of Cape Disappointment, a name which it bears to this day;" and that "if any claim to these countries, as between Great Britain and the United States, is to be deduced from priority of the discovery, the above exposition of dates and facts suffices to establish that claim in favor of Great Britain, on a basis too firm to be shaken. It must indeed be admitted," continue the British plenipotentiaries, "that Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, *was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river — a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares, when*, in 1788, *four years before, he entered the same bay.*" The truth in the last of these assertions atones for the errors in those which precede, and counteracts the impression which the whole was intended to produce. — See *the statement* presented by Messrs. Huskisson and Addington to Mr. Gallatin, in 1826, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter G.

† See Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter C.

‡ Ingraham subsequently entered the navy of the United States as a lieutenant, and was one of the officers of the ill-fated brig Pickering, of which nothing was ever heard, after her departure from the Delaware in August, 1800. Gray continued to command trading vessels from Boston until 1809, about which time he died.

In the mean time, the survey of the Strait of Fuca had been completed.

Vancouver and Broughton took their departure on the 1st of May, as already mentioned, from Cape Flattery, the point at the south side of the entrance of the Strait, and thence sailed slowly along the coast eastward, about a hundred miles, to its extremity in that direction, where they entered a harbor called by them *Port Discovery*, the same which had, in 1790, received from Quimper the name of *Port Quadra*. A little beyond this harbor, they found another opening in the coast towards the south, corresponding with that called by Quimper *Canal de Caamano*, through which they entered an extensive arm of the sea, with several branches, stretching in various southerly directions, to the distance of more than a hundred miles from the strait. This great arm, called *Admiralty Inlet*, with its principal branches, *Hood's Canal* on the west, *Possession Sound* on the east, and *Puget's Sound*, the southernmost, were carefully surveyed to their respective terminations; and the navigators, having thus ascertained that no passage through the continent was to be effected by those channels, returned to the strait. Of the beauty and apparent fertility of the country surrounding this arm of the sea, Vancouver speaks in glowing terms. The surface near the shores was generally undulating, presenting a succession of meadows, lawns, and hillocks, many of which were covered with noble forests of oak; "the soil principally consisted of a rich, black, vegetable mould, lying on a sandy or clayey substratum; the grass, of excellent quality, grew to the height of three feet, and the ferns, which, in the sandy soils, occupied the clear spots, were nearly twice as high." In the distance, on the east, the south, and the west, the view was bounded by lofty mountains, to the stupendous peaks of which Vancouver assigned the names of British admirals and diplomatists.

After completing this part of their survey, the English landed on the shore of *Possession Sound*, and celebrated the birthday of their sovereign, the 4th of June, by *taking possession*, in his name, and "with the usual formalities, of all that part of New Albion, from the latitude of 39 degrees 20 minutes south, and longitude 236 degrees 26 minutes east, to the entrance of the inlet of the sea, said to be the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, as also of all the coasts, islands, &c., within the said strait, and both its shores;" to which region they gave the appellation of *New Georgia*. With regard to this ceremony, it may be observed, that, although naval

officers are not expected to be minutely acquainted with diplomatic affairs, yet Captain Vancouver, who was sent to the North Pacific as commissioner to execute the convention of October, 1790, should have recollected that, by the stipulations of that convention, *every part of the north-west coast of America was rendered free and open for trade or settlement to Spanish as well as British subjects;* and that, consequently, *no claim of sovereignty, on the part of either of those nations, could be valid.* It may seem pedantic, if not unjust, to make this remark with regard to what may have been nothing more than the result of an exuberance of loyal feeling in the officers and crews of the vessels; but this *taking possession* by Vancouver has been since gravely adduced, by the representatives of the British government, in support of its claims to the dominion of the territories above mentioned.*

On returning to the Strait of Fuca, the English examined several other passages opening into it, some of which were found to terminate in the land, at short distances from their mouths, and others to be channels between islands. Through one of these latter channels, opening immediately opposite the entrance of Admiralty Inlet, they passed into a long and wide gulf, extending north-westward; and, after proceeding a few miles within it, they, on the 23d of June, unexpectedly met the Spanish schooners Sutil and Mexicana,† commanded by Lieutenants Galiano and Valdes, which had left Nootka on the 4th of the month, and had advanced thus far along the northern shore of the strait. The meeting was, doubtless, vexatious to the commanders of both the parties, each being naturally anxious to secure to himself all the merit which might be acquired by determining the character of this famous arm of the sea: they, however, received and treated each other with the utmost civility, mutually exhibiting their charts and journals, and comparing their observations; and, having agreed to unite their labors, they remained together three weeks. During this time, they surveyed the shores of the great gulf above mentioned, called by the Spaniards *Canal del Rosario,* and by the English the *Gulf of Georgia,* which extended

* See statement of the British commissioners, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter G.

† Vancouver describes these vessels as "each about forty-five tons burden, mounting two brass guns, and navigated by twenty-four men; bearing one lieutenant, without a single inferior officer. Their apartments just allowed room for sleeping-places on each side, with a table in the intermediate space, at which four persons could with difficulty sit; and they were, in all other respects, the most ill-calculated and unfit vessels that could possibly be imagined for such an expedition."

north-westward as far as the 50th degree of latitude; and then, on the 13th of July, the English took leave of their Spanish friends, who, from want of force, were unable to keep up with them.

On parting with the Spaniards, the English entered a passage, named by them *Johnstone's Strait*, leading from the north-west extremity of the gulf; and after a long and difficult navigation through it, they, on the 10th of August, emerged into the Pacific at Queen Charlotte's Sound, about one hundred miles north of Nootka. Having been, from the commencement, persuaded that the land on the western side of the strait was an island, they had devoted their attention particularly to the eastern shores, through which a passage might be found to Hudson's Bay or the Arctic Sea; but their search proved vain, and, after tracing to their terminations in the interior a number of long and intricate inlets, they became convinced that the continent extended uninterruptedly northward, at least to the 51st parallel of latitude. Immediately on entering the Pacific, the Discovery struck on a rock, and scarcely had she been got off ere a similar misfortune befell the Chatham; both vessels, however, escaped with little injury, and they soon after arrived at Nootka Sound. Galiano and Valdes also passed through the strait by the same route, and reached Nootka in safety on the 4th of September.

After the arrival of the Sutil and Mexicana at Nootka, Vancouver and the Spanish commander, Quadra, compared together the notes and charts of the two voyages through the Strait of Fuca; and it was agreed between them, that the great island which that arm of the sea separated from the American continent should bear the names of them both. It has, in consequence, ever since been distinguished on maps by the long and inconvenient appellation of *Island of Quadra and Vancouver*, which it will scarcely be allowed to retain, when that part of the world shall be occupied by a civilized people.

This survey of the Strait of Fuca was conducted in the most complete and effectual manner possible by Vancouver, whose account of it, filling a large portion of his journal, together with his charts, afford unequivocal testimony of the skill and perseverance of the British navigators. Galiano and Valdes seem also to have done as much as could have been expected, considering the smallness of their force and the miserable scale of their equipments. Had they not met the British ships, they would, doubtless, have found their way through the strait; but they could never have made even a tolerable survey of it, as they must have left a number of passages

unexplored; and the world would, probably, never have received any detailed report of their operations.*

Before the arrival of these vessels at Nootka Sound, Captain Caamano returned from his search for the *Rio de Reyes* of Admiral Fonté, in which he had spent two months. During this period, he entered many of the openings in the coasts north and north-east of Queen Charlotte's Island, between the 53d and the 56th parallels of latitude; some of which were found to be the mouths of bays, or of inlets running far inland, and others to be channels separating islands. He appears to have displayed much skill and industry in his examinations, as Vancouver indirectly testifies in his narrative: but he effected no discoveries calculated to throw much light on the geography of that part of the coast; and his labors were productive of advantage only in so far as they served to facilitate the movements of the English navigator, to whom his charts and journals were exhibited at Nootka.

At Nootka, Vancouver found the store-ship Dædalus, which brought the instructions from the British government for his conduct as commissioner. She left England in the autumn of 1791, under the command of Lieutenant Hergest; and, passing around Cape Horn, she, in the latter part of March, 1792, fell in with the

* The voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana was the last made by the Spaniards in the North Pacific Ocean, for the purposes of discovery; and the only one, since that of Vizcaino, of which an authentic account has been given to the world, with the sanction of the Spanish government. The Journal of Galiano and Valdes was published at Madrid in 1802, *by order of the king*, with an Introduction, often cited in the preceding pages, including a historical sketch of the exploring voyages of the Spaniards on the coasts of America, north-west of Mexico. This Introduction is the only valuable part of the work; the meagre and uninteresting details of the Journal having been superseded by the full and luminous descriptions of Vancouver: it was intended — as a defence of the rights of Spain to the north-west portion of America, which were supposed to be endangered since the cession of Louisiana to France — as a vindication of the claims of Spanish navigators to the merit of discovering those regions, which the British were endeavoring to monopolize — and as a reply to the charges, insinuations, and sarcasms, against the intelligence, liberality, and good faith, of the Spanish government and nation, brought forward by Fleurieu. It was compiled chiefly from the original journals and other documents, in the archives of the Council of the Indies, relative to the exploration of the North Pacific coasts; and, in this manner, many curious if not important facts were communicated, which might otherwise have remained forever buried. It is, however, to be regretted that the author should have disfigured his work — as he has in every part in which the honor or interests of Spain are concerned — by gross and palpable misstatements of circumstances, respecting which he undoubtedly possessed the means of arriving at the truth. It may, perhaps, be considered a sufficient apology for him, that his book was published by the Spanish government, at Madrid, in 1802, as we know not what changes may have been made in it by insertions, suppressions, and alterations, after it left his hands.

islands in the centre of the Pacific, north of the Marquesas, which had been discovered by Ingraham in April of the preceding year. Sailing thence, she reached Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands, where Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch, the astronomer, were murdered by the natives, on the 11th of May; after which she came to Nootka Sound, under the command of Lieutenant New. Vancouver gave the name of *Hergest's Islands* to the group visited by the Dædalus, as above mentioned; and so they are called in his chart, although, as he says in his journal, he had been *informed that they had been previously discovered and landed on by some of the American traders.*

For his conduct as commissioner, Vancouver was referred by his instructions to the convention of October, 1790, and to a letter brought by the Dædalus from count de Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister of state, addressed to the commandant of the port of San Lorenzo of Nootka, ordering that officer, in conformity with the first article of the convention, to put his Britannic majesty's commissioner in possession of the buildings and districts, or parcels of land, which were occupied by his subjects in April, 1789, as well in the port of Nootka as in the other, said to be called Port Cox, and to be situated about sixteen leagues farther southward. A copy of this order had been given to Quadra, on his departure from Mexico; but it does not appear that either of the commissioners was furnished by his government with any evidence to assist him in ascertaining precisely what lands were to be restored, or for what buildings indemnification was to be made by the Spaniards.

In order to supply this want of information, Quadra had, immediately on arriving at Nootka, made inquiries on the subject of Maquinna and other chiefs of the surrounding tribes; all of whom, without hesitation, denied that any lands had been purchased, or any houses had been built there, by the English at any time. As the testimony of the savage chiefs could not, however, be of much value alone, he had next addressed his inquiries to Captains Gray and Ingraham, who arrived at Nootka in July, as already stated, and who had witnessed the proceedings at that place in 1789, when the former commanded the Washington, and the latter was first mate of the Columbia; and they, in answer, sent a letter, dated August 2d, containing a clear and particular statement of all the circumstances connected with the occupation of Nootka, and the seizure of the vessels by Martinez. With regard to the particular points in question, they declare unequivocally that, although they

had been in habits of constant intercourse with Maquinna and his people for nine months, they had never heard of any purchase of lands on that coast by British subjects; and that the only building seen by them, when they reached the sound in September, 1789, was a rude hut, made by the Indians, which had been destroyed long before the arrival of the Spaniards.* These statements were, in all respects, confirmed by Viana, the Portuguese, who had been the captain of the Iphigenia in 1788 and 1789, and who was then with his vessel at Nootka; and the Spanish commissioner thereupon considered himself authorized to assume that *no lands were to be restored, and no buildings to be replaced or paid for by Spain.*

A communication to this effect, with copies of the letters of Gray and Ingraham and Viana, was, accordingly, addressed by Quadra to Vancouver, on the arrival of the latter at Nootka. The Spanish commissioner, however, at the same time offered, with the view of removing all causes of disagreement between the two nations, to surrender to the British the small spot of ground on the shore of Friendly Cove, which had been temporarily occupied by Meares and his people in 1788; to give up, for their use, the houses and cultivated lands of the Spaniards near that place; and to retire with all his forces to Port Nuñez Gaona, in the Strait of Fuca, (where an establishment had been begun by Fidalgo,) until the two governments should determine further on the matter: with the understanding, nevertheless, that this cession was not to be considered as affecting the rights of his Catholic majesty to the dominion of the territory, and that Nootka was to be regarded as the most northern settlement of the Spaniards, to whom the whole coast lying south of it, and the adjacent country, was to be acknowledged to belong exclusively.

Vancouver, on the other hand, had thought proper to construe the first article of the convention of 1790 as giving to his countrymen *possession of the whole territory surrounding Nootka and Clyoquot;* and he therefore refused to receive what was offered by Quadra, declaring, with regard to the concluding part of the Spaniard's proposition, that he was not authorized to enter into any discussion as to the rights or claims of the respective nations. In this conviction he was supported by the evidence of Robert Duffin, the former mate of the Argonaut, who happened to arrive at Nootka while the negotiation was in progress. This person testified that

* See letter of Gray and Ingraham to Quadra, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter D.

he had accompanied Mr. Meares to Nootka in 1788, with his two vessels, which sailed under Portuguese colors and under the name of a Portuguese merchant, for the purpose of avoiding certain heavy duties at Macao, but were, notwithstanding, "*entirely British property, and wholly navigated by the subjects of his Britannic majesty*;" that he had himself been present when Mr. Meares purchased "from the two chiefs, Maquinna and Callicum, the whole of the land that forms Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, in his Britannic majesty's name," for some sheets of copper and trifling articles; that the natives were perfectly satisfied, and, with the chiefs, did homage to Mr. Meares as sovereign; that the British flag — not the Portuguese — was displayed on shore on that occasion; that Mr. Meares caused a house to be erected on a convenient spot, containing three bed-chambers, with a mess-room for the officers and proper apartments for the men, "surrounded by several outhouses and sheds for the artificers to work in, all of which he left in good repair, under the care of Maquinna and Callicum, until he, or some of his associates, should return; that he, Duffin, was not at Nootka when Martinez arrived there, *but he understood no vestige of the house remained at that time*; and, on his return thither in July, 1789, he found the Cove occupied by the subjects of his Catholic majesty, and on the spot on which the house had stood were the tents and houses of some of the people of the ship Columbia. Upon the strength of this testimony, Vancouver pronounced the declarations of Messrs. Gray and Ingraham to be entirely false; and he takes pains, in several parts of his work, to animadvert, in severe terms, on what he is pleased to call "the wilful misrepresentations of the Americans, to the prejudice of British subjects."

On the points to which Duffin's statement relates, it is unnecessary to add any thing to what has been already said. The evidence is presented to us by Vancouver, in the form of an abstract, of the correctness of which, as well as of the candor of that officer, we may be enabled to form an estimate, by comparing his abstract of the letter from Gray and Ingraham to Quadra, with the letter itself. It will be thus seen, that the British commander has, most unfairly, garbled the testimony of the American traders, by suppressing or altering every part of it which could tend to place his countrymen, or their cause, in an unfavorable light, or to excuse the conduct of the Spaniards towards them. His bitterness towards the citizens of the United States, on this occasion, may, perhaps, be attributed

to the circumstance, that, on his arrival at Nootka, he learned the complete success of Gray in finding a large river, and a secure harbor, on a coast which he had himself explored in vain with the same objects.

The correspondence between the two commissioners was continued for some weeks, at the end of which, finding it impossible to effect any definitive arrangement, they agreed to submit the matter, with all the additional evi lence obtained by both parties, to their respective governments, and to await further orders; Nootka being, in the mean time, considered a Spanish port.* Vancouver,

* The preceding sketch of the negotiation between Vancouver and Quadra is derived from the Journals of Vancouver, Galiano and Valdés, and Ingraham. The following summary account of the business, extracted from Ingraham's Journal, was drawn up, at his request, by Mr. Howel, the supercargo of the American brig Margaret, who acted as translator for Quadra, and saw the whole of the correspondence.

"The indefinite mode of expression adopted by Messrs. Fitzherbert and Florida Blanca did not affix any boundaries to the cession expected by Great Britain: what the buildings were, or what was the extent of the tract of land to be restored, the plenipotentiaries did not think proper to determine. Don Juan Francisco, having no better guide, collected the best evidence he could procure, and that could enable him to determine what were the lands and buildings of which the British subjects were dispossessed, and which the tenor of the first article of the convention alone authorized him to restore. The result of this investigation, in which he was much aided by your communication, supported by the uniform declarations of Maquinna and his tribe, sufficiently evinced that the tract was a small corner of Friendly Cove, and, to use the words of Captain Vancouver, little more than a hundred yards in extent any way; and the buildings, according to your information, dwindled to one hut. Señor Quadra, having ascertained the limits usually occupied by Mr. Meares, or his servants, was ever ready to deliver it, in behalf of his Catholic majesty, to any envoy from the British court. Captain Vancouver arrived at Nootka Sound in the latter end of August; and Señor Quadra wrote to him on the subject of their respective orders, and enclosed your letter, together with one from a Captain Viana, a Portuguese, who passed as captain of the Iphigenia, when she was detained by the Spaniards. Don Juan Francisco, in his letter, avowed his readiness to put Captain Vancouver in possession of the tract of land where Mr. Meares's house once stood, which alone could be that ceded to Great Britain by the convention. Señor Quadra offered, likewise, to leave for his accommodation all the houses, gardens, &c., which had been made at the expense of his Catholic majesty, as he intended leaving the port immediately. In the same letter, he tendered Captain Vancouver offers of every service and assistance which hospitality or benevolence could dictate. Captain Vancouver, in reply, gratefully acknowledged the intended favors, but entirely dissented from the boundaries affixed by Señor Quadra to the tract of land, of which he was to receive the possession and property; and, in pursuance of his directions, interpreted the first article as a cession of this port, viz., *Nootka Sound, in toto, together with Clyoquot, or Port Cox.* He disclaimed all retrospective discussion of the rights, pretensions, &c., of the two courts, and also of the actual possessions of British subjects in Nootka Sound, deeming it irrelevant to the business he was authorized to transact, and only to be settled by the respective monarchs. The letters which followed on both sides were merely a reiteration of the foregoing proposals and demands. Señor Quadra invited to a discussion of the boundaries, &c., and sup-

accordingly, despatched Lieutenant Mudge, by way of China, to England, with communications for his government; and he then prepared for his own departure towards the south, being resolved to examine the Columbia River and Bulfinch's Harbor, of which he had received from Quadra copies of the charts given to that officer by Gray.

Vancouver sailed from Nootka, with his three vessels, on the 13th of October, and, on the 18th, he was opposite Bulfinch's Harbor, to examine which he detached Lieutenant Whidbey, in the Dædalus, while he himself proceeded with the other vessels to the mouth of the Columbia. Into that river Broughton penetrated, in the Chatham, on the 20th: the Discovery was unable to pass the bar at the mouth; and Vancouver, being persuaded that the stream was inaccessible to large ships, "except in very fine weather, with moderate winds, and a smooth sea," sailed to the Bay of San Francisco, where he had ordered the other officers to join him in case of separation. In December following, the whole squadron was reunited at Monterey, where Whidbey and Broughton presented the reports of their observations.

Whidbey's account of Bulfinch's Harbor was less favorable than Gray's; from both, however, it appears that the place possesses advantages which must render it important, whenever the surrounding region becomes settled. It affords a safe retreat for small vessels, and there are several spots on its shore where boats may land without difficulty: moreover, it is the only harbor on the coast, between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca, except the mouth of the Columbia; and, under such circumstances, labor and ingenuity will certainly be employed to correct and improve what nature has offered. Upon the strength of this survey, the place has been frequently distinguished on British, and even on American maps, as *Whidbey's Harbor*, although Vancouver himself has not pretended to withhold from Gray the merit of discovering it.

Broughton, as before mentioned, entered the Columbia with the

ported his evidence with well-grounded reasoning; yet Captain Vancouver steadily adhered to the demands he first made, and refused every kind of discussion. The definitive letter from Señor Quadra was transmitted on the 15th of September; but, it being of the same nature with the preceding ones, Captain Vancouver only replied by a repetition of his former avowal, and informing the Spanish commandant that he could receive, on the part of his master, the king of Britain, no other territories than those he had pointed out in his other letters, with which if Señor Quadra did not comply, he must retain them for his Catholic majesty, until the respective courts should determine what further proceedings they might deem necessary."

Chatham, on the 20th of October; and he there, to his surprise, found lying at anchor the brig Jenny, from Bristol, which had sailed from Nootka Sound a few days previous. Scarcely had the Chatham effected an entrance ere she ran aground; and the channel proved to be so intricate, that Broughton determined to leave her about four miles from the mouth, and to proceed up the stream in his cutter. A short account of his survey will be sufficient, as it would be unnecessary to present an abridgment of the long and minute description given in the journal of Vancouver.

The portion of the Columbia near the sea was found by Broughton to be about seven miles in width; its depth varied from two fathoms to eight, and it was crossed in every direction by shoals, which must always render the navigation difficult, even by small vessels. Higher up, the stream became narrower, and, at the distance of twenty-five miles from its mouth, its breadth did not exceed a thousand yards. These circumstances were considered by Broughton and Vancouver as authorizing them to assume that *the true entrance of the river was at the last-mentioned point, and that the waters between it and the ocean constituted an inlet or sound.** From the extremity of this *inlet*, the party rowed eighty miles up the *river*, in a south-west course, to a bend, where, the current being so rapid as to prevent them from advancing without great labor, they abandoned the survey, and returned to their vessel. The angle of land around which the river flowed, and where their progress was arrested, received the appellation of *Point Vancouver;* the part of the *inlet* where the ship Columbia lay at anchor during her visit, was called *Gray's Bay;* and that immediately within Cape Disappointment was named *Baker's Bay*, in compliment to the captain of the Jenny. On the 10th of November, the Chatham

* "I shall conclude this account of the Columbia River by a few short remarks that Mr. Broughton made in the course of its survey, in his own words. 'The discovery of this river, we were given to understand, is claimed by the Spaniards, who called it *Entrada de Ceta*, after the commander of the vessel who is said to be its first discoverer, but who never entered it; he places it in 46 degrees north latitude. It is the same opening that Mr. Gray stated to us, in the spring, he had been nine days off, the former year, but could not get in, in consequence of the outsetting current; that, in the course of the late summer, he had, however, entered the river, or rather the sound, and had named it after the ship he then commanded. The extent Mr. Gray became acquainted with on that occasion is no farther than what I have called Gray's Bay, not more than fifteen miles from Cape Disappointment, though, according to Mr. Gray's sketch, it measures thirty-six miles. By his calculation, its entrance lies in latitude 46 degrees 10 minutes, longitude 237 degrees 18 minutes, differing materially, in these respects, from our observations.'"—Vancouver, vol. ii. p. 74.

quitted the Columbia, in company with the Jenny, and arrived at Port San Francisco before the end of the month.

The distinction which Vancouver and Broughton have thus endeavored to establish between the upper and the lower portions of the Columbia, is entirely destitute of foundation, and at variance with the principles of our whole geographical nomenclature. *Inlets* and *sounds* are arms of the sea, running up into the land; and their waters, being supplied from the sea, are necessarily salt: *the waters of the Columbia are, on the contrary, generally fresh and potable within ten miles of the Pacific*; the volume and the overbearing force of the current being sufficient to prevent the farther ingress of the ocean. The question appears, at first, to be of no consequence: the following extract from Vancouver's journal will, however, serve to show that the quibble was devised by the British navigators, with the unworthy object of depriving Gray of the merits of his discovery: "Previously to his [Broughton's] departure, he formally took possession of the river, and the country in its vicinity, in his Britannic majesty's name, *having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation or state had ever entered this river before. In this opinion he was confirmed by Mr. Gray's sketch, in which it does not appear that Mr. Gray either saw or ever was within five leagues of its entrance.*" This unjust view has been adopted by the British government and writers, and also, doubtless from inadvertency, by some distinguished authors in the United States. It may be, indeed, considered fortunate for Gray, that, by communicating the particulars of his discoveries, as he did, to Quadra, he secured an unimpeachable witness in support of his claims; had he not done so, the world would probably never have learned that a citizen of the United States was the first to enter the greatest river flowing from America into the Pacific, and to find the only safe harbor on the long line of coast between Port San Francisco and the Strait of Fuca.

At San Francisco and Monterey, Vancouver surveyed the bays, and examined the Spanish establishments, of which he presents minute and graphic descriptions in his narrative; and he obtained satisfactory evidence that *the presidio of San Francisco, situated near the entrance of the bay, in latitude of* 37 *degrees* 48 *minutes, was the northernmost spot, on the Pacific coast of America, occupied by the Spaniards previous to the month of May*, 1789, and was, consequently, according to the convention of 1790, the northernmost spot on that coast over which Spain could exercise exclusive juris-

diction. At Monterey, the English commander again met and conferred with the Spanish commissioner Quadra; and it was agreed between them, that Lieutenant Broughton should proceed to Europe, across Mexico, with further communications, for their respective courts, on the subject of the arrangement of the questions at issue. These affairs having been concluded, the Dædalus was sent to New South Wales; and Vancouver proceeded, with the Discovery and Chatham, the latter under Lieutenant Puget, to the Sandwich Islands, where they arrived in the middle of February, 1793.

At Owyhee, the English ships were visited by Tamahamaha, who was, by this time, acknowledged as king of the island by all the other chiefs except Tamaahmoto, the murderer of the crew of the Fair American. Vancouver immediately recognized the authority of Tamahamaha, to which he endeavored, but in vain, to prevail on the others to submit; he then sailed to Mowee, where he succeeded in negotiating a peace between Titeree, king of that island, and the sovereign of Owyhee, and thence to Woahoo, where he superintended the trial and execution of three natives, who had been delivered up to him as the murderers of Hergest and Gooch, the officers of the Dædalus. The particulars of these judicial proceedings are detailed with precision by Vancouver, who seems to have been perfectly content with their regularity and correctness; nevertheless, when Broughton visited the island, in 1796, he was assured, as he says, "that the men who were executed alongside of the Discovery had not committed the murders, but were unfortunate beings whom the chief selected to satisfy Captain Vancouver."* This appears to be certain from subsequent accounts; and it seems to be somewhat strange, that Vancouver should not have suspected it to have been the case, at the time of the trial.

Having performed these acts of diplomacy and justice in the Sandwich Islands, Vancouver proceeded to the American coasts; and, after examining the portion near Cape Mendocino, including the place called Port Trinidad by the Spaniards, in 1775, so as to connect his surveys north and south of that portion, he sailed to Nootka, where he arrived on the 20th of May, 1793. The remainder of the warm season was passed by the British navigators in making a minute and laborious examination of the shores of the

* Journal of a Voyage to the Pacific, from 1793 to 1797, by Captain Robert Broughton, p. 42.

continent, and the islands in its vicinity, from the northern entrance of the Strait of Fuca, near the 51st degree of latitude, northward, as far as the 54th parallel; tracing to their terminations, as in the preceding year, all the passages which appeared to run eastward, as well as many others, which were found to be channels separating islands from each other or from the main land. Several openings still remained unexplored beyond the 54th parallel; but the weather became so stormy at the end of September, that the survey could no longer be continued with safety or advantage: Vancouver accordingly returned along the western side of Queen Charlotte's Island to Nootka, and thence took his departure for Port San Francisco, which he reached on the 19th of October.

From Port San Francisco the British navigators sailed along the shores of California — which Vancouver takes care always to call *New Albion* — as far south as San Diego, near the 33d degree of latitude, visiting every important point on their way, and observing the coasts with great exactness; and thence, in the middle of December, they went to Owyhee, where they found that the supremacy of Tamahamaha was admitted, though with some qualifications, by the people and the other chiefs. Here Vancouver succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the king and Tahowmannoo, his sultana, (since better known as Kaahumanu,) from whom he had been for some time separated on account of her open and repeated infidelities; and he soon after gave further proof of his talents as negotiator, in a transaction the particulars of which do not appear to have been understood in the same light by both the parties.

The navigator states that a strong disposition had been manifested by several chiefs, at the time of his first visit, to place their island under subjection to the British king, but that it had been opposed by other chiefs, on the ground that they should not surrender themselves to a superior foreign power, unless they were assured that they would thus be really protected against distant and neighboring enemies. At the time of his second visit, however, he found the disposition to submit much increased, and, as he says, "Under a conviction of the importance of these islands to Great Britain, in the event of an extension of her commerce over the Pacific Ocean, and in return for the essential services we had derived from the excellent productions of the country, and the ready assistance of its inhabitants, I lost no opportunity for encouraging their friendly dispositions toward us, notwithstanding the

disappointments they had met from the traders, for whose conduct I could invent no apology; endeavoring to impress them with the idea that, on submitting to the authority and protection of a superior power, they might reasonably expect they would in future be less liable to such abuses." Acting under these views, he conciliated Tamahamaha by building for him a small vessel, on which the guns taken from the schooner Fair American were mounted; and, having induced all the principal chiefs to meet him on the shore near his ships, it was determined, at the assembly, that Owyhee should be ceded to his Britannic majesty; it being, however, clearly understood, *that no interference was to take place in the religion, government, and domestic economy, of the island*—"*that Tamahamaha, the chiefs, and priests, were to continue, as usual, to officiate, with the same authority as before, in their respective stations, and that no alteration in those particulars was in any degree thought of or intended.*" So soon as this resolution was announced, Lieutenant Puget, the commander of the Chatham, landed, displayed the British colors, and took possession of the island in the name of his sovereign; after which a salute was fired from the vessels, and a copper plate was deposited in a conspicuous place at the royal residence, bearing the following inscription: "On the 25th of February, 1794, Tamahamaha, king of Owyhee, in council with the principal chiefs of the island, assembled on board his Britannic majesty's sloop Discovery, in Karakakooa Bay, and, in presence of George Vancouver, commander of the said sloop, Lieutenant Peter Puget, commander of his said majesty's armed tender the Chatham, and the other officers of the Discovery, after due consideration, unanimously ceded the said island of Owyhee to his Britannic majesty, and acknowledged themselves to be subjects of Great Britain."

That Vancouver assumed more than was warranted, in thus asserting the cession of Owyhee, and the subjection of its chiefs to Great Britain, is clear; not only from the subsequent declarations of the chiefs, that they only intended to place themselves under the protection of that power, but also from the understanding established between them and the navigator, that *there was to be no interference in their internal concerns.* At farthest, the transaction, even if ratified by the British government, can only be viewed as an engagement, on the part of the islanders, not to cede their country to any other nation, and, on the part of Great Britain, to secure them against conquest or oppression by any other. Most probably each of the parties merely desired to obtain for itself as

many advantages as could be derived from the transaction, without any intention to observe concomitant obligations. Tamahamaha expected to receive assistance from Great Britain in conquering the remaining islands of the group; and Vancouver wished to prevent other nations from resorting to Owyhee. It may be added, that Great Britain has, to this day, been little, if at all, benefited by the Sandwich Islands; and that Tamahamaha, though he lived and flourished for twenty-five years after the transaction above mentioned, never received a present, or even a message of any kind, from his brother King George, to whom he, however, occasionally sent a message by a whaling captain, reminding him that Vancouver's promise of a ship of war had not yet been fulfilled. No such promise is recorded in the journal of Vancouver; though it there appears that the islanders had reason to believe that a vessel of war would be sent, for their protection, from Great Britain.

Another circumstance connected with this pretended cession of Owyhee to the British deserves particular notice. The consummation was delayed for some time, on account of the absence of Tamaahmoto, or Kamamoko, one of the most powerful chiefs, the same who, in February, 1790, captured the schooner Fair American, and murdered her crew, as already stated. Vancouver had, at first, refused to receive this man, or to have any intercourse with him; but when it was found to be indispensable for the cession, that Tamaahmoto should give his vote in favor of it, the British commander began "seriously to reflect on all the circumstances that had attended his visits to the islands;" and he, in the end, became "thoroughly convinced that implacable resentment or unrelenting anger, exhibited in his own practice, would ill accord with the precepts which he had endeavored to inculcate for the regulation of theirs." He therefore "determined, by an act of oblivion in his own mind, to efface all former injuries and offences," which he probably found no difficulty in doing, as the injuries and offences were committed against citizens of the United States; and he accordingly intimated that he would "no longer regard Tamaahmoto as undeserving forgiveness, and would allow of his paying the compliments as he had so repeatedly requested, provided he would engage, in the most solemn manner, that neither himself nor his people (for he generally moved with a numerous train of attendants) would behave in any manner so as to disturb the subsisting harmony." On receiving this intimation, Tamaahmoto readily came forward; he was admitted to the table of the British commander, and was

one of the seven chiefs who assented to the cession. It is not necessary to show what inference the natives of the Sandwich Islands might draw from a comparison between the favor thus shown to the murderer of citizens of the United States, and the trial and execution of the persons who were charged with causing the deaths of the officers of the British vessel at Woahoo.*

Soon after these transactions, the British navigators took their final leave of the Sandwich Islands, and, returning to the north-west coasts of America, examined every port which they had not previously visited, from the peninsula of Aliaska, eastward and southward, to Queen Charlotte's Island. They began at Cook's River, and, having ascertained that no great stream entered that bay, they changed its name to *Cook's Inlet*, which is now most commonly applied to it. They then proceeded to Prince William's Sound, the shores of which were completely surveyed; and thence along the bases of Mounts St. Elias and Fairweather, to the great opening in the coast, near the 58th degree of latitude, which had been called by Cook *Cross Sound*. In Cook's Inlet and Prince William's Sound, they visited all the Russian establishments, of which Vancouver presents full and satisfactory accounts; and, having succeeded in proving that the place in which Bering anchored on his last expedition could be no other than that called Admiralty Bay, at the foot of Mount St. Elias, on the east, they gave to it the name of *Bering's Bay*, and as such it generally appears on English charts: the Russians call it the *Bay of Yakutat*.

Through Cross Sound, Vancouver passed into a labyrinth of channels, some among islands, others running far inland, and terminating in the midst of stupendous mountains; and, having succeeded in threading nearly all these passages, particularly those taking a northern or eastern direction, and thus joined his survey with that of the preceding year, he considered his task accomplished. He had made known the existence of an almost infinite number of islands, between the 54th and the 58th parallels, in the position assigned to the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, in the story of Fonté's voyage: but whilst a part of that story thus seemed to be confirmed, the remainder was supposed to be entirely disproved, as no great river

* Tamaahmoto did not, however, scruple to declare, two years afterwards, that he would take the first vessel which might come within his reach; and so little effect had the *executions* at Woahoo, that Captain Brown, of the British ship Butterworth, was killed, in January, 1795, by the natives of that island, in an attack which they made on his vessel with the intention to take her. — See Broughton's account of his voyage in the Pacific, p. 43.

was found issuing from the continent opposite these islands; and Vancouver became well satisfied "that the precision with which his survey had been conducted would remove every doubt, and set aside every opinion of a north-west passage, or any water communication navigable for shipping, between the North Pacific and the interior of the American continent, within the limit of his researches." The belief thus expressed by the navigator has been completely confirmed. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that, considering the intricacies in the coasts between the 48th and the 58th parallels, many passages, by which vessels could penetrate into the interior of the continent, might have long escaped the notice of the most careful observer; and in evidence of this is the fact, that a river called the *Stikine*,* three miles wide at its mouth, and a mile wide thirty miles higher up, has been, since Vancouver's voyage, found entering the arm of the sea named by him *Prince Frederick's Sound*, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes. Vancouver's failure to discover the mouth of the Columbia should have rendered him distrustful of the entire accuracy of his observations in such cases.

After completing these discoveries, Vancouver took possession of the part of the continent extending north-westward of that around the Strait of Fuca, which he had named *New Georgia*, as far as the 59th degree of latitude, and of all the adjacent islands, "in the name of his Britannic majesty, his heirs and successors," with the formalities usual on such occasions, including a double allowance of grog to the sailors. He also bestowed upon the various territories, straits, bays, &c., names derived almost entirely from the lists of the members of the royal family, the ministry, the Parliament, the army and the navy of Great Britain; the importance

* Vancouver mentions *Stikeen* as the name of a country or nation on the continental shore of Prince Frederick's Sound; and he heard, from the natives farther south, of a place in that sound called by them *Uon-nass*, which word seemed to mean *great channel*. The first intimation of the existence of the river was probably communicated to the world by the captain of the ship Atahualpa, of Boston, from whose journal an extract is published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1804, p. 242. The captain there says, —

"August 25th, 1802. I had some conversation with Cou (a chief of an island near Queen Charlotte's Sound) respecting the natives who inhabit the country back of Stikeen: he had his information from Cokshoo, the Stikeen chief. * * * Cou also informs me that the place called *Nass*, or *Uon-nass* (spoken of by Vancouver) by the natives in Chebassa Strait, (Prince Frederick's Sound,) is the mouth of a river of very considerable extent, but unknown, navigable for vessels or large canoes." Near this place, the Atahualpa was attacked, in January, 1805, and her captain, mate, and six seamen, were killed: the others of her crew succeeded in escaping with the vessel.

of the place thus distinguished being generally in proportion to the rank of the individual. Thus we find upon his chart of the north-west *archipelago*, the large islands or groups of *King George the Third, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Admiralty*; with the smaller ones of *Pitt, Hawkesbury, Dundas*, and *Burke*; between which are the *Duke of Clarence's Strait, Prince Frederick's Sound, Chatham Canal, Grenville Canal*, and *Stephens's Passage*: a small group, near the 55th parallel, partially surveyed by Caamano, in 1791, was allowed to retain the name of *Revillagigedo Islands*, in honor of the enlightened viceroy of Mexico. The capes, bays, and smaller points or channels, are distributed among the *Windhams, Walpoles*, and other high families, principally those belonging to the Tory party; one little point being, however, vouchsafed to *Charles James Fox*. Without questioning the right of the discoverer to impose these names, it may be observed, that none of them will, in all probability, ever be used by the inhabitants of the region in which the place so called is situated. The Russians, who occupy the islands and coasts of the main-land north of the 54th parallel, rigorously exclude from their charts, and from use in every way, the appellations assigned to places in their dominions by people of other civilized countries; and even the British traders, whose posts extend through the parts of the continent distinguished by Vancouver as *New Georgia, New Hanover, New Cornwall*, and *New Norfolk*, appear to be entirely ignorant of those names.

From the northern coasts, Vancouver, when his labor was ended, went to Nootka, where he found the Spaniards still in possession, under the command of Brigadier Alava; Quadra having died in the preceding spring, at San Blas. As no information had been received there from Europe respecting the surrender of the territories, the British commander sailed to Monterey, where he learned that the question had been "adjusted by the two courts amicably, and nearly on the terms which he had repeatedly offered to Quadra in September, 1792;" and also "that the business was not to be carried into execution by him, as a fresh commission had been issued for the purpose by the court of London." Under these circumstances, he resolved to return immediately to Europe; and he accordingly quitted Monterey on the 2d of December, 1794. On his way southward, he examined the Californian coast, though not minutely, as far as Cape San Lucas, from which he took his departure for Valparaiso, in Chili. After a short stay at that place, he passed around Cape Horn, and arrived in England in November, 1795;

having completed, in the most effectual manner, the most extensive nautical survey which had ever been made in one expedition.*

No account has yet transpired of the negotiation between the courts of London and Madrid, respecting the extent of territory, and the buildings on the north-west coasts of America, which were to be restored to British subjects, after the reference of that question to them by their commissioners. Lieutenant Broughton, who had been despatched to England by Vancouver in 1793, was thence sent by the government on this business to Madrid; and, on his return to London, he was ordered to proceed to the North Pacific, in the sloop Providence, for the purpose of surveying the coasts of Asia, near Japan, being commissioned, at the same time, to receive possession of the territories at Nootka, in case the restitution should not have been previously made. He accordingly sailed from England for Nootka, where, in April, 1796, he was informed, by letters left in charge of Maquinna,† "that the Spaniards had delivered up the port of Nootka, &c., to Lieutenant Pierce, of the marines, agreeably to the mode of restitution settled between the two courts,"

* Vancouver's journal and charts were published at London in 1798, before which period the navigator had sunk into the grave. His journal is a simple record of observations and occurrences, written in a plain and intelligible, though homely and unpretending style; and it is entirely free from those displays of imagination, in the shape of long political and philosophical disquisitions, with which such works are often overloaded. The charts and views of the land are admirably executed, and their accuracy has been since generally confirmed. We are, in fact, indebted to Vancouver and his officers for our knowledge of the outline of the whole western coasts of America, from the peninsula of California to the peninsula of Aliaska; of which all the principal points have been ascertained with the utmost precision, so that succeeding navigators have only had to make corrections in the intermediate spaces. Vancouver himself was certainly a man of great courage, perseverance, and professional skill, possessing also good temper and good feelings, except with regard to citizens of the United States, against whom and their country he cherished the most bitter animosity. While admitting, with frankness, the merits of subjects of other nations, as discoverers or as men, he did not hesitate to adopt unworthy means to deprive the Americans of the reputation which they had justly earned by their labors in exploring, and to blacken their characters as individuals: for this object, he made use of misrepresentations, misstatements, insinuations, and concealments, whenever occasions presented themselves; and that which he would have commended in a Briton, or excused in a Russian or a Spaniard, became criminal in his eyes when committed by a citizen of the hated republic. He, nevertheless, appears to have given satisfaction to all with whom he came personally into communication. Ingraham speaks of him with the utmost respect, and acknowledges his obligations for the uniform kindness of the British navigator. In the Sandwich Islands his memory is universally cherished. He was long expected to return and establish himself there, as a commissioner from his sovereign; and he probably would have been admitted among the number of their gods, if the ship which he is said to have promised to Tamahamaha had ever been sent.

† Journal of a Voyage in the Pacific, by Captain Robert Broughton, p. 50.

in March, 1795, after which the place had been entirely evacuated by both parties. This is the account given by Broughton in his journal, which, however, affords no information as to the *mode of restitution thus settled*. On the other hand, Belsham, an historian who, notwithstanding the violence of his prejudices, cannot be suspected of want of attachment to the honor or interests of his country, and who possessed ample means of ascertaining the fact, writes, in 1805,* "It is nevertheless certain, from the most authentic subsequent information, *that the Spanish flag flying at Nootka was never struck*, and that the territory has been virtually relinquished by Great Britain." It indeed seems very improbable that the British government, which had just concluded a treaty of alliance with Spain, and had induced that power to declare war against France, when Broughton was sent to the Pacific, should at the same time have required the surrender of this territory, or that Spain should have assented to it while she possessed the right, by the convention, to indemnify the British claimants for all such losses of land or buildings, as they could prove to have been sustained by them, since the month of April, 1789. It is more reasonable to suppose that the Spaniards merely abandoned the place, the occupation of which was useless and very expensive.† Since that period, no civilized nation has ever attempted to form an establishment at Nootka Sound, nor have the Spaniards occupied any spot on the Pacific coast of America north of Port San Francisco.

In July, 1796, Spain, having been unsuccessful in her hostile operations against the French republic, was obliged to make peace with that power; and, in October following, she was likewise obliged

* History of Great Britain, vol. viii. p. 337.

† In the library of Congress, at Washington, is an interesting Spanish manuscript presented by General Tornel, during his residence in the United States as minister from Mexico, entitled "Instruccion reservada del Reyno de Nueva España que el Exmo. Señor Virrey Conde de Revillagigedo dió á su Sucesor el Exmo. Señor Marques de Branciforte en el Año de 1794." — *Secret Instructions respecting the Kingdom of New Spain, given, in* 1794, *by the Viceroy, Count de Revillagigedo, to his Successor, the Marquis de Branciforte.* This work, which abounds in curious details relative to the administration of affairs in Mexico, has been carefully examined with reference to the objects of the present memoir. Nothing, however, has been collected from it, except in confirmation of statements elsewhere made. The paragraphs from 703 to 713, inclusive, are devoted to the *Marine Department of San Blas*, to which, as already mentioned, the care of the Spanish colonies in California was committed. The count recommends to his successor the maintenance of those colonies, as the best means of preserving Mexico from foreign influences; advising him, at the same time, however, not to extend the establishments beyond the Strait of Fuca. With regard to Nootka, it is merely stated, in paragraph 713, that orders had been sent to the commandant to abandon the place, agreeably to a royal *dictamen*.

to declare war against her former ally, Great Britain. In the manifesto published by the court of Madrid, on the latter occasion, "the frequent arrival of English vessels on the coasts of Peru and Chili, to carry on contraband trade, and to reconnoitre those coasts, under the pretext of the whale fishery, which privilege they claimed under the Nootka convention," is alleged among the causes of the rupture. The British government, in its answer, denied "that the whale fishery by the English, in these parts, was, as asserted, claimed in the convention of Nootka, as then for the first time established," insisting that the right was, in that convention, "solemnly recognized by the court of Madrid, as having always belonged to Great Britain, and the full and undisturbed exercise of which was guarantied to his majesty's subjects, in terms so express, and in a transaction so recent, that ignorance of it cannot be pretended." That Great Britain did always possess the right to fish in the Pacific and Southern Oceans, agreeably to the principles of common justice, is unquestionable; but that this right was acknowledged by Spain in the Nootka convention, or in any other treaty between those powers previous to 1796, is by no means exact. In the Nootka convention, all assertions and recognitions of rights are, on the contrary, avoided; the whole instrument being, in fact, a series of concessions, limitations, and restrictions, resting entirely on the consent of both parties, and expiring on the withdrawal of its consent by either. On this declaration of war by Spain against Britain, the Nootka convention, with all its stipulations, of whatsoever nature they might have been, expired, agreeably to the rule universally observed and enforced among civilized nations, that *all treaties are ended by war between the parties*. From that moment, Spain might, as before the convention, claim the exclusive navigation of the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and the sovereignty of all their American coasts; and Great Britain might again assert the right of her subjects to sail and fish in every open sea, and to settle on every unoccupied coast.*

From the preceding view of the circumstances connected with the convention of October, 1790, and the occupation of Nootka Sound by the Spaniards, we are authorized to conclude, —

That no part of "the north-west coasts of the continent of North America, or of the adjacent islands," had ever been owned or occupied by British subjects, anterior to the establishment of the Spanish post at Nootka Sound, in May, 1789: *Consequently*, —

* Further considerations on this subject will be found in the fifteenth chapter of this History.

That no "buildings or tracts of land," on those coasts or islands, were "to be restored to British subjects," agreeably to the first and second articles of the convention of October, 1790: *And, as a further consequence,* —

That the abandonment of Nootka Sound by the Spaniards in 1795, under whatsoever circumstances it may have been effected, gave to Great Britain no other rights at that place, than those which she enjoyed in common with Spain, in every other part of the coasts and islands north of Port San Francisco, by virtue of the third and fifth articles of the same convention.

CHAPTER XII.

1788 to 1810.

Establishment of the North-West Fur Trading Company of Montreal, in 1783 — Expeditions of Mackenzie to the Arctic Sea and to the Pacific Coast — The Trade between the North Pacific Coasts of America and Canton conducted almost exclusively by Vessels of the United States from 1796 to 1814 — Establishment of the Russian American Company — Its Settlements and Factories on the American Coasts — Expedition of Krusenstern through the North Pacific — Proposition of the Russian Government to that of the United States, with Regard to the Trade of the North Pacific.

Whilst the navigators of various nations were thus completing the survey of the shores of North-West America, important information respecting the interior regions of that section of the continent was obtained by the agents of an association formed at Montreal, in 1784, for the prosecution of the fur trade in the Indian territories, which were supposed to be beyond the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Before Canada came into the possession of Great Britain, a large, if not the greater, portion of the furs sent from America by the subjects of that power was shipped from New York. After that period, Montreal became the principal seat of the trade; and disputes immediately arose between the Hudson's Bay Company, which claimed the whole division of America drained by streams falling into that sea, and the Canadians, who pursued their trade in the southern and western parts of that territory. These disputes, with which the British government did not, from policy, choose to interfere, were injurious to the interests of both parties; and, the Indian countries north of Lake Superior having been, about the same time, almost depopulated by the smallpox, the trade was confined, for some years, to the environs of Hudson's Bay, the lower lakes, and the St. Lawrence, where the animals were less numerous, and their furs inferior in quality.

At length, about the year 1775, some enterprising merchants of Montreal penetrated into the countries, far north-west of Lake Superior, drained by the Saskatchawine and Athabasca Rivers,

which had long before been frequented by the French; and their success in trade was such as to induce others to make similar expeditions. The Canadians were, however, exposed, on their way, to great difficulties and annoyances from the Hudson's Bay Company, with which they were unable separately to contend; and they, in consequence, in the year 1784, united their interests, and assumed for their association the title of the *North-West Company of Montreal*. Other associations were afterwards formed, under different names; but they were soon either dissolved or united with the North-West Company.

The organization of this new company was such, as to insure the utmost regularity and devotion to the interests of the concern, among all who were engaged in its service. The number of the shares was at first sixteen; it was afterwards increased to twenty, and then to forty: a certain proportion of them was held by the *agents*, residing in Montreal, who furnished the capital; the remainder being distributed among the *proprietors*, or *partners*, who superintended the business in the forts or posts in the interior, and the *clerks*, who traded directly with the Indians. The clerks were young men, for the most part natives of Scotland, who entered the service of the company for five or seven years; and, at the end of that time, or even earlier, if they conducted themselves well, they were admitted as proprietors. The inferior servants of the company were *guides*, *interpreters*, and *voyageurs*, the latter being employed as porters on land, and as boatmen on the water, all of whom were bound to the interests of the body by hopes of advancement in station or in pay, and of pensions in their old age.

The agents imported from England the goods required for the trade, had them packed into bundles of about ninety pounds weight each, and despatched them to the different posts; and they received the furs in packs of the same size, and conducted the shipment and sale of them. The furs, as also the articles for the trade and use of the persons employed, were transported through the continent principally in canoes, for which the Ottowa River, Lakes Huron and Superior, and the other innumerable lakes, and the streams connecting them farther north-west, offered great facilities; the portage between the navigable waters on the lines of the route being effected by the *voyageurs*, who carried the bundles, and sometimes, also, the canoes, across the intervening tracts of land. In this manner the goods and furs passed one, two, and even three, thousand miles between the agent at Montreal and the pro-

prietor at the trading-post; and nearly four years elapsed between the period of ordering the goods in Canada, and that at which the furs could be sold in London.

Before the formation of the North-West Company, the farthermost trading establishment of British subjects was one on the Athabasca or Elk River, about twelve hundred miles north-west of Lake Superior, which had been founded by Messrs. Frobisher and Pond, in 1778; and this continued to be the principal post in that part of the continent for ten years, when it was abandoned, and another, called *Fort Chipewyan*, was established on the south-west side of the Athabasca Lake, or Lake of the Hills, into which the Elk River discharges its waters. In the mean time, several large parties had been sent, for the purposes of trade and discovery, from Canada towards the west, one of which, consisting of about a hundred men, penetrated to the foot of the great dividing chain then called the *Shining Mountains*, or *Mountains of Bright Stones*, and now commonly known as the *Rocky Mountains*;* but they were

* Of this expedition an account appeared in a letter written at Pittsburg, in 1791, by an officer of General St. Clair's army, and published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1794. The writer, whose name is not given, received his information from a Mr. M——, who had, as he said, commanded the party in question. The following extracts will show the principal circumstances connected with the expedition, and among them will be found nothing which should induce us to doubt the truth of the account:—

"Mr. M. stated that he had, about five years ago, departed from Montreal, with a company of about one hundred men, for the purpose of making a tour through the Indian countries, to collect furs, and to make remarks, &c. He pursued his route from Montreal, and entered the Indian country, and coasted about three hundred leagues along the banks of Lake Superior, whence he made his way to the Lake of the Woods, of which he took an accurate survey, and found it to be thirty-six leagues in length, and thence to Lake Ouinipique, [Winnipeg,] of which he also gives a description. The tribes of Indians through which he passed were called the Muskego, Shipewyan, Cithnistinee, Great-belly, Beaver, Blood, Black-feet, Snake, Ossnobian, Shiveyton, Mandon, Paunee, and several others, &c. In pursuing his route, he found no difficulty in obtaining a guide to accompany him from one nation to another, until he reached the foot of the *Shining Mountains*, or *Mountains of Bright Stones*, where, in attempting to pass, he was frustrated by the hostile appearance of the Indians who inhabit that part of the country; the consequence of which was, that he was disappointed in his intention, and obliged to turn his back upon them. Having collected a number of Indians, he went forward again, with an intention to force his way over these mountains, if necessary and practicable, and to reach Cook's River, on the north-west coast of America, supposed by him to be about three hundred leagues from the mountains; but the inhabitants of the mountains again met him with their bows and arrows, and so superior were they in numbers to his little forces, that he was obliged to flee before them. Cold weather coming on, he built huts for himself and party in the Ossnobian [Assinaboin] country, and near to the source of a large river called the Ossnobian River, where they tarried during the cold season, and until some time in the warm months."

unable to proceed farther, in consequence of the hostile dispositions of the natives.

Between 1788 and 1794, two other expeditions were made from Fort Chipewyan by Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the superintending proprietor at that place, of which a particular account should be here given, as the geographical information obtained in them was highly interesting, and led to important commercial and political results.*

The Athabasca Lake is a basin about two hundred miles in length from east to west, and about thirteen in average breadth, situated under the 59th parallel of latitude, midway between the Pacific Ocean and Hudson's Bay. It is supplied by several streams, of which the principal are the Athabasca or Elk River, flowing from the south, and the Unjigah or Peace River, from the Rocky Mountains, on the west; and its waters are discharged through the Slave River, running about two hundred miles north, into the Great Slave Lake, discovered by Hearne in 1771. All these rivers join the Athabasca Lake at its south-west end, near which Fort Chipewyan was then situated.

Mackenzie's first expedition was made in 1789, and its principal object was to ascertain the course of the waters from the Great Slave Lake to the sea, which Hearne had left undetermined. For this purpose, he left Fort Chipewyan, with his party, in bark canoes, on the 3d of June, 1789, and, passing down the Slave River into the Great Slave Lake, he discovered a large stream flowing out of the latter basin, at its north-west extremity, to which he gave the name of *Mackenzie River;* and this stream he descended about nine hundred miles, in a north-west direction, along the base of a chain of mountains, to its termination in the sea. On his return, he examined the country east of his great river, which had been traversed by Hearne, and arrived at Fort Chipewyan on the 12th of September, after an absence of nearly three months.

The mouth of the Mackenzie was supposed by its discoverer to be situated near the 69th degree of latitude, and about 25 degrees of longitude, or five hundred miles, west of the mouth of Hearne's Coppermine River, which is not far from its true position.† Still

* Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and the Pacific Oceans, in 1789 and 1793, with a preliminary Account of the Fur Trade of that Country; by Sir Alexander Mackenzie. London, 1801.

† Its principal mouth is in latitude 69°, longitude 136° west from Greenwich.

farther west must, of course, be situated any passage or sea connecting the Pacific with the part of the ocean into which both those rivers were supposed to empty; and the existence of any such passage east of Bering's Strait became, in consequence, much less probable.

In his second expedition, Mackenzie quitted Fort Chipewyan on the 10th of October, 1792, and ascended the Unjigah or Peace River, from the Athabasca Lake, with much difficulty, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, where he spent the winter in camp. In June of the following year, he resumed his voyage up the same stream, which he traced, in a south-west direction, through the mountains, to its springs, near the 54th degree of latitude, distant more than nine hundred miles from its mouth. Within half a mile of one of these springs, he embarked on another stream, called by the natives *Tacoutchee-Tessee*, down which he floated in canoes about two hundred and fifty miles; then, leaving the river, he proceeded westward about two hundred miles over land, and, on the 22d of July, 1793, he reached the Pacific Ocean, at the mouth of an inlet, in the latitude of 52 degrees 20 minutes, which had, a few weeks previous, been surveyed by Vancouver, and been named the *Cascade Canal*. Having thus accomplished a passage across the American continent at its widest part, he retraced his steps to Fort Chipewyan, where he arrived on the 24th of August.

By this expedition, Mackenzie ascertained beyond all doubt the fact of the extension of the American continent, on the Pacific Ocean, undivided by any water passage, as far north as the latitude of 52 degrees 20 minutes; which fact was, about the same time, rendered nearly, though not absolutely, certain by the examinations of Vancouver. The River Tacoutchee-Tessee was supposed to be the upper part of the Columbia, until 1812, when it was traced to its mouth, in the Strait of Fuca, near the 49th degree of latitude; and since that time it has been called *Fraser's River*.

The discoveries of Mackenzie, taken in conjunction with the results of Vancouver's surveys, strengthened the conclusion, at which Cook had arrived, that the American continent extended uninterruptedly north-westward to Bering's Strait; and Mackenzie himself conceived, though certainly without sufficient grounds, that he had clearly determined in the negative the long-agitated question as to the practicability of a voyage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, around the northern shores of America. For the advancement of British interests in the North Pacific, he recommended that the

Hudson's Bay and the North-West Companies, which had been opposed to each other ever since the formation of the latter, should be united; that the British government should favor the establishment of commercial communications across North America, for which the rivers and lakes in the portion claimed by him for that power afforded unrivalled facilities; and that the East India Company should throw open to their fellow-subjects the direct trade between the north-west coasts of America and China, which was then, he says, "left to the adventurers of the United States, acting without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, and looking only to the interest of the moment." These recommendations were not thrown away, but were nearly all adopted by those to whom they were addressed; and the result has been, the extension of British commerce and dominion throughout the whole northern section of America.

Whilst Mackenzie was engaged in his journey to the Pacific coast, Mr. Fidler, a clerk in the service of the North-West Company, made an expedition from Fort Buckingham, a trading-post on the Saskatchawine River, south-westward, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains,* along which he seems to have travelled, through the regions drained by the head-waters of the Missouri. About the same time, several trading voyages were made up the Missouri by the French and Spaniards of St. Louis; particularly by the members of a company formed at that place by a Scotchman named Todd, under the special protection of the Spanish government, the object of which was to monopolize the whole trade of the interior and western portions of the continent.†

The trade of the citizens of the United States with the Indians in the central portion of the continent was much restricted, for many years after the establishment of the independence of the republic, in consequence of the possession of Louisiana by the Spaniards, and the retention by the British of several important posts south of the great lakes, within the territory acknowledged as

* On Arrowsmith's "*Map of all the new Discoveries in North America*," published at London in 1795, several streams are represented, on the authority of Mr. Fidler, as flowing from the Rocky Mountains on both sides; but none corresponding with them in course or position have been since found.

† The journal of one of these voyages, made by M. Trudeau, in 1794, has been preserved in the archives of the Department of State at Washington; it is, however, devoted chiefly to the numbers, manners, customs, religion, &c., of the natives on the banks of the Missouri, particularly of the Arickaras, inhabiting the country under the 46th parallel of latitude.

belonging to the Union, by the treaty of 1783. At length, by the treaty of November 19, 1794, between Great Britain and the United States, it was agreed that these posts should be given up to the Americans, and that the people of both nations, and the Indians "dwelling on either side of the boundary line, should have liberty freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories of the two parties, on the continent of America, (the country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay only excepted,) and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade with each other." The surrender of these posts, especially of Detroit and Michilimackinac, was very inconvenient to the North-West Company, whilst the trade of the Americans with the central regions was thereby increased; and large quantities of furs were annually transported to the Atlantic cities, principally to New York, from which place they were distributed throughout the United States, or shipped for London or Canton.

On the North Pacific, the direct trade between the American coasts and China remained, from 1796 to 1814, almost entirely, as Mackenzie said, in the hands of the citizens of the United States: the British merchants were restrained from engaging in it by the opposition of their East India Company; the Russians were not admitted into Chinese ports; and few ships of any other nation were seen in that part of the ocean. That these American "*adventurers acted without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, and looking only to the interest of the moment,*" was also, to a certain extent, true; though the facts can scarcely be considered discreditable to them, as Mackenzie insinuated, even supposing their operations to have been conducted in the manner represented by a British writer, whose hostility to the United States and their citizens was even more violent than that of Vancouver.

"These adventurers," says the writer above mentioned,* "set out on the voyage with a few trinkets of very little value. In the Southern Pacific, they pick up some seal-skins, and perhaps a few butts of oil; at the Gallipagos, they lay in turtle, of which they

* Review of "A Voyage around the World, from 1806 to 1812, by Archibald Campbell," in the London Quarterly Review for October, 1816, written in a spirit of the most deadly hatred towards the United States, and filled with assertions most impudently false.

preserve the shells; at Valparaiso, they raise a few dollars in exchange for European articles; at Nootka, and other parts of the north-west coasts, they traffic with the natives for furs, which, when winter commences, they carry to the Sandwich Islands, to dry and preserve from vermin; here they leave their own people to take care of them, and, in the spring, embark, in lieu, the natives of the islands, to assist in navigating to the north-west coast, in search of more skins. The remainder of the cargo is then made up of sandal, which grows abundantly in the woods of Atooi and Owyhee, of tortoise shells, sharks' fins, and pearls of an inferior kind, [meaning, probably, mother-of-pearl shells,] all of which are acceptable in the China market; and with these and their dollars they purchase cargoes of tea, silks, and nankins, and thus complete their voyage in the course of two or three years."

This account appears to be, in most respects, correct, with regard to many of the American vessels engaged in the Pacific trade at the period to which it relates; and it serves only to prove the industry, energy, courage, and skill, of those who embarked in such difficult and perilous enterprises, and conducted them so successfully. It would, however, be easy to show, from custom-house returns and other authentic evidence, that the greater number of the vessels sent from the United States to the north-west coasts were fine ships or brigs, laden with valuable cargoes of West India productions, British manufactured articles, and French, Italian, and Spanish wines and spirits; and that the owners were men of large capital and high reputation in the commercial world, some of whom were able to compete with the British companies, and even occasionally to control their movements.

The American traders in the Pacific have also been accused, by British writers, of practising every species of fraud and violence in their dealings with the natives of the coasts of that sea: yet the acts cited in support of these general accusations are only such as have been, and ever will be, committed by people of civilized nations, — and by none more frequently than the British, — when unrestrained by laws, in their intercourse with ignorant, brutal, and treacherous savages, always ready to rob or murder upon the slightest prospect of gain, or in revenge for the slightest affront. Seldom did an American ship complete a voyage through the Pacific without the loss of some of her men, by the treachery or the ferocity of the natives of the coasts which she visited; and

several instances have occurred of the seizure of such vessels, and the massacre of their whole crews, in this manner.*

All the islands in the Pacific, and every part of the north-west coasts of America, were visited by the vessels of the United States in the course of these voyages. Their principal places of resort were the Sandwich Islands, where they obtained fresh provisions, and occasionally seamen from among the natives; and the mouth of the Columbia, Nootka Sound, and Queen Charlotte's Island, in which they traded with the Indians for furs. They occasionally touched at the ports of California, where they were, however, viewed with great distrust by the Spanish authorities; and they generally made the tour of the Russian settlements, which derived from the Americans, in this way, the greater part of their supplies of European manufactures, ammunition, sugar, wines, and spirits, in exchange for peltries. The furs were, as before, sold in Canton, at prices not high, though sufficient to encourage a moderate importation; but they seldom formed the whole cargo of the vessels arriving there, the remainder being composed of sandal-wood, and pearl and tortoise shells.

The Sandwich Islands fell in succession under the authority of Tamahamaha, who displayed admirable sagacity in his mode of conducting the government, amid all the dangers and difficulties arising from internal opposition and the constant presence of strangers of various nations. Like the present pacha of Egypt, he was not only the political chief, but also the chief merchant of his territories: in his minor commercial operations he was generally

* In 1805, the ship Atahualpa, of Rhode Island, was attacked by the savages in Millbank Sound, and her captain, mate, and six seamen, were killed; after which the other seamen succeeded in repelling the assailants and saving the vessel. In March, 1803, the ship Boston, of Boston, while lying at Nootka Sound, was attacked by Maquinna and his followers, who obtained possession of her, and put to death all on board, with the exception of two men, who, after remaining in slavery four years, effected their escape. In the same manner, the ship Tonquin was, in June, 1811, seized by the natives, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and her whole crew murdered in a moment, as will be hereafter more particularly related; and other instances of a similar nature might be cited.

The account of the capture of the Boston, by John R. Jewitt, the armorer of the ship, contains many curious details respecting the country around Nootka Sound, and its inhabitants, as observed by the author during his residence there, from 1803 to 1807. This little work has been frequently reprinted, and, though seldom found in libraries, is much read by boys and seamen in the United States. It presents the last notices which have been found on record of Maquinna, for whom Jewitt appears to have entertained a great admiration.

successful; but when he ventured to extend the scale of his speculations, by sending vessels laden with sandal-wood to Canton, he was, as he asserted, always cheated by those to whom he committed the management of the business.

In California, the Franciscan missionaries were proceeding steadily in their course, and the number of their converts was daily increasing. The government appears to have been liberal in the appropriation of funds for their use; but, in Spanish America, a long time always elapsed between the issue of an order for supplies and their delivery, and a large proportion of the amount originally ordered was generally subtracted before it reached those for whose use it was designed. Soldiers, whose terms had expired, were also, in some cases, allowed to remain in the country; and the commandants permitted a little contraband trade with the Americans, who introduced manufactured articles in return for hides.

In the mean time, the Russians of Northern Asia, though excluded from the ports of China, continued their commerce with that empire, as also with Europe, as formerly, by means of caravans passing over land; the communications being conducted principally by a company established at Irkutsk, the great mart of that part of the world. The fur trade of the northernmost coasts of the Pacific was monopolized by the association, formed in 1781, under the direction of Schelikof and Gollikof, which was protected by the empress Catharine, and endowed with many important privileges. After the death of Catharine, in 1794, her son and successor, Paul, at first determined to put an end to the association, on account of the alleged cruelty of its agents towards the natives of the American coasts: he was, however, induced to change his resolution; and, a union having been effected, in 1798, between the two companies above mentioned, a decree was issued, on the 8th of July of the following year, conceding to them, under the title of the *Russian American Company*, the entire use and control, for twenty years, of all the coasts of America on the Pacific, from the 55th degree of north latitude to Bering's Strait, together with the adjacent islands, including the Kurile and the Aleutian groups, all of which were claimed as having been discovered by Russians. The company was also authorized to explore, and bring under subjection to the imperial crown, any other territories in America not previously attached to the dominions of some civilized nation; with the express provision that the natives of all these countries should be treated with kindness, and, if possible, be converted to the

Greek Catholic faith. These privileges were confirmed and increased by the emperor Alexander, whose chief minister of state, Count Romanzoff, was a zealous promoter of all that could tend to advance the power and interests of Russia in the Pacific; and the company still enjoys the favor of the government, its charter having been renewed by successive decrees in 1821 and 1839.

Under these advantageous circumstances, combined with great skill and energy in the management of its affairs, and aided by the constant increase of facilities for communication throughout the empire, the Russian American Company prospered; and its establishments soon extended over the whole of the Aleutian Archipelago, and thence eastward along the coast and islands of the American continent, to the distance of more than a thousand miles. In 1803, the most eastern of these establishments was on Norfolk Sound, the Port Guadelupe of the Spaniards, near the 56th degree of latitude, at the southern entrance of the passage which separates Mount San Jacinto or Edgecumb from the largest island of King George III.'s Archipelago. This settlement, founded in 1799, was destroyed, in 1803, by the natives of the country, with the assistance, as it is said, of some seamen who had deserted from an American vessel; but another was formed there in 1805, which received the name of *New Archangel of Sitca*, and has ever since been the capital of Russian America. The other principal establishments of the company were in Unalashka and Kodiak, and on the shores of Cook's Inlet, Prince William's Sound, and Admiralty or Bering's Bay. In 1806, preparations were made for occupying the mouth of the Columbia River; but the plan was abandoned, although that spot, and the whole region north of it, was then, and for some time after continued to be, represented, on the maps published by the company, as within the limits of its rightful possessions.

The population of each of these establishments consisted principally of natives of America, brought by the Russians from other and distant parts of the coast; between whom and the people of the surrounding country there were no ties of kindred or language, and there could be little community of feelings or interests. The Aleutian Islands and Kodiak furnished the greater number of these forced emigrants, and also a large proportion of the crews of the vessels employed in the service of the company. The Russians were enlisted in Kamtchatka and Siberia, for a term of years: they entered as *Promuschleniks*, or *adventurers*, and were employed, according to the will of their superiors, as soldiers, sailors, hunters,

fishermen, or mechanics; in the best of which situations their lot was more wretched than that of any other class of human beings within the pale of civilization, or, indeed, of any other class of persons whatsoever, except the natives of the American coasts, whom they assisted in keeping under subjection. Under such circumstances, it will be easily believed that "none but vagabonds and adventurers ever entered the company's service as Promuschleniks;" that "it was their invariable destiny to pass a life of wretchedness in America;" that "few had the good fortune ever to touch Russian ground again, and very few to attain the object of their wishes by returning to Europe."*

The government of Russian America was arranged on a plan even more despotic than that of the other parts of the empire. The general superintendence of the affairs of the company was in the hands of a *Directory*, residing at St. Petersburg, by which all the regulations and appointments were made, and all questions were decided, with the approval, however, of the imperial department of commerce. All the territories belonging to the company, and all persons and things in them, were placed under the control of a chief agent or governor, residing at Kodiak or Sitca, from whose orders there was no appeal, except to the Directory: in like manner, each district or group of settlements was ruled by an inferior agent, accountable directly to the governor-general; and each factory or settlement was commanded by an overseer, chosen from among the Promuschleniks, who possessed the right to punish, to a certain extent, those within the circle of his authority.

The regulations for the government of these territories were, like those of the Spanish Council of the Indies, generally just and humane; but the enforcement of them, as in Spanish America, was intrusted, for some time, to men with whom justice and humanity were subordinate to expediency. The first chief agent was Alexander Baranof, who had accompanied Schelikof in his expedition in 1783, and was the superintendent of the settlements at Kodiak and Cook's Inlet when Vancouver visited those places in 1794. He was a shrewd, bold, enterprising, and unfeeling man, of iron frame and nerves, and the coarsest habits and manners. By his inflexible severity and energy, he seems to have maintained absolute and independent sway over all the Russian American coasts for more than twenty years; showing little respect to the orders of the Directory,

* Krusenstern's Account of his Voyage to the North Pacific.

and even to those of the emperor, when they were at variance with his own views. He was, however, devoted to the interests of the company, and, its affairs being most profitably managed under his direction, he was allowed to follow his own course, and the complaints against him which reached the Directory were unheeded. These complaints were, it is true, not frequent; for the Directory and the imperial throne at St. Petersburg were almost as completely inaccessible to the subjects and servants of the company residing in America, as they would have been in another planet. Among the inferior agents were men of higher and better character than their chief; but they were forced to bend under his authority, and their efforts to introduce improvements were vain, if they in any degree conflicted with his views as to the immediate interests of the company.

Of the furs which formed the whole returns from these territories, some were transported in the company's vessels to Petropawlowsk and Ochotsk, whence were brought back the greater part of the supplies of provisions for the use of the establishments; the remainder of the furs being exchanged for arms, ammunition, spirits, wine, tobacco, sugar, and European manufactures, furnished by the trading ships of the United States, of which a large number were then constantly employed in the North Pacific. The presence of these American vessels was by no means agreeable to the Russians, who would willingly have excluded them from that part of the ocean, not only for the purpose of monopolizing the fur trade, but also in order to prevent the natives of the coasts from obtaining arms and ammunition from the Americans, as they frequently did, to the detriment of the authority and interests of the company. This, however, could not have been effected without maintaining a large naval force in the North Pacific; nor could the settlements have been extended or supported without the supplies furnished by the Americans, unless a direct intercourse were established by sea with Europe, China, or Japan.

With the view of inquiring what measures would be most effectual for the advancement of the interests of the Russian American Company in these and other respects, it was determined at St. Petersburg, in 1803, that an expedition, scientific and political, should be made through the North Pacific. Two ships, the *Nadeshda*, commanded by Captain Krusenstern, and the *Neva*, by Captain Lisiansky, were accordingly despatched from Cronstadt, in August of that year, under the direction of Krusenstern, carrying out a large body of officers and men, distinguished in various

branches of science, together with the chamberlain, Von Resanoff, who was commissioned as ambassador to Japan, and as plenipotentiary of the Russian American Directory.

The two ships passed together around Cape Horn, touched at the Washington and the Sandwich Islands, and then separated; the Neva going to the north-west coasts of America, and the Nadeshda to Petropawlowsk, where she arrived in the middle of July, 1804. From Kamtchatka, Krusenstern proceeded, with the ambassador, to Nangasaki, the capital of Japan, at which place their arrival only served to excite suspicions: they were not allowed to land, except for the purpose of taking exercise in a confined space; the letter and presents of the Russian emperor were rejected; and the ambassador was distinctly informed that no vessels belonging to his nation would, in future, be permitted to enter a Japanese port. After this rebuff, the Nadeshda returned to Kamtchatka, and Krusenstern passed several months in examining the coasts of Tartary and the adjacent islands between that peninsula and Japan; these labors being completed, he went to Canton, where she arrived in the end of November, 1805.

Lisiansky, in the Neva, had, in the mean time, visited Sitca, Kodiak, and other Russian establishments, on the north-west coasts of America, at which his presence was advantageous to the interests of the company, by controlling the hostile dispositions of the natives; and having performed all that could be done by him in that quarter, he proceeded to Canton, with a cargo of furs, and there rejoined Krusenstern, in December, 1805. The Chinese were found equally as determined as the Japanese to allow no commerce by sea with the Russians; and many difficulties were experienced before the furs brought by the Neva could be landed for sale. This business being at length despatched, the two vessels took their departure, and, sailing around the Cape of Good Hope, reached Cronstadt in August, 1806, having carried the Russian flag for the first time across the equator and around the world.

In the mean time, also, Von Resanoff,—a singularly ridiculous and incompetent person,—after the failure of his embassy to Japan, had gone, as plenipotentiary of the Russian American Company, to Sitca, where he passed the winter of 1805–1806, engaged in devising plans for the conduct of the company's affairs, all of which were quietly set aside by the chief agent, Baranof. The propriety of expelling the Americans from the North Pacific was at the same time rendered questionable, by the fact that the garrison and set-

tlers at this place would have all perished from famine, had they not fortunately been supplied with provisions by the ship Juno, from Rhode Island. This ship was purchased for the use of the company, and Von Resanoff, embarking in her, sailed along the coast to California, endeavoring, in his way, but without success, to enter the mouth of the Columbia, where he proposed to form a settlement; and having spent some time in trifling at San Francisco, he returned to Kamtchatka, on his way from which to Europe he died.

Though not one of the commercial or political objects proposed by this expedition was attained, it was, nevertheless, productive of great advantages, not only to the Russians, but to the cause of humanity and of science in general; particularly by the rectification of numerous errors in the charts of the Pacific Ocean, and by the exposure of the abuses in the administration of the Russian American Company's dominions, which led to the immediate removal of many of them. No one could have been better qualified for the direction of such an expedition than Krusenstern, whose narrative is equally honorable to him as a commander, as a man of science, and as a philanthropist. Those who wish to learn at what cost of human life and suffering the furs of the North Pacific coasts are procured, will find ample information on the subject in his pages; while, at the same time, he presents instances of fortitude, perseverance, and good feeling, on the part of his countrymen, calculated to counteract, in a great measure, the unfavorable impressions, with regard to them, which his other details might have produced.*

In 1808, soon after the return of Krusenstern's ships to Europe, diplomatic relations were established between Russia and the United States; and in the following year, a representation was addressed by the court of St. Petersburg to the government of the Union, on the subject of the *illicit trade* of American citizens with the natives of the North Pacific coasts, by means of which those savages were supplied with arms and ammunition, to the prejudice of the authority and interests of the emperor and his people in that portion

* Accounts of this expedition have been published by Krusenstern, by Lisiansky, and by Langsdorf, the surgeon of the Nadeshda, all of which have been translated into English and other European languages.

Krusenstern was, soon after his return to Russia, raised to the rank of admiral. He still lives at St. Petersburg, honored by his government, and esteemed by all who know him. His communications frequently appear in the reports of the proceedings of various scientific societies in Europe; they are chiefly respecting the hydrography of the Pacific Ocean, to which subject his labors have been long and assiduously devoted, with results important and beneficial to the whole world.

of his dominions. A desire was at the same time expressed, that some act should be passed by Congress, or some convention be concluded between the two nations, which might have the effect of preventing the continuance of such irregularities. No disposition being shown by the American government to adopt any of those measures, Count Romanzoff, the minister of foreign affairs at St. Petersburg, proposed to Mr. John Quincy Adams, the plenipotentiary of the United States at that court, an arrangement, by which the vessels of the Union should supply the Russian settlements on the Pacific with provisions and manufactures, and should transport the furs of the company to Canton, under the restriction of their abstaining from all intercourse with the natives of the north-west coasts of America. Mr. Adams, in his answer, showed several reasons for which his government could not, with propriety, accede to this proposition; and he moreover desired to know *within what limits it was expected that the restriction should be observed.* This question was, doubtless, embarrassing to the Russian minister, who, however, after some time, replied, that *the Russian American Company claimed the whole coast of America on the Pacific and the adjacent islands, from Bering's Strait, southward to and beyond the mouth of the Columbia River;* whereupon the correspondence was immediately terminated.

There was, certainly, no disposition, on the part of the United States, to encourage their citizens in the trade which formed the subject of the complaints of the Russians, or to offend that power by refusing to coöperate in suppressing such a trade. But the American government properly considered that no means existed for enforcing the restrictions, with justice and regularity, even on the coasts which might be admitted to belong to Russia; while, at the same time, the right of that nation to the possession of the coasts so far south as the Columbia, could not be recognized, for reasons which will be made apparent in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

1803 TO 1806.

Cession of Louisiana by France to the United States — Inquiries as to the true Extent of Louisiana — Erroneous Supposition that its Limits towards the North had been fixed by Commissaries agreeably to the Treaty of Utrecht — President Jefferson sends Lewis and Clarke to examine the Missouri and Columbia — Account of their Expedition from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

THE discovery, or rediscovery, of the Columbia River, by Gray, remained almost entirely unknown, until it was communicated to the world by the publication of the narrative of Vancouver's expedition, in 1798; at which time, and for several years afterwards, no one imagined that any thing connected with that river would ever become particularly interesting to the people or government of the United States of America.

The territories of the United States were, at that time, all included between the Atlantic Ocean on the east and the Mississippi River on the west. In the north were the British provinces; in the south lay Florida, belonging to Spain; and beyond the Mississippi, the Spaniards also claimed the vast region called Louisiana, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northward and north-westward to an undefined extent. Thus all communication between the States of the Federal Union and the Pacific was completely cut off, by the interposition of countries possessed by foreign and unfriendly nations.

The position of the United States, and of their government and people, with regard to the north-western portion of the continent, was, however, entirely changed after the 30th of April, 1803, when Louisiana, which had been ceded by Spain to France in 1800, came into their possession, by purchase from the latter power. From that moment, the route across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific lay open to the Americans; and nothing could be anticipated capable of arresting their progress in the occupation of the whole territory included between those seas.

Before relating the measures taken by the government of the United States in consequence of the acquisition of Louisiana, it will

be convenient to present some observations respecting the northern and western limits of that portion of America.

The first discovery of the southern part of the Mississippi and the adjacent countries, by the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, has been already mentioned. The northern branches of that river were explored in the latter years of the seventeenth century, by the French, from Canada;* and before 1710, many French colonies and posts had been established on its banks, in virtue of which, King Louis XIV. claimed possession of all the territories to a great distance on either side of the stream. In 1712, the exclusive trade of the southern division of these territories, then called *Louisiana*, was granted by King Louis to Antoine Crozat, in a royal decree or charter, bearing date the 17th of September, which contains the earliest exposition of the limits of that region. The words of the decree are as follows:† "Nous avons par ces présentes,, signées de notre main, établi et établissons ledit Sieur Crozat, pour faire seul, le commerce dans toutes les terres par Nous possédées, et bornées par le Nouveau Mexique, et par celles des Anglais de la Caroline, tous les établissemens, ports, havres, rivières, et principalement le port et havre de l'isle Dauphine, appellée autrefois de Massacre, le fleuve St. Louis, autrefois appellée Mississippy, depuis le bord de la mer jusqu'aux Illinois, ensemble les rivières St. Philippe, autrefois appellée des Missourys, et St. Hierosme, autrefois appellée Ouabache, avec tous les pays, contrées, lacs dans les terres, et les rivières qui tombent directement ou indirectement dans cette partie du fleuve St. Louis. Voulons

* Jeffreys — or whoever wrote the history of the French dominions in America, published under the name of Jeffreys, in 1760 — says, at p. 134 of that work, "The Mississippi, the chief of all the rivers of Louisiana, which it divides almost into two equal parts, was discovered by Colonel Wood, who spent almost ten years, or from 1654 to 1664, in searching its course, as also by Captain Bolt, in 1670."

† "We have, by these presents, signed with our hand, authorized, and do authorize, the said Sieur Crozat, to carry on exclusively the trade in all the territories by us possessed, and bounded by New Mexico and by those of the English in Carolina, all the establishments, ports, harbors, rivers, and especially the port and harbor of Dauphin Island, formerly called Massacre Island, the River St. Louis, formerly called the Mississippi, from the sea-shore to the Illinois, together with the Rivers St. Philip, formerly called the Missouries River, and the St. Jerome, formerly called the Wabash, [the Ohio,] with all the countries, territories, lakes in the land, and the rivers emptying directly or indirectly into that part of the River St. Louis. All the said territories, countries, rivers, streams, and islands, we will to be and remain comprised under the name of the government of Louisiana, which shall be dependent on the general government of New France, and remain subordinate to it; and we will, moreover, that all the territories which we possess on this side of the Illinois, be united, as far as need be, to the general government of New France, and form a part thereof; reserving to ourself, nevertheless, to increase, if we judge proper, the extent of the government of the said country of Louisiana."

que les dites terres, contrées, fleuves, rivières et isles, soient et demeurent compris sous le nom du gouvernement de la Louisiane, qui sera dependant du gouvernement général de la Nouvelle France, auquel il demeurera subordonné; et voulons en outre, que toutes les terres que nous possédons, depuis les Illinois, soient reunies, en tant que besoin est, au gouvernement général de la Nouvelle France, et en fassent partie; Nous reservant néanmoins d'augmenter, si nous le jugeons á propos, l'étendue du gouvernement du dit pays de la Louisiane."

This description of the extent of Louisiana was sufficiently definite for the immediate purposes of the concession: as the trade and settlement of the country would necessarily be, for a long time, confined to the vicinity of the great rivers, the precise determination of its boundaries on the east and the west might well be deferred for future arrangement with Great Britain and Spain. Crozat relinquished his privilege in 1717; the Illinois country was then annexed to Louisiana, by a royal decree, and the whole region was granted to the *Compagnie d' Orient*, better known as *Law's Mississippi Company*, which held it until 1732: in that year it reverted to the French crown, and was governed as a French province until 1769. On the 3d of November, 1762, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, between France and Spain on the one part, and England and Portugal on the other; and on the same day, "the most Christian king authorized his minister, the duke de Choiseul, to deliver to the marquis di Grimaldi, the ambassador of the Catholic king, in the most authentic form, an act, whereby his most Christian majesty cedes, in entire possession, purely and simply, without exception, to his Catholic majesty, and his successors in perpetuity, all the country known under the name of Louisiana, as also New Orleans and the island in which that city is situated." The cession accordingly took place in form, on the 23d of the same month, in precisely the same terms as to the extent of the territory ceded;* and on the 10th of February following, a treaty was concluded at Paris, between France and Spain on the one part, and Great Britain and Portugal on the other, by which Great Britain obtained possession of Canada, Florida, and the portion of Louisiana "east of a line, drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to

* The documents relating to this cession were kept secret until 1836, when copies of them were obtained from the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs at Madrid, by the late J. M. White, of Florida; from which translations were made by the author of this History, and published by the Senate of the United States, in 1837.

the River Iberville, and thence along the middle of the Iberville, and the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea." In this treaty, Great Britain formally renounced all claims to territories west of the Mississippi, whether based on royal charters granted to colonies planted on the Atlantic coasts, or on any other grounds: no mention is made of the previous cession of any part of Louisiana to Spain, which was not promulgated until 1764; nor did the Spaniards obtain actual possession of New Orleans, or the territory west of the Mississippi, until 1769.

From that period until Louisiana came into the possession of the United States, its extent and limits were not defined, and could not have been affected by any treaty or public act, which has been as yet communicated to the world. Louisiana was *retro-ceded* by Spain to France, on the 1st of October, 1800, "with the same extent," says the treaty, "that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be, after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states;" and it was transferred by France to the United States on the 30th of April, 1803, "with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully, and in the same manner, as they have been acquired by the French republic, in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty with his Catholic majesty." *

* See the treaty of 1803, in which the part of the treaty of 1800, above quoted, is recited. It is, however, worthy of remark, that, in the copy of the treaty of 1800, obtained by the late J. M. White from the Department of Foreign Affairs at Madrid, as above mentioned in the note at p. 278, the words quoted in the treaty of 1803 — "*et qu'elle avait lorsque la France la possédait, et telle qu'elle doit être, d'après les traités passés subséquemment entre l'Espagne*" — do not appear; the third article of the former treaty being simply thus: "*Sa Majesté Catholique promet et s'engage de son côté à rétroceder à la République Française six mois après l'exécution pleine et entiere des conditions et stipulations ci-dessus relatives à son Altesse Royale le Duc de Parme la colonie ou province de la Louisiane, avec la meme étendue qu'elle a actuellement entre les mains de l'Espagne et d'autres Etats.*" There appears to be no reason to doubt the exactness of the copy obtained by Mr. White, as it was made in the office of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and bears the seal and certificate of the keeper of the archives of that department, by whom it was transmitted to the Spanish minister plenipotentiary at Washington, who delivered it, after affixing his seal and certificate, to Mr. White. If its authenticity be admitted, a vast field is certainly opened for conjectures, upon which, however, it would be improper here to enter.

That any settlement of the western boundaries of Louisiana should have been made on the conclusion of the treaty of 1762, or of that of 1800, is not probable. In the first case, it would have been superfluous, as Louisiana would certainly have joined the other territories of Spain in that direction; and, in 1800, it was clearly the interest of Buonaparte, as the stronger power, to have the extent of Louisiana undefined, in order that he might place its boundaries, in future, where they would be most convenient for his ends.

At the time when the treaty for the cession of Louisiana to the United States was concluded, the Spaniards still remained in possession of the country; the order from the court of Madrid for the delivery to France, was not executed until the 30th of November, 1804, twenty days after which the surrender to the American commissioners took place in due form at New Orleans. The Spanish government had already protested against the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, as being contrary to engagements previously made by France, of which, however, no proof was adduced; and some disposition was at first manifested on the part of the Spanish authorities at New Orleans, and in the provinces of Mexico adjacent, to dispute the entrance of the Americans. This opposition was, however, abandoned, and a negotiation was commenced at Madrid, in 1804, between the governments of the United States and Spain, for the adjustment of the lines which were to separate their respective territories.

In this negotiation, the United States claimed the whole of the territory ceded by France to Spain in 1762, with the exception of the portion east of the Mississippi, which had been surrendered to Great Britain in 1763; and this territory was considered by them as including the whole coast on the Mexican Gulf, from the Perdido River as the western limit of Florida, west and south to the River Bravo del Norte as the north-east boundary of Mexico, with all the intermediate rivers and all the countries drained by them, not previously possessed by the United States. The Spanish government, on its side, contended — that France had never rightfully possessed any part of America west of the Mississippi, the whole of which had belonged to Spain ever since its discovery — that the French establishments in that territory were all intrusive, and had only been tolerated by Spain, for the sake of preserving peace; and — that the Louisiana ceded to Spain by France in 1762, and retroceded to France in 1800, and transferred by the latter power to the United States in 1803, could not, in justice, be considered as comprising more than New Orleans, with the tract in its vicinity east of the Mississippi, and the country immediately bordering on the west bank of that river. The parties were thus completely at variance on fundamental principles; and, neither being disposed to yield, the negotiation, after having been carried on for some months, was broken off, and it was not renewed until 1817. Meanwhile, however, the United States remained in possession of nearly all the

territories drained by the Mississippi; the Sabine River being, by tacit consent, regarded as the dividing line between Louisiana and the Mexican provinces.

A negotiation was at the same time in progress, between the government of the United States and that of Great Britain, respecting the northern boundary of Louisiana, for which the Americans claimed a line running along the 49th parallel of latitude, upon the grounds that *this parallel had been adopted and definitively settled, by commissaries appointed agreeably to the tenth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht, in* 1713, *as the dividing line between the French possessions of Western Canada and Louisiana on the south, and the British territories of Hudson's Bay on the north;* and that, this treaty having been specially confirmed in the treaty of 1763, by which Canada and the part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi and Iberville were ceded to Great Britain, the remainder of Louisiana continued, as before, bounded on the north by the 49th parallel.

This conclusion would be undeniable, if the premises on which it is founded were correct. The tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht does certainly stipulate that commissaries should be appointed by the governments of Great Britain and France respectively, to determine the line of separation between their possessions in the northern part of America above specified; and there is reason to believe that persons were commissioned for that object: *but there is no evidence which can be admitted as establishing the fact that a line running along the 49th parallel of latitude, or any other line, was ever adopted, or even proposed, by those commissaries, or by their governments, as the limit of any part of the French possessions on the north, and of the British Hudson's Bay territories on the south.*

It is true that, on some maps of Northern America, published in the middle of the last century, *a line drawn along the 49th parallel* does appear as a part of the boundary between the French possessions and the Hudson's Bay territories, as settled according to the treaty of Utrecht: but, on other maps, which are deservedly held in higher estimation, *a different line, following the course of the highlands encircling Hudson's Bay,* is presented as the limit of the Hudson's Bay territory, agreeably to the same treaty; and, in other maps again, enjoying equal, if not greater, consideration, as having been published under the immediate direction of the British gov-

ernment, *no line separating those British possessions from Louisiana or Canada is to be seen.* In the other works, political, historical, and geographical, which have been examined with reference to this question, nothing has been found calculated to sustain the belief that any line of separation was ever settled, or even proposed; nor has any trace of such an agreement been discovered in the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs of France, which have been recently searched with the view of ascertaining the fact.*

The belief, nevertheless, that the 49th parallel of latitude was fixed, by commissaries of Great Britain and France, appointed agreeably to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, as the northern limit of Louisiana and Western Canada, has been hitherto universally entertained without suspicion in the United States, and has formed the basis of most important treaties.

During the negotiations above mentioned, between the United States and Great Britain, no attempt was made, on the part of the latter power, to controvert the assertion of the Americans respecting this supposed boundary line; and, in the treaty signed by the plenipotentiaries on the termination of the discussion, in April, 1807, it was agreed that "a line drawn due north or south (as the case may require) from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, until it shall intersect the 49th parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with the said parallel, shall be the dividing line between his majesty's territories and those of the United States, to the westward of the said lake, as far as their said respective territories extend in that quarter; and that the said line shall, to that extent, form the southern boundary of his majesty's said territories and the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the north-west coast of America, or to the territories belonging to or claimed by either party on the continent of America to the westward of the Stony Mountains."† This article was approved by both governments; President Jefferson, nevertheless, wished that the *proviso* respecting the north-west coast should be omitted, as it "could have little other effect than as an offensive intimation to Spain that the claims of the United States extend to the Pacific

* See Proofs and Illustrations, in the concluding part of this volume, under the letter F.

† President Jefferson's Message to Congress of March 22d, 1808.

Ocean. However reasonable such claims may be, compared with those of others, it is impolitic, especially at the present moment, to strengthen Spanish jealousies of the United States, which it is probably an object with Great Britain to excite, by the clause in question." The outrage committed, about that time, by the British, upon the American frigate Chesapeake, together with the change in the British ministry, prevented the ratification of this treaty; and the question of boundaries was not again discussed between the two nations until 1814.

How far Louisiana extended westward when it was ceded by France to Spain, history offers no means of determining. The charter granted to Crozat, in 1712, included only the territories drained by the Mississippi south of the Illinois country; and, though the Illinois was annexed to Louisiana in 1717, nothing can be found showing what territories were comprehended under that general appellation. In the old French maps, *New France* is represented as extending across the continent to the Pacific: in British maps, of the same period, a large portion of the territory thus assigned to New France, appears as *New England* or as *Virginia*; while the Spanish geographers claimed the same portion for their sovereign, under the names of *New Mexico* and *California*. Whilst Louisiana remained in the possession of Spain, it was certainly never considered as embracing either New Mexico or California; though whether it was so considered or not, is immaterial to the question as to its western limits in 1803, which were, by the treaty, to be the same as in 1762. In the absence of all light on the subject from history, we are forced to regard the boundaries indicated by nature — namely, the highlands separating the waters of the Mississippi from those flowing into the Pacific or the Californian Gulf — as the true western boundaries of the Louisiana ceded to the United States by France in 1803.

Of the countries in which the sources of the Missouri and the other great western branches of the Mississippi were situated, and of those farther west, to the immediate vicinity of the Pacific, nothing whatsoever was known when Louisiana came into the possession of the United States; but even before the transfer was completed, the prompt and sagacious Jefferson, then president of the republic, was preparing to have that part of the continent examined by American agents. On the 18th of January, 1803, he addressed to the Congress of the Union a confidential message, recommending that means should be taken for the purpose without delay; and,

his suggestions having been approved, he commissioned Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke to explore the River Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, and then to seek and trace to its termination in the Pacific, some stream, "whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other, which might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce." Other persons were, at the same time, appointed to examine the Upper Mississippi, and the principal streams falling into that great river from the west, below the Missouri, in order that exact information might, as soon as possible, be procured, with regard to the channels of communication throughout the newly-acquired territories.

A few days after Lewis had received his instructions as commander of the party which was to cross the continent, the news of the conclusion of the treaty for the cession of Louisiana reached the United States; and he immediately set off for the west, with the expectation of advancing some distance up the Missouri before the winter. He was, however, unable to pass the Mississippi in that year, in consequence of the delay in the surrender of the country, which was not terminated until the latter part of December; and it was not until the middle of May, 1804, that he could begin the ascent of the Missouri. His party consisted of forty-four men, who were embarked in three boats; their progress against the current of the mighty river was necessarily slow, yet, before the end of October, they arrived in the country of the Mandan Indians, where they remained until the following April, encamped at a place near the 48th degree of latitude, sixteen hundred miles from the Mississippi.

On the 7th of April, 1805, Lewis and Clarke left their encampment in the Mandan country, with thirty men, the others having been sent back to St. Louis; and, after a voyage of three weeks up the Missouri, they reached the junction of that river with the other principal branch, scarcely inferior in magnitude, called by the old French traders the *Roche jaune*, or *Yellowstone River*. Thence continuing their progress westward on the main stream, their navigation was, on the 13th of June, arrested by the *Great Falls of the Missouri*, a series of cataracts extending about ten miles in length, in the principal of which the whole river rushes over a precipice of rock eighty-seven feet in height. Above the falls, the party again embarked in canoes hollowed out from the trunks of the largest cotton-wood trees, growing near the river; and, advancing south-

ward, they, on the 19th of July, passed through the *Gates of the Rocky Mountains*, where the Missouri, emerging from that chain, runs, for six miles, in a narrow channel, between perpendicular parapets of black rock, rising twelve hundred feet above its surface. Beyond this place, the river is formed by the confluence of several streams, the largest of which, named by Lewis the *Jefferson*, was ascended to its sources, near the 44th degree of latitude, where the navigation of the Missouri ends, at the distance of about three thousand miles from its entrance into the Mississippi.

Whilst the canoes were ascending the Jefferson River, Captains Lewis and Clarke, with some of their men, proceeded through the mountains, and soon found streams flowing towards the west, one of which was traced in that direction, by Clarke, for seventy miles; they also met several parties of Indians belonging to a nation called *Shoshonee*, from whose accounts they were convinced that those streams were the head-waters of the Columbia. Having received this satisfactory information, the commanders rejoined their men at the head of the Jefferson; and preparations were commenced for pursuing the journey by land. For this purpose, the canoes and a portion of the goods were concealed in *caches*, or covered pits, and a number of horses, with some guides, being procured from the Shoshonees, the whole body of the Americans, on the 30th of August, entered on the passage through the Rocky Mountains.

Up to this period, the difficulties of the journey had been comparatively light, and the privations few. But, during the three weeks which the Americans spent in passing the Rocky Mountains, they underwent, as Clarke says, "every suffering which hunger, cold, and fatigue, could impose." The mountains were high, and the passes through them rugged, and, in many places, covered with snow; and their food consisted of berries, dried fish, and the meat of dogs or horses, of all which the supplies were scanty and precarious. They crossed many streams, some of them large, which emptied into the Columbia; but their guides gave them no encouragement to embark on any, until they reached one called the *Kooskooskee*, in the latitude of 43 degrees 34 minutes, about four hundred miles, by their route, from the head of navigation of the Missouri.

At this place, they constructed five canoes, and, leaving their horses in charge of a tribe of Indians of the *Chopunnish* nation, they, on the 7th of October, began the descent of the Kooskooskee. Three days afterwards, they entered the principal southern branch

of the Columbia, to which they gave the name of *Lewis*; and, in seven days more, they reached the point of its confluence with the larger northern branch, called by them the *Clarke*. They were then fairly launched on the *Great River of the West*, and passing down it, through many dangerous rapids, they, on the 31st, arrived at the *Falls of the Columbia*, where it rushes through the lofty chain of mountains nearest the Pacific. Some of their canoes descended these falls in safety; the others and the goods were carried around by land, and replaced in the water at the foot of the cataract. At a short distance below, the tides of the Pacific were observed; and, on the 15th of November, the whole party landed on Cape Disappointment, at the mouth of the Columbia, about six hundred miles from the place at which they had embarked on its waters, and more than four thousand, by their route, from the mouth of the Missouri.

The winter, or rather the rainy season, having commenced when the party reached the mouth of the Columbia, it became necessary for them to remain there until the following spring. They accordingly prepared a habitation on the north side of the river, eleven miles in a straight line from Cape Disappointment, from which they were, however, soon driven by the floods; they then found a suitable spot on the south side, a little higher up, where they formed their dwelling, called by them *Fort Clatsop*, and remained until the middle of March, 1806. During this period, the cold was by no means severe, less so, indeed, than on the Atlantic shore of the continent ten degrees farther south; but the rains were incessant and violent, and the river being at the same time generally too much agitated by the winds and the waves from the ocean for the Americans to venture on it in their canoes, they were often unable to obtain provisions, either by hunting or fishing. The *Clatsop* Indians who occupy the south side of the Columbia, at its mouth, and the *Chinnooks*, on the opposite shore, conducted themselves peaceably; but their prices for every thing which they offered for sale were so high, that no trade could be carried on with them. The party were, in consequence of the rains, seldom able to quit their encampment; and the only excursion of any length made by them during the winter, was as far as the promontory overhanging the Pacific, thirty miles south of the Columbia, which they called *Clarke's Point of View*, near the Cape Lookout of Meares.

On the 23d of March, 1806, the Americans commenced the ascent of the Columbia in canoes, on their return to the United States. Proceeding slowly up the river, they carefully examined

its shores, and discovered a large stream, called by the natives the *Cowelitz*, flowing into it from the north, at the distance of sixty miles from the ocean. Thirty miles higher up, they found another and much larger stream, joining the Columbia on the south side, the Indian name of which was supposed to be *Multonomah;* it is now, however, universally known as the *Willamet*, and on its banks are situated the most flourishing settlements as yet formed by citizens of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains.

In the middle of April, the exploring party reached the foot of the great rapids, below the Falls of the Columbia, where they abandoned their canoes, and began their journey by land, on horses purchased from the Indians. In this way, they traversed the gap or defile in the mountains through which the river pours its floods, and then, pursuing their course over the elevated plains east of that ridge, they arrived, on the 8th of May, at the point on the Kooskooskee River, where they had left their horses, and first embarked on the waters of the Columbia, in the preceding year. From this place, they continued on horseback due eastward, through the Rocky Mountains, to the Clarke River, which flows for some distance in a northerly direction from its sources, before turning southward to join the other branches of the Columbia; and there it was agreed that the chiefs of the expedition should separate, to meet again at the confluence of the Yellowstone with the Missouri.

The separation took place on the 3d of July, near the point at which the Clarke River is crossed by the 47th parallel of latitude, due west of the Falls of the Missouri. Captain Lewis and his party proceeded some distance northward, down the Clarke, and then, quitting it, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the head-waters of *Maria River*, which empties into the Missouri just below the falls. There they met a band of Indians belonging to the numerous and daring race called the *Black-foot*, who infest the plains at the base of the mountains, and are ever at war with all other tribes; these savages attempted to seize the rifles of the Americans, and Lewis was obliged to kill one of them before they desisted. The party then hastened to the Missouri, which they reached at the falls, and thence floated down to the mouth of the Yellowstone.

Meanwhile, the others, under Clarke, rode southward up the valley of the Clarke River, to its sources; and, after exploring several passes in the mountains between that point and the head-waters of the Yellowstone, they embarked in canoes on the latter

stream, and descended it to the Missouri, where they joined Lewis and his men on the 12th of August.

From the point of confluence of the two rivers, the whole body moved down the Missouri; and, on the 23d of September, 1806, they arrived in safety at St. Louis, having travelled, in the course of their expedition, more than nine thousand miles.

The preceding sketch of the long and difficult expedition of Lewis and Clarke will serve to show the general course of their routes between the Mississippi and the Pacific. As to the priority and extent of their geographical discoveries, a few words will suffice. The Missouri had been ascended, by the French and Spanish traders, to the mouth of the Yellowstone, long before Lewis and Clarke embarked on it; but ample proofs are afforded, by the maps drawn prior to their expedition, that no information even approximating to correctness had been obtained respecting the river and the countries in its vicinity. With regard to the territory between the great Falls of the Missouri and those of the Columbia, and the branches of either river joining it above its falls, we have no accounts whatsoever earlier than those derived from the journals of the American exploring party. The Tacoutchee-Tessee, navigated by Mackenzie in 1793, and supposed by him to be a branch of the Columbia, was afterwards discovered to be a different stream, now called *Fraser's River*, emptying into the Strait of Fuca; and no evidence has been adduced of the passage of any white person through the country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, north of California, from the time of Mackenzie's journey to that of the expedition of Lewis and Clarke.*

Politically, the expedition was an announcement to the world of the intention of the American government to occupy and settle the countries explored, to which certainly no other nation except Spain could advance so strong a claim on the grounds of discovery or of contiguity; and the government and people of the United States thus virtually incurred the obligation to prosecute and carry into

* The journal of the expedition of Lewis and Clarke was not published until 1814, when it appeared nearly in the same state in which it came from the hands of Lewis, shortly before the melancholy termination of his existence. It affords abundant proofs of the powers of observation possessed by those who were engaged in the enterprise; and the mass of facts, geographically, commercially, and politically important, which it contains, causes it still to be regarded as the principal source of information respecting the geography, the natural history, and the aboriginal inhabitants, of the portions of America traversed by the Missouri and the Columbia.

fulfilment the great ends for which the labors of Lewis and Clarke were the first preparatory measures.

During the absence of Lewis and Clarke, other persons were engaged, under the orders of the government of the United States, in exploring different parts of the interior of Louisiana. Lieutenant Pike ascended the Mississippi to its head-waters, near the 48th degree of latitude, where he obtained much useful information respecting the course of that stream, and the numbers, characters, and dispositions, of the Indians in its vicinity, as well as concerning the trade and establishments of the North-West Company in that quarter. Having completed this expedition, Pike, in 1806, undertook another, in the course of which he travelled south-westward from the mouth of the Missouri, to the upper waters of the Arkansas, the Red River, and the Rio Bravo del Norte: on the latter river, he and his party were made prisoners by the Spaniards of Santa Fé, who carried them southward as far as the city of Chihuahua, and thence, through Texas, to the United States. The Red and Washita Rivers were at the same time explored, to a considerable distance from the Mississippi, by Messrs. Dunbar, Hunter, and Sibley, whose journals, as well as those of Pike, subsequently published, contain many interesting descriptions of those parts of America.

Thus, within three or four years after Louisiana came into the possession of the United States, it ceased to be an unknown region, and the principal features of the territory drained by the Columbia were displayed.

CHAPTER XIV.

1806 to 1815.

First Establishments of the North-West Company in the Countries north of the Columbia — Pacific Fur Company formed at New York — Plan of its Founder — First Expedition from New York in the Tonquin — Foundation of Astoria near the Mouth of the Columbia River — Destruction of the Tonquin by the Savages — March of the Party under Hunt and Crooks across the Continent — Arrival of the Beaver in the Columbia — War between the United States and Great Britain fatal to the Enterprise — Establishments of the Pacific Company sold to the North-West Company — Astoria taken by the British — Dissolution of the Pacific Company.

THE expeditions of Lewis and Clarke, and Pike, did not fail to attract the attention, and to excite the jealousy, of the British government and trading companies. Pike had restrained the incursions of the North-West Company's people into the territories of the Upper Mississippi, and had lessened their influence over the Indians inhabiting those regions. From the moment when Lewis and Clarke appeared on the Missouri, their movements were watched by the agents of the British Association; and, so soon as it was ascertained that they were ordered to explore the Columbia, preparations were made to anticipate the Americans in the settlement of that portion of the continent, for which the expedition of those officers was evidently intended to open the way. A party of the North-West Company's men was accordingly despatched, in 1805, under the direction of Mr. Laroque, to establish posts and occupy territories on the Columbia; but this party proceeded no farther than the Mandan villages on the Missouri. In the following year, 1806, another party was despatched from Fort Chipewyan, under Mr. Simon Fraser, who crossed the Rocky Mountains near the passage of the Peace River, and formed a trading establishment on a small lake, now called *Fraser's Lake*, situated in the 54th degree of latitude. *This was the first settlement or post of any kind made by British subjects west of the Rocky Mountains.* Other posts were subsequently formed in the same country, which, in 1808, received from the traders the name of *New Caledonia;* but it does

not appear, from any evidence as yet adduced, that any part of the waters of the Columbia, or of the country through which they flow, was seen by persons in the service of the North-West Company until 1811.*

In the mean time, several establishments had been formed by citizens of the United States on the Columbia and its branches.

Before the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, the trade of the Missouri and the adjacent countries inhabited by the Indians, had been granted by the Spanish government to Manuel Lisa, a merchant of St. Louis, who continued to conduct it almost exclusively until 1806. After the return of Lewis and Clarke, other individuals engaged in the business, the competition between whom occasioned many and serious disputes; until at length, in 1808, an association, called the *Missouri Fur Company*, was formed among

* Many interesting details respecting the proceedings of the North-West Company, and the geography of the parts of America in which its establishments are situated, may be found in the journal of D. W. Harmon, a native of Vermont, who was a partner in that company, and the superintendent of all its affairs beyond the Rocky Mountains for several years. This journal was published at Andover, in Massachusetts, in 1819, but is now nearly out of print: a review of it, containing many curious extracts, may be seen in the London Quarterly Review for January, 1822.

With regard to the dates of the earliest establishments of the North-West Company beyond the Rocky Mountains, the following extracts from Harmon's journal may be considered as decisive evidence:—

"*Saturday, November 24th*, 1804.—Some people have just arrived from Montagne la Basse, with a letter from Mr. Chaboillez, who informs me that two captains, Clarke and Lewis, with one hundred and eighty soldiers, have arrived at the Mandan village, on the Missouri River, which place is situated about three days' distance from the residence of Mr. Chaboillez. They have invited Mr. Chaboillez to visit them. It is said that, on their arrival, they hoisted the American flag, and informed the natives that their object was not to trade, but merely to explore the country, and that, as soon as the navigation shall open, they design to continue their route across the Rocky Mountains, and thence descend to the Pacific Ocean.

"*Wednesday, April 10th*, 1805.—While at Montagne la Basse, Mr. Chaboillez induced me to consent to undertake a long and arduous tour of discovery. I am to leave that place about the beginning of June, accompanied by six or seven Canadians, and two or three Indians. The first place at which we shall stop will be the Mandan village, on the Missouri River; thence we shall steer our course towards the Rocky Mountains, accompanied by a number of the Mandan Indians, who proceed in that direction, every spring, to meet and trade with another tribe of Indians, who reside on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. [This journey I never undertook: a Mr. La Roque attempted to make this tour, but went no farther than the Mandan village.]"

At page 281, Harmon says, "The part of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, with which I am acquainted, has, ever since the North-West Company first made an establishment there, which was in 1806, gone by the name of *New Caledonia*," &c. And in many places he speaks of Mr. Simon Fraser as having led the first company of traders beyond the Rocky Mountains, in 1806.

the principal traders in that part of America, by which posts were established on the Upper Mississippi, the Missouri, and even beyond the Rocky Mountains. The trading post founded by Mr. Henry, one of the agents of the Missouri Company, on a branch of the Lewis River, the great southern arm of the Columbia, appears to have been the earliest establishment of any kind made by people of a civilized nation in the territory drained by the latter stream; the enmity of the savages in its vicinity, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions, however, obliged Mr. Henry to abandon it in 1810.

In that year, an attempt was made by Captain Smith, the commander of the ship Albatross, from Boston, to found a post for trade with the Indians at a place called Oak Point, on the south bank of the Columbia, about forty miles from its mouth. For this purpose a house was built and a garden was laid out and planted there; but the site was badly chosen in all respects, and the scheme was abandoned before the close of the year.

In the same year, 1810, an association was formed at New York, for the prosecution of the fur trade in the central and north-western parts of the continent, in connection with the China trade, of which a particular account will be presented, as the transactions attending the enterprise led to important political results.

This association was called the *Pacific Fur Company.** At its head was John Jacob Astor, a German merchant of New York, who had been for many years extensively engaged in the commerce of the Pacific and China, and also in the trade with the Indian countries in the centre of the American continent, and, by his prudence and skill, had thus accumulated an immense fortune, ere he passed the meridian of life. He devised the scheme; he advanced the capital requisite for carrying it into execution, and he directed all

* The following account of the proceedings of the Pacific Fur Company is derived chiefly from — Adventures on the Columbia River, &c., by Ross Cox. London, 1831. — Relation d'un Voyage à la Cote Nord-Ouest, de l'Amérique Septentrionale, dans les Années 1810-14, par Gabriel Franchère. Montreal, 1820. [Franchère went out with the first party in the Tonquin; Cox went out in the Beaver, and they both returned to Canada by way of the lakes.] — Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains, by Washington Irving, Philadelphia, 1836; the latter author gives the most complete account of the circumstances, particularly of the adventures of the parties under Hunt, Crooks, and Stuart, derived from their statements and the papers in the possession of Mr. Astor, to which he had access. In addition to these authorities, several letters and papers, addressed by Mr. Astor to the executive of the United States, have been examined, and some communications have been personally received from that gentleman. One of his letters, containing a summary of the circumstances connected with his enterprise, will be found among the Proofs and Illustrations, at the end of this volume, under the letter G.

the operations. His first objects were to concentrate in the hands of the company the fur trade of every part of the unsettled territories of America claimed by the United States, and also the supply of the Russian establishments on the North Pacific, which was to be conducted agreeably to arrangements made with the Russian American Company, similar to those proposed by the government of St. Petersburg to the cabinet at Washington, as already mentioned; and by the attainment of these first objects, he expected to be able to control, if not exclusively to possess, the whole commerce between the ports of China and those of America, and of a large portion of Europe.

For these purposes, posts were to be established on the Missouri, the Columbia, and the coasts of the Pacific contiguous to the latter river, at which places the furs were to be collected by trade with the Indians, or by hunters in the employ of the company. The posts were to be supplied with the merchandise required, either by way of the Missouri, or by ships despatched from the ports of the United States to the North Pacific; and the furs collected were to be carried either down the Missouri to the Atlantic ports of the Union, or westward to the establishments of the company on the Pacific. The merchandise sent to the Pacific would be discharged, in the first instance, at a principal factory, to be founded at some point most convenient for distributing the articles among the interior posts, and for receiving the furs from those places; and the vessels would then take in cargoes of furs, which they would transport to Canton. Vessels would also be sent, either directly from the United States, or from the principal factory on the Pacific, to the Russian American establishments, with provisions and other articles, for which furs were to be received in payment; and from Canton these vessels would bring to Europe or America teas, silks, and other Chinese goods, procured in exchange for their furs. It is scarcely necessary to add, that all these movements were to be conducted with order and regularity, and at stated periods, so as to prevent loss of time and labor, or injury to the various articles transported.

The number of shares in the company was to be one hundred: of these half were retained by Mr. Astor, who was to advance the funds necessary for the first operations, and to manage the concerns at New York; the remaining shares being divided among the other partners, who were to conduct the business in the western territories, on the Pacific, and at Canton. The association, if prosperous, was to continue twenty years, after which it might be prolonged; but it might be abandoned by any of the partners, or

dissolved, within the first five years, Mr. Astor bearing all the losses incurred during that period.

This was certainly an extensive and complicated scheme; but it appeared, at the time when it was devised, to be perfectly practicable. The territories in which the new establishments were to be formed, had never been occupied: there could be no doubt that the Russians would gladly agree to the proposed arrangements for the trade with their factories; the demand for furs at Canton was regular, and sufficiently great to insure the superiority, in that market, to those who could control the supply; and the Americans would possess, in China and on the Pacific, a decided advantage over the British, whose flag was then rarely seen in the Pacific, in consequence of the monopoly enjoyed by the East India Company. Moreover, there was then no prospect of a material change in the political positions of the principal nations of the world.

The only party from which the Pacific Company could apprehend any immediate and serious difficulties, was the North-West Company of Montreal. The resources of that body were in every respect inferior to Mr. Astor's; but, in order to prevent rivalry, he communicated his intentions confidentially to its directors, and offered them an interest to the extent of one third in his enterprise: they, however, rejected his proposal, and took measures, as will be shown hereafter, to forestall him. Was Mr. Astor — a citizen of the United States — justifiable in thus offering to an association of British subjects, noted for its enmity to his adopted country, a share of the advantages to be obtained under the flag of the United States, from territories exclusively belonging to the United States, or of which the exclusive possession by the United States was evidently essential to the welfare and advancement of the republic?

Having matured his scheme, Mr. Astor engaged as partners, clerks, and *voyageurs*, a number of Scotchmen and Canadians, who had been in the service of the North-West Company, and afterwards a number rather greater, of other persons, principally natives of the United States. The partners first admitted were Alexander Mackay, who had accompanied Mackenzie in his expedition to the Pacific in 1793, Duncan Macdougal, and Donald Mackenzie, all Scotchmen, formerly belonging to the North-West Company: these persons signed the constitution or articles of agreement of the Pacific Company, with Mr. Astor, on the 23d of June, 1810; having, however, previously communicated the whole plan of the enterprise to Mr. Jackson, the minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain in the United

States, who quieted all their scruples as to engaging in it, by assuring them that, "*in case of a war between the two nations, they would be respected as British subjects and merchants.*" The partners subsequently admitted were David and Robert Stuart, and Ramsay Crooks, Scotchmen, who had also been in the service of the North-West Company, and Wilson Price Hunt, John Clarke, and Robert Maclellan, citizens of the United States. The majority of the clerks were Americans; among the others were Ross Cox, an Englishman, and Gabriel Franchère, a Canadian, each of whom has written an interesting history of the enterprise. The *voyageurs* were nearly all from Canada. Mr. Hunt, a native of New Jersey, was chosen as chief agent of the company, to superintend all its concerns on the western side of America for five years.

Thus it will be seen that, although the chief direction of the concerns of the Pacific Fur Company, in New York and on the western side of the continent, were at first intrusted to American citizens, yet the majority not only of the inferior servants, but also of the partners, were British subjects, nearly all of whom had been in the service of a rival British association.

The preparations for commencing the enterprise having been completed, four of the partners, Messrs. Mackay, Macdougal, David Stuart, and Robert Stuart, with eleven clerks, thirteen Canadian *voyageurs*, and five mechanics, all British subjects, took their departure from New York for the mouth of the Columbia River, in September, 1810, in the ship Tonquin, commanded by Jonathan Thorne. In January following, the second detachment, conducted by Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, and Messrs. Maclellan, Mackenzie, and Crooks, set out for the same point, by way of the Missouri River; and in October, 1811, the ship Beaver, under Captain Sowles, carried out from New York, to the North Pacific, Mr. Clarke, with six clerks and a number of other persons.

Mr. Astor had already, in 1809, despatched the ship Enterprise, under Captain Ebbets, an intelligent and experienced seaman and trader, to make observations at various places on the north-west coasts of America, and particularly at the Russian settlements, and to prepare the way for the new establishments. He, also, in 1811, sent an agent to St. Petersburg, by whose means he concluded an arrangement with the Russian American Company, to the effect that his association should have the exclusive privileges, of supplying the Russian establishments on the North Pacific with merchandise, receiving furs in payment, and of transporting to Canton such

other furs as the Russians might choose to ship for that port, on their own account, provided that the Americans should visit no other parts of the coast north of a certain latitude.

The Tonquin passed around Cape Horn, and in February, 1811, arrived at Owyhee, where Macdougal, who was to superintend the affairs of the company on the Pacific and its coasts until the arrival of Hunt, endeavored to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce with King Tamahamaha: but that aged chief, whom experience had rendered distrustful, refused to bind himself by any contract with the white men; and he would only promise to furnish the vessels of the company with provisions on the same terms with other vessels — namely, on payment of the value in Spanish dollars. Having obtained the necessary supplies in this way, and taken on board a dozen of the islanders, who were permitted by their sovereign to engage in the service of the Pacific Company, Captain Thorne sailed for the mouth of the Columbia, where he effected an entrance on the 24th of March, with great danger and difficulty, after losing three of his men, who attempted to reach the shore in a boat.

The passengers immediately disembarked on the shore of Baker's Bay, on the north side of the Columbia, just within Cape Disappointment, where sheds were built for their temporary accommodation. A few days afterwards, the partners set off in search of a place proper for the establishment of a factory; and they soon selected for that object a spot on the south bank of the river, distant about ten miles from the ocean, which had received from Broughton, in 1792, the name of *Point George*. To this place the Tonquin was removed; and, her goods and materials being landed, preparations were commenced for the erection of a fort and other houses, and for building a small vessel, of which the frame had been brought out from New York. In the course of two months, these works were so far advanced, that the assistance of the ship's crew was no longer needed; and Captain Thorne accordingly sailed on the 5th of June for the northern coasts, carrying with him Mr. Mackay who was to conduct the trade, and to make arrangements with the Russians, Mr. Lewis one of the clerks, and an Indian who spoke English, to serve as interpreter.

During the ensuing summer, much progress was made in the buildings for the factory, which, in honor of the head of the company, was named Astoria. A large piece of ground was cleared and laid out as a garden, in which various vegetables were planted; the small vessel was finished and launched; trade was carried on with the neighboring Indians, and also with others from the higher

parts of the river, who gave skins, fish, and game, in exchange for manufactured articles; and every thing, in fine, seemed to promise success to the enterprise.

While the Astorians were thus engaged, they were unexpectedly visited, on the 15th of July, by a party of the North-West Company's men, under the direction of Mr. David Thompson, the surveyor or astronomer of that body. These men had been despatched from Canada in the preceding year, with the object of forestalling the Americans in the occupation of the mouth of the Columbia, which they hoped to effect before the end of that season: but they were so long delayed in seeking a passage through the Rocky Mountains, that they were obliged to winter in that ridge, near the northernmost sources of the Columbia, under the 52d parallel of latitude; whence they hastened down the river in the spring of 1811, building huts, and erecting flags at various places, by way of *taking possession* of the country. They were received at the fort not as rivals, but as friends; and were treated with the utmost respect and hospitality, during their stay, by their old companion, the superintendent, Macdougal, who, moreover, furnished them with provisions, and even with goods, for trading on their departure up the river.

Mr. Thompson and his followers in this expedition were, from all the accounts as yet made public, the first white persons who navigated the northern branch of the Columbia, or traversed any part of the country drained by it. The British commissioners, in the negotiation with the American plenipotentiary at London, in 1826, nevertheless, attempted to place Mr. Thompson's expedition on an equality, not only as to extent of discovery, but also as to date, with that of Lewis and Clarke; and to represent the establishments which he is said to have founded on his way down the Columbia as prior to those formed by the Pacific Company. In their statement of the claims of Great Britain to territories west of the Rocky Mountains, they say*—"The United States further pretend that their claim to the country in question is strengthened and confirmed by the discovery of the sources of the Columbia, and by the exploration of its course to the sea by Lewis and Clarke, in 1805–6. In reply to this allegation, Great Britain affirms, and can distinctly prove, that, *if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years*, her North-West Trading Company had, by means of their agent, Mr. Thompson, already established their posts among the Flat-head and

* See the British statement, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter H.

Kootanie tribes, on the head-waters or main branch of the Columbia, and were gradually extending them down the principal stream of that river; thus giving to Great Britain in this particular, as in the discovery of the mouth of the river, a title of parity at least, if not of priority of discovery, as opposed to the United States. It was from these posts that, having heard of the American establishment forming in 1811 at the mouth of the river, Mr. Thompson hastened thither, descending the river to ascertain the nature of that establishment." The expression "*if not before, at least in the same and following years*," used here, is rather indefinite. In order to show how it should be understood conformably with truth, it will be proper to repeat — that Lewis and Clarke descended the Columbia and reached its mouth before the middle of November, 1805 — that the North-West Company made their first establishment beyond the Rocky Mountains, at some distance north of any part of the Columbia, in 1806 — that American establishments were formed on the Columbia in 1809, 1810, and 1811 — and, finally, that Thompson did not arrive among the Kootanie and Flat-head tribes until the spring of 1811, after the foundation of Astoria.

Mr. Thompson and his people were accompanied, on their return, by a party from the factory, under Mr. David Stuart, who established a post at the confluence of a stream, called the *Okinagan*, with the north branch of the Columbia, about six hundred miles above the mouth of the latter river, and remained there during the winter. The situation of those left at Astoria was, in the mean time, very unpleasant, and their spirits were depressed by various circumstances. Their supplies of provisions were scanty and uncertain, and nothing was heard, for some months, of the party who were to come over land from the United States; the Tonquin, which was expected to return to the river in September, did not appear, and rumors were brought by the Indians of the destruction of a ship, and the massacre of her crew, by the natives near the Strait of Fuca. Nothing, however, occurred at the factory, worthy of note, until the 18th of January, 1812, when a portion of the detachment sent across the continent arrived there in the most wretched condition.

This detachment, consisting of about sixty men, under the chief agent, Hunt, and the partners, Crooks, Mackenzie, and Maclellan, ascended the Missouri River in boats, from its mouth to the country of the Arickara Indians, distant about fourteen hundred miles higher; during which voyage they were constantly annoyed by their rivals of the Missouri Company; and, there quitting the river, they took a

westward course to the Rocky Mountains, which they crossed in September, 1811, near the head of the Yellowstone River. On the western side of the ridge, they found a large stream, probably the main branch of the Lewis, on which they embarked in canoes, with the expectation of thus floating down to the Falls of the Columbia; but ere they had proceeded far in this way, they encountered so many dangers and obstructions, from falls and rapids, that they were forced to abandon the stream and resume their march. It would be needless here to attempt to describe the many evils from hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue, which these men underwent during their wanderings through that dreary wilderness of snow-clad mountains, in the winter of 1811–12: suffice it to say, that, after several of their number had perished from one or more of these causes, the others reached Astoria in separate parties, in the first months of 1812, having spent more than a year in coming from St. Louis. At the factory they found shelter, warmth, and rest; but they had little food, until the fish began to enter the river, when they obtained abundant supplies of pilchards, of the most delicious flavor.

On the 5th of May, 1812, the ship Beaver,* commanded by Captain Sowles, arrived in the Columbia, from New York, bringing the third detachment of persons in the service of the Pacific Company, under the direction of Mr. Clarke, and twenty-six natives of

* Ross Cox, who arrived at Astoria in the Beaver, in May, 1812, gives the following account of the establishment as it then appeared: —

"The spot selected for the fort [Astoria] was a handsome eminence, called *Point George*, which commanded an extensive view of the majestic Columbia in front, bounded by the bold and thickly-wooded northern shore. On the right, about three miles distant, a long, high, and rocky peninsula, covered with timber, called *Tongue Point*, extended a considerable distance into the river from the southern side, with which it was connected by a narrow neck of land; while, on the extreme left, Cape Disappointment, with the bar and its terrific chain of breakers, were distinctly visible. The buildings consisted of apartments for the proprietors and clerks, with a capacious dining-hall for both; extensive warehouses for the trading goods and furs, a provision store, a trading shop, smith's forge, carpenter's shop, &c.; the whole surrounded by stockades, forming a square, and reaching about fifteen feet above the ground. A gallery ran around the stockades, in which loopholes were pierced, sufficiently large for musketry; two strong bastions, built of logs, commanded the four sides of the square; each bastion had two stories, in which a number of chosen men slept every night; a six pounder was placed in the lower story of each, and they were both well provided with small arms. Immediately in front of the fort was a gentle declivity, sloping down to the river's side, which had been turned into an excellent kitchen garden; and, a few hundred rods to the left, a tolerable wharf had been run out, by which bateaux and boats were enabled, at low water, to land their cargoes without sustaining any damage. An impenetrable forest of gigantic pines rose in the rear, and the ground was covered with a thick underwood of brier and whortleberry, intermingled with fern and honeysuckle."

the Sandwich Islands, who were engaged as seamen or laborers. The Beaver, moreover, brought from Owyhee a letter which had been left there by Captain Ebbets, of the ship Enterprise, containing positive information of the destruction of the Tonquin and her crew by the savages on the coast near the Strait of Fuca; the particulars of this melancholy affair were not, however, learned until August of the following year, when they were communicated at Astoria by the Indian who had gone in the Tonquin as interpreter, and was the only survivor of those on board the ill-fated ship.

According to this interpreter's account, the Tonquin, after quitting the river, sailed northward along the coast of the continent, and anchored, in the middle of June, 1811, opposite a village on the Bay of Clyoquot, near the entrance of the Strait of Fuca. She was there immediately surrounded by crowds of Indians in canoes, who continued for some days to trade in the most peaceable manner, so as to disarm Captain Thorne and Mr. M'Kay of all suspicions. At length, either in consequence of an affront given to a chief by the captain, or with the view of plundering the vessel, the natives embraced an opportunity when the men were dispersed on or below the decks, in the performance of their duties, and in a moment put to death every one of the crew and passengers, except the interpreter, who leaped into a canoe, and was saved by some women, and the clerk, Mr. Lewis, who retreated, with a few sailors, to the cabin. The survivors of the crew, by the employment of their fire-arms, succeeded in driving the savages from the ship; and, in the night, four of them quitted her in a boat, leaving on board Mr. Lewis and some others, who were severely wounded. On the following day, the natives again crowded around and on board the Tonquin; and while they were engaged in rifling her, she was blown up, most probably by the wounded men left below deck. The seamen who had endeavored to escape in the boat were soon retaken, and put to death in the most cruel manner, by the Indians; the interpreter was preserved, and remained in slavery two years, at the end of which time he was suffered to depart.

The loss of this ship was a severe blow to the Pacific Company; but the partners at Astoria were consoled by the reflections, that their chief could bear pecuniary damages to a far greater extent without injury to his credit, and that, if their enterprise should prove successful, ample indemnification would soon be obtained. It was therefore determined that Mr. Hunt should embark in the Beaver, to superintend the trade along the northern coasts, and visit the

Russian establishments, as Mr. Mackay would have done, but for the destruction of the Tonquin; and he accordingly took his departure in that ship in August, 1812, leaving the superintendence of the affairs at the factory, as before, in the hands of Mr. Macdougal. A party was at the same time despatched to the upper country, by which another trading post was established on the *Spokan*, a stream joining the northern branch of the Columbia, about six hundred and fifty miles from the ocean; and accounts of all the transactions, to that period, were transmitted to the United States, under the care of Messrs. Crooks, Maclellan, and Robert Stuart, who recrossed the continent, and reached New York in the spring of 1813, after encountering difficulties and dangers greater, in many respects, than those undergone in their journey to the Pacific.

The trade with the Indians of the Lower Missouri was, in the mean time, going on prosperously; provisions were abundant at Astoria, and a large quantity of furs was collected there, in expectation of the arrival of the Beaver, which was to take them to Canton in the ensuing spring. The hopes of the partners were thus revived, and they had daily additional grounds for anticipating success in their undertaking, when, in January, 1813, they learned that the United States had declared war against Great Britain in June previous. This news spread an instantaneous gloom over the minds of all, which was increased by information received from a trading vessel, that the Beaver was lying at Canton, blockaded by a British ship of war: and soon afterwards, Messrs. Mactavish and Laroque, partners in the North-West Company, arrived near Astoria, with sixteen men, bringing accounts of the success of the British arms on the northern frontiers of the United States, and of the blockade of all the Atlantic coasts of the latter country by British squadrons.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Laroque and Mactavish were received and treated by Macdougal and Mackenzie, the only partners of the Pacific Company then at Astoria, with the same attention and hospitality which had been shown to Thompson in the preceding year; and were supplied with provisions and goods for trading, as if they had been friends and allies, instead of commercial rivals and political enemies. A series of private conferences were then held between the chief persons of the two parties, at the conclusion of which, Macdougal and Mackenzie announced their determination that the company should be dissolved on the 1st of July, and sent messengers to communicate the fact to the other

partners, Stuart and Clarke, at the Okinagan and Spokan posts. The latter gentleman, on receiving this news, hastened to the factory, and there strongly opposed the determination to abandon the enterprise; and it was at length agreed among them, that the establishments should be maintained a few months longer, at the end of which time, the company should be dissolved, unless assistance were received from the United States. Three of the clerks, including Ross Cox, however, immediately quitted the concern, and, entering the service of the North-West Company, took their departure for the upper country with Laroque and Mactavish, in July.

From the United States no assistance came. The ship Lark was despatched from New York, in March, 1813, with men and goods for the Columbia; but she was wrecked in October following, near one of the Sandwich Islands, on which the captain, Northrup, and crew succeeded in effecting a landing. The American government also determined, in consequence of the representations of Mr. Astor, to send the frigate Adams to the North Pacific, for the protection of the infant establishment; but, just as that ship was about to sail from New York, it became necessary to transfer her crew to Lake Ontario, and the blockade of the coasts of the United States by the British rendered all further efforts to convey succors to Astoria unavailing.

In the mean time, Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, who had sailed from the Columbia in the Beaver, in August, 1812, as already mentioned, visited the principal Russian establishments on the north-west coasts of America, and the adjacent islands, and collected a large quantity of furs, besides concluding arrangements highly advantageous to the Pacific Company, with Governor Baranof,* at Sitka. It was then agreed between Mr. Hunt and Captain Sowles, that the Beaver should proceed, by way of the Sandwich Islands, to Canton, instead of returning to the Columbia, as had been previously determined; and this was done, though Hunt went no farther in her than to Woahoo, one of the Sandwich group, where he remained several months, waiting for some vessel to carry him to Astoria. At length, in June, 1813, the ship Albatross, of Boston, arrived at

* An amusing account of the negotiations between Hunt and Baranof is given in Mr. Irving's Astoria. The chief agent of the Pacific Company appears to have been in as much danger from the "potations pottle deep" of raw rum and burning punch, which accompanied each of his interviews with the governor of Russian America, as from hunger, thirst, savages, or storms, during his whole expedition.

Woahoo, from China, bringing information of the war between the United States and Great Britain, and also that the Beaver was blockaded by a British ship at Canton; on learning which, Mr. Hunt chartered the Albatross, and proceeded in her to the Columbia, where he arrived on the 4th of August.

Mr. Hunt was astounded on learning the resolution adopted by the other partners at Astoria during his absence, which he endeavored to induce them to change; but, finding them determined, he reluctantly acceded to it himself, and, after a few days, he re-embarked in the Albatross, for the Sandwich Islands, in search of some vessel to convey the property of the Pacific Company to a place of safety. At the Sandwich Islands no vessel could be found; and Hunt accordingly continued in the Albatross until she arrived at Nooahevah, (one of the Washington Islands, discovered by Ingraham, in 1791,) where he learned from Commodore David Porter, who was lying there in the American frigate Essex, that a large British squadron, under Commodore Hillyar, was on its way to the Columbia. This news caused Hunt to hasten back to the Sandwich Islands, which he reached in December, soon after the wreck of the Lark; and, having there chartered a small brig, called the Pedler, he sailed in her to Astoria, where he arrived in February, 1814.

The fate of the Pacific Company, and its establishments in North-West America, had, however, been decided some time before the Pedler reached Astoria.

Soon after the departure of Hunt, Mr. Mactavish and his followers of the North-West Company again appeared at Astoria, where they expected to meet a ship called the Isaac Todd, which had sailed from London in March, laden with goods, and under convoy of a British squadron, charged "*to take and destroy every thing American on the north-west coast.*" They were received as before, and allowed to pitch their camp unmolested near the factory; and private conferences were held between Mactavish and Macdougal, the results of which were, after some days, communicated to the other partners, and then to the clerks of the Pacific Company. These results were set forth in an agreement, signed on the 16th of October, 1813, between Messrs. Mactavish and Alexander Stuart, on the one part, and Messrs. Macdougal, Mackenzie, and Clarke, on the other; by which all the "*establishments, furs, and stock in hand,*" of the Pacific Company, in the country of the

Columbia, were sold to the North-West Company, for about fifty-eight thousand dollars.

Whilst the business of valuing the furs and goods at Astoria, and of transferring them to their new owners, was in progress, the British sloop of war Raccoon appeared at the mouth of the river, under the command of Captain Black, who had been despatched from the South Pacific, by Commodore Hillyar, for the purpose of taking the American forts and establishments on the Columbia, and had hastened thither in expectation of securing some glory, and a rich share of prize-money, by the conquest. On approaching the factory, however, the captain soon saw that he should gain no laurels; and, after it had been formally surrendered to him by Mr. Macdougal, he learnt, to his infinite dissatisfaction, that its contents had become the property of British subjects. He could, therefore, only haul down the flag of the United States, and hoist that of Great Britain in its stead, over the establishment,* the name of which was, with due solemnity, changed to *Fort George;* and, having given vent to his indignation against the partners of both companies, whom he loudly accused of collusion to defraud himself and his officers and crew of the reward due for their exertions, he sailed back to the South Pacific.

The brig Pedler arrived in the Columbia, as before said, on the 28th of February, 1814, and Mr. Hunt found Macdougal superintending the factory, not, however, as chief agent of the Pacific Company, but as a partner of the North-West Company, into which he had been admitted. Hunt had, therefore, merely to close the concerns of the American association in that quarter, and to receive the bills on Montreal, given in payment for its effects; after which he reëmbarked in the Pedler, with two of the clerks, and proceeded, by way of Canton and the Cape of Good Hope, to New York. Of the other persons who had been attached to the Pacific Fur Company's establishments, some were murdered by the Indians on Lewis River, in the summer of 1813; some, including Mr. Franchère, the author of the narrative of the expeditions, returned over land to the United States, or to Canada; and some remained on the Columbia, in the service of the North-West Company. The long-expected ship Isaac Todd reached Fort George on the 17th of April, thirteen months after her departure from Eng-

* See the account of the capture of Astoria, extracted from Cox, in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter G, No. 3.

land, bringing a large stock of supplies; by the aid of which the partners of the North-West Company were enabled to extend their operations, and to establish themselves more firmly in the country.

Such was the termination of the Astoria enterprise; for no attempt has been since made by any of the persons who were engaged in it to form establishments on the western side of America. It was wisely planned: the resources for conducting it were ample; and its failure was occasioned by circumstances, the principal of which could not have been reasonably anticipated at the time of its commencement. That ships might be lost at sea, or that parties might be destroyed by savages, or perish from cold or hunger,—casualties such as these were expected, and provisions were made for the contingencies. But, in 1810, when the Beaver sailed from New York, no one believed that, before the end of two years, the United States would be at war with the greatest maritime power in the world. By that war the whole plan was traversed. Communications by sea between the United States and the Pacific coasts became difficult and uncertain, whilst those by land were of little advantage, and were always liable to interruption by the enemy; and there was, in fact, no object in collecting furs on the Columbia, when those articles could not be transported to China.

The Pacific Company, nevertheless, might, and probably would, have withstood all these difficulties, *if the directing partners on the Columbia had been Americans, instead of being, as the greater part of them were, men unconnected with the United States by birth, or citizenship, or previous residence, or family ties.* Mr. Astor declares that he would have preferred the loss of the establishments and property by a fair capture, to the sale of them in a manner which he considered disgraceful; yet, although the conduct of Macdougal and Mackenzie, in that sale, and subsequently, was such as to authorize suspicions with regard to their motives, they could not have been expected to engage in hostilities against their compatriots and former friends. Being thus restrained from defending the *honor* of the Pacific Company by force, they may have considered themselves bound to take care of its *interests*, by the only means in their power, as they did in the sale. American citizens would have resisted the North-West Company, and would doubtless have maintained their supremacy, in the country of the Columbia, for some time, possibly until peace had been made between Great Britain and the United States.

CHAPTER XV.

1814 to 1820.

Restitution of Astoria to the United States by Great Britain, agreeably to the Treaty of Ghent — Alleged Reservation of Rights on the Part of Great Britain — First Negotiation between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, respecting the Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, and Convention for the joint Occupancy of those Territories — Florida Treaty between Spain and the United States, by which the Latter acquires the Title of Spain to the North-West Coasts — Colonel Long's exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains — Disputes between the British North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies — Union of those Bodies — Act of Parliament extending the Jurisdiction of the Canada Courts to the Pacific Countries — Russian Establishments on the North Pacific — Expeditions in Search of Northern Passages between the Atlantic and the Pacific — Death of Tamahamaha, and Introduction of Christianity into the Sandwich Islands.

The capture of Astoria by the British, and the transfer of the Pacific Company's establishments on the Columbia to the North-West Company, were not known to the plenipotentiaries of the United States at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814, when they signed the treaty of peace between their country and Great Britain. That treaty contains no allusion whatsoever to the north-west coasts of America, or to any portion of the continent west of the Lake of the Woods. The plenipotentiaries of the United States had been instructed by their government *to consent to no claim on the part of Great Britain to territory in that quarter south of the 49th parallel of latitude,* for reasons which have been already stated; and, after some discussion, they proposed to the British an article similar in effect to the fifth article of the convention signed, but not definitively concluded, in 1807, according to which,* a line drawn along that parallel should separate the territories of the powers so far as they extended west of the Lake of the Woods, provided, however, that nothing in the article should be construed as applying to any country west of the Rocky Mountains. The British plenipotentiaries were willing to accept this article, if it were also accompanied by a provision that their subjects should have access to the Mississippi River, through the territories of the United

* For the *reasons* and the *convention* here mentioned, see chap. xiii.

States, and the right of navigating it to the sea; but the Americans refused positively to agree to such a stipulation, and the question of boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods was left unsettled by the treaty.

It was nevertheless agreed, in the first article of the treaty of Ghent, that "*all territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned,* [in the Bay of Fundy,] *shall be restored without delay;*" and, in virtue of this article, Mr. Monroe, the secretary of state of the United States, on the 18th of July, 1815, announced to Mr. Baker, the *chargé d'affaires* of Great Britain at Washington, that the president intended immediately to reoccupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia. This determination seems to have been taken partly at the instance of Mr. Astor, who was anxious, if possible, to recommence operations on his former plan in North-West America; but no measures were adopted for the purpose until September, 1817, when Captain J. Biddle, commanding the sloop of war Ontario, and Mr. J. B. Prevost, were jointly commissioned to proceed in that ship to the mouth of the Columbia, and there "to assert the claim of the United States to the sovereignty of the adjacent country, in a friendly and peaceable manner, and without the employment of force." *

A few days after the departure of Messrs. Biddle and Prevost for the Pacific, on this mission, Mr. Bagot, the British plenipotentiary at Washington, addressed to Mr. J. Q. Adams, the American secretary of state, some inquiries respecting the destination of the Ontario, and the objects of her voyage; and, having been informed on those points, he remonstrated against the intended occupation of the post at the mouth of the Columbia, on the grounds "that the place had not been captured during the late war, but that the Americans had retired from it, under an agreement with the North-West Company, which had purchased their effects, and had ever since retained peaceable possession of the coast;" and that "the *territory itself was early taken possession of in his majesty's name, and had been since considered as forming part of his majesty's dominions;*" under which circumstances, no claim for the restitution of the post could be founded on the first article of the treaty of Ghent. At what precise time this possession was taken, or on

* See President Monroe's message to Congress of April 15th, 1822, and the accompanying documents.

what grounds the territory was considered as part of the British dominions, the minister did not attempt to show.

Mr. Bagot at the same time communicated the circumstances to his government, and they became the subjects of discussion between Lord Castlereagh, the British secretary for foreign affairs, and Mr. Rush, the American plenipotentiary at London. Lord Castlereagh proposed that the question respecting the claim to the post on the Columbia should be referred to commissioners, as many other disputed points had been, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent; to which Mr. Rush objected, for the simple reasons — that the spot was in the possession of the Americans before the war; that it fell, by belligerent capture, into the hands of the British during the war; and that, "under a treaty which stipulated the mutual restitution of all places reduced by the arms of either party, the right of the United States to immediate and full repossession could not be impugned." The British secretary, upon this, admitted the right of the Americans to be reinstated, and to be the party in possession, while treating on the title; though he regretted that the government of the United States should have employed means to obtain restitution which might lead to difficulties. Mr. Rush had no apprehensions of that kind; and it was finally agreed that the post should be restored to the Americans, and that the question of the title to the territory should be discussed in the negotiation as to limits and other matters, which was soon to be commenced. Lord Bathurst, the British secretary for the colonies, accordingly sent to the agents of the North-West Company at the mouth of the Columbia a despatch, directing them to afford due facilities for the reoccupation of the post at that point by the Americans; and an order to the same effect was also sent from the Admiralty to the commander of the British naval forces in the Pacific.

The Ontario passed around Cape Horn into the Pacific, and arrived, in February, 1818, at Valparaiso, where it was agreed between the commissioners that Captain Biddle should proceed to the Columbia, and receive possession of Astoria for the United States, Mr. Prevost remaining in Chili for the purpose of transacting some business with the government of that country, which had also been intrusted to him. Captain Biddle accordingly sailed to the Columbia, and, on the 9th of August, he took temporary possession of the country on that river, in the name of the United States, after which he returned to the South Pacific.

In the mean time, Commodore Bowles, the commander of the

British naval forces in the South Sea, received at Rio de Janeiro the order from the Admiralty for the surrender of the post on the Columbia to the Americans. This order he transmitted to Captain Sheriff, the senior officer of the ships in the Pacific, who, meeting Mr. Prevost at Valparaiso, informed him of the contents of the order, and offered him a passage to the Columbia, for the purpose of completing the business, as it certainly could not have been done by Captain Biddle. This offer was accepted by the American commissioner, who proceeded, in the British frigate Blossom, to the Columbia, and entered that river in the beginning of October; and Mr. Keith, the superintending partner of the North-West Company at Fort George, or Astoria, having also received the order, from the colonial department at London, for the surrender of the place, the affair was soon despatched.* On the 6th of the month, Captain Hickey and Mr. Keith, as joint commissioners on the part of Great Britain, presented to Mr. Prevost a paper declaring that, in obedience to the commands of the prince regent, as signified in Lord Bathurst's despatch of the 27th of January previous, and in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, they restored to the government of the United States, through its agent, Mr. Prevost, the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River; and Mr. Prevost, in return, gave another paper, setting forth the fact of his acceptance of the settlement for his government, agreeably to the

* President Monroe's message to Congress of April 17th, 1822, accompanied by Mr. Prevost's letter, dated Monterey, November 11th, 1818. The two papers above mentioned are of so much importance, that they are here given at length.

The *act of delivery* presented by the British commissioners is as follows: —

"In obedience to the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, signified in a despatch from the right honorable the Earl Bathurst, addressed to the partners or agents of the North-West Company, bearing date the 27th of January, 1818, and in obedience to a subsequent order, dated the 26th of July, from W. H. Sheriff, Esq., captain of his Majesty's ship Andromache, we, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the Government of the United States, through its agent, J. B. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River. Given under our hands, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th day of October, 1818.

"F. Hickey, *Captain of his Majesty's ship Blossom.*

"J. Keith, *of the North-West Company.*"

The *act of acceptance*, on the part of the American commissioner, is in these words: —

"I do hereby acknowledge to have this day received, in behalf of the Government of the United States, the possession of the settlement designated above, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent. Given under my hand, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th of October, 1818.

"J. B. Prevost, *Agent for the United States.*"

above-mentioned treaty. The British flag was then formally lowered, and that of the United States, having been hoisted in its stead over the fort, was saluted by the Blossom.

The documents above cited — the only ones which passed between the commissioners on this occasion — are sufficient to show that *no reservation or exception was made on the part of Great Britain*, and that the restoration of Astoria to the United States was complete and unconditional. Nevertheless, in a negotiation between the governments of those nations, in 1826, relative to the territories of the Columbia, it was maintained by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain,* that the restoration of Astoria could not have been legally required by the United States, in virtue of the treaty of Ghent, because the place was not a national possession, nor a military post, and was not taken during war; but "in order that not even the shadow of a reflection might be cast upon the good faith of the British government, the latter determined to give the most liberal extension to the terms of the treaty of Ghent; and in 1818, the purchase which the British Company had made in 1813 was restored to the United States; particular care being, however, taken, on this occasion, to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain." In support of this last assertion, two documents are produced, as having been addressed, in 1818, *by the British ministers to their own agents*, and which, *though never before published, or communicated in any way to the United States*, were considered by the plenipotentiaries, in 1826, as putting the "case of the restoration of Fort Astoria in too clear a light to require further observation." One of these documents is presented as an extract from Lord Castlereagh's despatch to Mr. Bagot, dated February 4th, 1818, in which his lordship says, "You will observe, that whilst this government is not disposed to contest with the American government the point of possession, as it stood in the Columbia River, at the moment of the rupture, *they are not prepared to admit the validity of the title of the government of the United States to this settlement*. In signifying, therefore, to Mr. Adams the full acquiescence of your government in the reoccupation of the *limited position* which the United States held in that river at the breaking out of the war, *you will, at the same time, assert, in suitable terms, the claim of Great Britain to that territory*, upon which the American settlement must be considered an encroach-

* Statement presented by the British plenipotentiaries to Mr. Gallatin, among the Proofs and Illustrations, letter H. See hereafter, chap. xvi.

ment:" the plenipotentiaries add that "this instruction was executed *verbally* by the person to whom it was addressed." The other document purports to be a copy of the despatch from Lord Bathurst to the partners of the North-West Company, mentioned in the Act of Delivery, presented by Messrs. Keith and Hickey, directing them to restore the post on the Columbia, "in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent," in which the words "*without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question*" appear in a parenthesis.*

Without inquiring, at present, whether or not Astoria was a *national possession* of the United States, agreeably to the rules and definitions laid down by writers on national law, there can be no difficulty in showing that it was such according to the principles and practice of Great Britain; and for that purpose, it is necessary merely to refer to the circumstances attending the dispute between that power and Spain, in 1790, when the British government required from Spain the surrender of a territory discovered by her navigators, and occupied by her forces, on the ground that it had, previous to such occupation, become the property of British subjects. Whether Astoria was a military post or not, could be of no consequence, as the treaty of Ghent provides for the restoration of "*all territory, places, and possessions, whatsoever*, taken by either party from the other, during the war," except those on the Atlantic side of America specially named; and that the establishments on the Columbia were so taken by the British during war, has been sufficiently proved. The right of the United States to make settlements on the Columbia, existed previous to the foundation of Astoria, in virtue of the discoveries and explorations of their private citizens and public officers; and that right could not be lessened, by any subsequent acts of their citizens, without the consent of their government. The agents of the Pacific Company, in expec-

* The following is a copy of this despatch, as given in the British statement, which will be found among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter H:—

"DOWNING STREET, *January 27th*, 1818.

"Intelligence having been received, that the United States sloop of war Ontario has been sent by the American government to establish a settlement on the Columbia River, which was held by that State on the breaking out of the last war, I am to acquaint you that it is the Prince Regent's pleasure, (without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question,) that, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, due facility should be given to the reoccupation of the said settlement by the officers of the United States; and I am to desire that you would contribute, as much as lies in your power, to the execution of his Royal Highness's commands. I have, &c. &c.,

"BATHURST."

tation of the arrival of an overpowering British force, sold their "*establishments, furs, and stock in hand*," * to the North-West Company; but they did not, nor could they, alienate *the right of domain* of the United States, which continued as before that transaction, until the British forces arrived, and took possession of the country by right of conquest. The same circumstances might have occurred with regard to places near the head of the Mississippi, or in Maine; and Great Britain would not have been bound more strongly by the treaty of Ghent to restore such places than to restore the establishments on the Columbia.

With regard to the two documents, which the British plenipotentiaries consider as putting "the case of the restoration of Astoria in too clear a light to require further observation," — that is to say, as establishing the fact of a reservation of right to that place on the part of Great Britain, — it will not be difficult to show that they are both insufficient, and, indeed, wholly inadmissible, as evidence in "the case." The United States have no more concern with the private despatches of the British ministers to their agents, than with the private opinions of those ministers; and the attempt to represent such communications as reservations of right on the part of Great Britain to the very territory which she was then in the act of restoring to the United States, expressedly in pursuance of a treaty, is alike at variance with the common sense and the common morals of the day. No arguments are required to show that, if such reservations were allowable, all engagements between nations would be nugatory, and all faith at an end. With regard to the assertion of the British claim to Astoria, which is said to have been *verbally* made by the British envoy at Washington to Mr. Adams — in the first place,† "it is not stated how the communication was received, nor whether the American government consented to accept the restitution with the reservation, as expressed in the despatch to the envoy;" and it is certainly by no means consonant with the usages of diplomatic intercourse at the present day, to treat *verbally* on questions so important as those of territorial sovereignty, or to consider as sufficient protests and exceptions made in that manner, and brought forward long after, without acknowledgment of any kind on the part of those to whom they are said to have been addressed. The only communication received by the American government, on the

* See Proofs and Illustrations, letter G, No. 2.

† Mr. Gallatin's *counter statement*, during the negotiation in 1826, communicated to the Congress of the United States, with President Adams's message of December 12th, 1827.

occasion of the restitution of Astoria, is explicit: "*We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the government of the United States the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River;*" and this direct and unqualified recognition of the right of the United States cannot be affected by subsequent communications to or from any persons.

It may also be remarked, that although the British government, in 1826, pronounced as sufficient a reservation contained in a secret despatch from one of its own ministers to one of its own agents, and withheld from the other party interested in the matter, yet, in 1834, the same government pronounced the reservation contained in the Declaration publicly presented by the Spanish ambassador at London, in 1771, on the conclusion of the dispute respecting the Falkland Islands, "*not to possess any substantial weight,*" * inasmuch as it had not been noticed in the Acceptance presented by the British government in return. The circumstances connected with the last-mentioned transaction have been already so fully exposed, that it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

Immediately after the conclusion of the surrender of Astoria, Mr. Keith presented to Mr. Prevost a note containing inquiries — whether or not the government of the United States would insist upon the abandonment of the post by the North-West Company,† before the final decision of the question as to the right of sovereignty over the country; and whether, in the event of such a

* Letter from Viscount Palmerston to Señor Moreno, envoy of Buenos Ayres at London, dated January 8th, 1834. See the note in p. 111, containing a sketch of the circumstances of the dispute respecting the Falkland Islands.

† The buildings, and, indeed, the whole establishment at Astoria, had been considerably increased, since it came into the hands of the North-West Company. According to the plan and description of the place sent by Mr. Prevost to Washington, the factory consisted, in 1818, of a stockade made of pine logs, twelve feet in length above the ground, enclosing a parallelogram of one hundred and fifty by two hundred and fifty feet, extending in its greatest length from north-west to south-east, and defended by bastions or towers at two opposite angles. Within this enclosure were all the buildings of the establishment, such as dwelling-houses, magazines, store-houses, mechanics' shops, &c. The artillery were two heavy eighteen-pounders, six six-pounders, four four-pound carronades, two six-pound cohorns, and seven swivels, all mounted. The number of persons attached to the place, besides a few women and children, was sixty-five, of whom twenty-three were whites, twenty-six Sandwich Islanders, (or *Kanakis*, as they are generally called in the Pacific,) and the remainder persons of mixed blood, from Canada. In 1821, these buildings were all destroyed by fire; and since that period, the principal establishment of the British traders west of the Rocky Mountains has been *Fort Vancouver*, on the north side of the Columbia, about one hundred miles from the sea. Fort George now consists of only three or four log-houses, occupied by a Hudson's Bay trader.

decision being in favor of the United States, their government would be disposed to indemnify the North-West Company for any improvements which they might, in the mean time, have made there. On these points, Mr. Prevost, having no instructions, could only reply, as he did, to the effect — that his government would, doubtless, if it should determine to keep up the settlement, satisfy any claims of the North-West Company which might be conformable with justice and the usages of civilized nations. After a few days more spent on the Columbia, the Blossom quitted the river with Mr. Prevost, whom she carried to Peru, the post remaining in the hands of the British traders, who have ever since continued to occupy it.

Whilst these measures for the restitution of Astoria were in progress, a negotiation was carried on, at London, between the plenipotentiaries of the American and British governments, for the definitive arrangement of many questions which were left unsettled by the treaty of Ghent, including those relating to the boundaries of the territories of the two nations west of the Lake of the Woods.* Messrs. Rush and Gallatin, the plenipotentiaries of the United States, proposed — that the dividing line between those territories should be drawn from the north-western extremity of that lake, north or south, as the case might require, to the 49th parallel of latitude, and thence along that parallel west to the Pacific Ocean. The British commissioners, Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, after a discussion in which they endeavored to secure to British subjects the right of access to the Mississippi, and of navigating that river, agreed to admit the line proposed as far west as the Rocky Mountains; and an article to that effect was accordingly inserted in the *projet* of a convention.

The claims of the respective nations to territories west of the Rocky Mountains were then considered. Messrs. Rush and Gallatin "did not assert that the United States had a perfect right to that country, but insisted that their claim was at least good against Great Britain;" and they cited, in support of that claim, the facts of the discovery of the Columbia River, of the first exploration from its sources to its mouth, and of the formation of the first establishments in the country through which it flows, by American citizens. Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, on the other hand, affirmed "that former voyages, and principally that of Captain Cook, gave to Great Britain the rights derived from discovery; and they alluded to

* President Monroe's message to Congress, with the accompanying documents, sent December 29th, 1818.

purchases from the natives south of the Columbia, which they alleged to have been made prior to the American revolution. They did not make any formal proposition for a boundary, but intimated that the river itself was the most convenient which could be adopted; and that they would not agree to any which did not give them the harbor at the mouth of that river, in common with the United States."

It is needless here to repeat the proofs that Cook saw no part of the west coast of America south of Mount San Jacinto, near the 57th degree of latitude, which had not been already explored by the Spaniards; with regard to the purchases from the natives south of the Columbia, alleged to have been made by British subjects prior to the revolution, history is entirely silent. The determination expressed on the part of the British government not to assent to any arrangement which did not give to Great Britain the mouth of the Columbia, was at least unequivocal, and was sufficient to show that all arguments on the American side would be unavailing. It was, accordingly, at length agreed that all territories and their waters, claimed by either power, west of the Rocky Mountains, should be free and open to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of both for the space of ten years; provided, however, that no claim of either, or of any other nation, to any part of those territories, should be prejudiced by the arrangement.

This convention having been completed, it was signed by the plenipotentiaries on the 20th of October, 1818, and was soon after ratified by the governments of both nations.* The compromise contained in its third article, with regard to the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, was, perhaps, the most wise, as well as the most equitable, measure which could have been adopted at that time; considering that neither party pretended to possess a perfect title to the sovereignty of any of those territories, and that there was no prospect of the speedy conclusion of any arrangement with regard to them, between either party and the other claimants, Spain and Russia. The agreement could not certainly, at the time, have been considered unfavorable to the United States; for, although the North-West Company held the whole trade of the Columbia country, yet the important post at the mouth of that river was restored to the Americans without reservation, and there was every reason for supposing that it would be immediately re-

* See the third article of the convention of October, 1818, among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this History, under the letter K, No. 2.

occupied by its founders: and it seemed, moreover, evident that the citizens of the United States would enjoy many and great advantages over all other people in the country in question, in consequence of their superior facilities of access to it, especially since the introduction of steam vessels on the Mississippi and its branches.

In the same year, a negotiation was carried on at Washington, between the governments of the United States and Spain, in which the question of boundaries on the north-west side of America was likewise discussed. The Spanish minister, Don Luis de Onis, began by declaring that "the right and dominion of the crown of Spain to the north-west coast of America as high as the Californias, is certain and indisputable; the Spaniards having explored it as far as the 47th degree, in the expedition under Juan de Fuca, in 1592, and in that under Admiral Fonté, to the 55th degree, in 1640. The dominion of Spain in these vast regions being thus established, and her rights of discovery, conquest, and possession, being never disputed, she could scarcely possess a property founded on more respectable principles, whether of the law of nations, of public law, or of any others which serve as a basis to such acquisitions as compose all the independent kingdoms and states of the earth." Upon these positive assertions, the American plenipotentiary, Mr. J. Q. Adams, secretary of state, did not consider himself required to offer any comment; and the origin, extent, and value, of the claims of Spain to the north-western portion of America remained unquestioned during the discussion. The negotiation was broken off in the early part of the year, soon after its commencement; it was, however, renewed, and was terminated on the 22d of February, 1819, by a treaty commonly called the *Florida treaty*, in which the southern boundaries of the United States were definitively fixed. Spain ceded Florida to the American republic, which relinquished all claims to territories west of the River Sabine, and south of the upper parts of the Red and the Arkansas Rivers; and it was agreed that a line drawn on the meridian from the source of the Arkansas northward to the 42d parallel of latitude, and thence along that parallel westward to the Pacific, should form the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and the southern boundary of those of the United States, in that quarter, — "His Catholic majesty ceding to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions, to any territories north of the said line."

The provisions of this treaty, particularly those relating to limits, appear to have been as nearly just as any which could have been

framed; and, as an almost necessary consequence, they were not received with general satisfaction by either nation. The Spanish government withheld its ratification of the treaty for nearly two years; and within a year after that ratification had been made, the authority of Spain was extinguished in every portion of America which she had formerly possessed contiguous to the boundary thus established in 1819.* The territories immediately adjoining that boundary on the south, including Texas, New Mexico, and California, then became attached to the Mexican republic, with which power the United States subsequently concluded a treaty confirming the limits settled with Spain.

With regard to the extent of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and the validity of the title to it thus acquired by the United States, it will be convenient here to introduce some observations: as the British government has since maintained that the only rights possessed by the United States in that part of America are those derived from Spain through the Florida treaty; and that they are merely the rights secured to Spain, in common with Great Britain, in 1790, by the Nootka convention.

* The third article of the Florida treaty, defining the boundary as settled, will be found among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the latter part of this volume, under the letter K, No. 3. The whole correspondence is contained in the documents accompanying President Monroe's message to Congress of February 22d, 1819. Great skill, as well as knowledge of the subject, is displayed in the notes of each of the plenipotentiaries, particularly in those of Mr. Adams, who moreover exhibits, in every part, that earnestness arising from profound conviction of the justice of his cause, which has so much weight even in diplomacy.

Many curious facts relative to the negotiation have subsequently been brought to light, especially in the *Memoir* published by the Spanish plenipotentiary, in his defence, after his return to Spain, in 1820. He there shows clearly, that he was by no means convinced that the territory in dispute beyond the Sabine did not properly form a part of Louisiana; and he declares expressly, that his principal object in the long correspondence which he kept up on that subject, was to gain time. In fact, during the summer of 1818, while the correspondence was partially suspended, (with the same object of gaining time, no doubt,) the Spanish government formally applied to that of Great Britain for aid, or at least for its mediation, in the affair; to which Lord Castlereagh immediately and decidedly answered in the negative, at the same time advising the Spanish government to cede Florida to the United States, and to make any other arrangement which might be deemed proper, *without delay*. The Chevalier de Onis, in his *Memoir*, claims the praise of his nation for having *exchanged* the small and comparatively unimportant province of Florida for the rich and productive territory of Texas. "I will agree," he adds, "that the third article might, with greater clearness, have been expressed thus — '*In exchange the United States cede to his Catholic majesty the province of Texas*,' &c. — but as I had been for three years maintaining, in the lengthened correspondence herein inserted, that this province belonged to the king, it would have been a contradiction to express, in the treaty, that the United States cede it to his majesty."

That the Nootka convention expired on the declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain in 1796, and could not have been after that period in force, except in virtue of a distinct and formal renewal by the same parties — is consonant with the universal practice of civilized nations, and especially of Great Britain, as manifested during the well-known negotiations between her government and that of the United States, in 1815, respecting the Newfoundland fishery. Mr. Adams, the American plenipotentiary, on that occasion, insisted that his countrymen should continue, not only to fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, but also to land on the British American coasts for the same purpose, as they had done before the war of 1812, by the treaty of 1783, although that treaty had not been renewed by the treaty of Ghent, at the termination of the war — upon the ground that the treaty of 1783, by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, was "of a peculiar nature, and bore, in that nature, a character of permanency, not subject, like many of the ordinary contracts between independent nations, to abrogation by a subsequent war between the same parties." To this the British minister, Lord Bathurst, answered, that, "if the United States derived from the treaty of 1783 privileges from which other independent nations, not admitted by treaty, were excluded, the duration of those privileges must depend on the duration of the instrument by which they were granted; and if the war abrogated the treaty, it determined the privileges. It has been urged, indeed," continues his lordship, "on the part of the United States, that the treaty of 1783 was of a peculiar nature, and that, because it contained a recognition of American independence, it could not be abrogated by a subsequent war between the parties. To a position of this novel nature Great Britain cannot accede. *She knows of no exception to the rule, that all treaties are put an end to by a subsequent war between the same parties:* she cannot, therefore, consent to give to her diplomatic relations with one state a different degree of permanency from that on which her connection with all other states depends. Nor can she consider any one state at liberty to assign to a treaty, made with her, such a peculiarity of character, as shall make it, as to duration, an exception to all other treaties, in order to found on a peculiarity thus assumed an irrevocable title to all indulgences which have all the features of temporary concessions." The British minister, indeed, admitted that *recognitions of right in a treaty might be considered as perpetual obligations:* and, referring to the terms of the treaty of 1783, he showed that the *right* of

the Americans to fish on the banks of Newfoundland (that is to say, in the open sea) was there distinctly *acknowledged*, while the *liberty* to use the British coasts for the same purpose was *conceded* to them; and that, although the *right* subsisted in virtue of the independence of the United States, the *liberty* expired on the declaration of war in 1812, and could not again be enjoyed, without the express consent of Great Britain. It may be added that the position thus assumed by the British government was maintained throughout the negotiation; at the end of which, the *liberty* to take and cure fish on certain parts of the British American coasts, so long as they should remain unsettled, was secured to the citizens of the United States, in common with British subjects, forever, by the first article of the convention of October 20th, 1818.*

Applying to the Nootka convention the rule thus enforced by Great Britain in 1815, with all its exceptions in their widest sense, there can be no question that this compact was entirely abrogated by the war between that power and Spain, begun in October, 1796. On analyzing the convention, it will be seen that the *first*, *second*, and *eighth* articles relate exclusively to certain acts, which were to be forthwith performed by one or both of the parties, and which having been performed, as they all were, before 1796, those articles became dead letters. By the *third* article, "*it is agreed, in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve, in future, a perfect harmony and good understanding between the two contracting parties*," that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested in navigating or fishing in the Pacific or Southern Oceans, or in landing on the coasts of those seas in places not already occupied, "*for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there;*" under certain restrictions, nevertheless, to the specification of which the *fourth*, *fifth*, and *sixth* articles are entirely devoted: the remaining *seventh* article merely indicating the course to be pursued in cases of infraction of the others. The Nootka convention thus contains nothing which can be construed as a *perpetual obligation*, no assertion or recognition of right, which can be deemed irrevocable; but is, as a whole, and in each of its separate stipulations, a concession, or series of concessions. To navigate and fish in the open sea, and to trade and settle on coasts unoccupied by any civilized nation, are indeed rights claimed by all civilized nations: Spain, however, did not

* Correspondence annexed to President Monroe's message to Congress of December 20th, 1818.

acknowledge these rights as existing in any other power with regard to the Pacific and Southern Oceans and their American coasts; and, by the Nootka convention, she merely engaged to desist from the exercise of privileges claimed by her in those seas and coasts, so far as British subjects might be affected by them, on condition that Great Britain should desist from the exercise of privileges claimed by her, in the same quarters of the world. After the abrogation of the convention by war, each nation might again assert and exercise the privileges claimed by it before the conclusion of the compact; and neither could be regarded as bound by any of the restrictions defined in that instrument, until they had been formally renewed by express consent of both the original parties.

The war begun by Spain against Great Britain, in 1796, continued, with the intermission of the two years of uncertainty succeeding the peace of Amiens, until 1809, when those nations were again allied, in opposition to France. Since that period, they have remained constantly at peace with each other. The only engagement made between them for the renewal of treaties subsisting before 1796, is contained in the first of the three additional articles to the treaty of Madrid, signed on the 24th of August, 1814, wherein "*It is agreed that, pending the negotiation of a new treaty of commerce, Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with Spain, upon the same conditions as those which existed previously to* 1796; *all the treaties of commerce, which at that period subsisted between the two nations, being hereby ratified and confirmed.*" Thus the Nootka convention could not have been in force at any time between October, 1796, and August, 1814; nor since that period, unless it were renewed by the additional article above quoted. That the first part of this article related only to trade between the *European* dominions of Great Britain and Spain, is certain, because no trade had ever been allowed, by treaty or otherwise, between either kingdom, or its colonies, and the colonies of the other, except in the single case of the *Asiento*, concluded in 1713, and abrogated in 1740, agreeably to which the British South Sea Company supplied the Spanish colonies with negro slaves during that period; and because, moreover, by an article in the treaty of Madrid, to which the above-quoted article is additional, "*In the event of the commerce of the Spanish American colonies being opened to foreign nations, his Catholic majesty promises that Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with those possessions, as the most favored nation.*" The second part of the additional article is evidently intended merely in confir-

mation and completion of the first, which would otherwise have wanted the requisite degree of precision; and it certainly could not have embraced the convention of 1790, except so far as related to the commerce of each of the parties on the unoccupied coasts of America, and the settlements made by each for that special purpose.

Had the convention of 1790 been expressly renewed and confirmed in 1814, it would still have been inoperative, except with regard to subjects and establishments of the contracting parties. The governments of Great Britain and Spain might have again agreed that their subjects should reciprocally enjoy liberty of access and trade, in all establishments which either might form on the north-west coasts of America; but neither power could have claimed such rights in places on those coasts then occupied by a third nation.

It has been already shown that, after the abandonment of Nootka Sound by the Spaniards, in March, 1795, no settlement was made, or attempted, by them in any of the countries on the western side of America north of the Bay of San Francisco; and that, during the period between that year and 1814, many establishments were formed in those countries by Russians, British, and citizens of the United States. The Russians extended their posts from Aliaska eastward to Sitka, and even fixed themselves within a few miles of the Bay of San Francisco. The British founded their first establishment west of the Rocky Mountains, in 1806, on the upper waters of Fraser's River, near the 54th degree of latitude. The Columbia was surveyed by order of the government of the United States, with a view to its occupation, in 1805; and their citizens made establishments on that river successively in 1808, 1810, and 1811, of which the principal were, in 1813, taken by the British, and in 1818, restored to the Americans, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent. Under such circumstances, the title of Spain to the countries north of the Bay of San Francisco, however strong it may have been in 1790 or 1796, in virtue of discoveries and settlements, must be allowed to have become considerably weaker in 1819, from disuse, and from submission to the acts of occupation by other powers. Thus, whilst it may be doubted that either of those powers could in justice claim the sovereignty of the country occupied by its subjects without the consent of Spain, the latter could not have claimed the exclusive possession of such country, or have entered into compacts with a third power, respecting trade, navigation, or settlement, in it, agreeably to any recognized principle of national law. Still less could Great Britain have claimed the right to exclude other

nations from the sovereignty of the regions traversed by the Columbia, in which her subjects had made no discoveries, and which had been first occupied by the United States, unless upon the ground of conquest during war; and this ground became untenable after the treaty of Ghent, as distinctly acknowledged by the British government in the fact of the restoration of Astoria.

Thus, whilst the title to the countries north of the 42d parallel of latitude, derived by the United States from Spain, through the Florida treaty, was undoubtedly imperfect, — though not from any possible effect of the Nootka convention, as insisted by the British government in 1826, — yet that title, in addition to those previously possessed by the Americans, in virtue of their discoveries and settlements in the Columbia countries, appears to constitute a right of occupation in their favor, stronger than could be alleged by any other nation, if not amounting to an absolute right of sovereignty.

Immediately after the signature of the Florida treaty, an expedition for the purpose of examining the country drained by the Missouri and its branches was organized by Mr. Calhoun, then secretary of war of the United States, on a scale of equipment more complete, in every respect, than any of those previously made to that part of America. The party, comprising a large number of officers, men of science, soldiers, and other persons, under the command of Major Stephen Long, quitted Pittsburg on the 30th of May, 1819, in a steam vessel which had been specially constructed for the purpose, and pursued their route down the Ohio, and up the Mississippi and Missouri, examining many interesting points in their way, as far as Council Bluffs, on the last-mentioned river, eight hundred and fifty miles above its confluence with the Mississippi. Near this place they spent the winter, and lost several of their men from scurvy; and, in the spring of 1820, orders were received from Washington, in consequence of which, many of the objects proposed were abandoned, and the operations were restricted to tracing the Platte and Arkansas Rivers to their sources. They accordingly, in June, proceeded up the valley of the Platte, a very shallow stream, as its name imports, to the confluence of its north and south branches or forks, distant about three hundred and twenty miles from its mouth, and then continued along the south fork, to its sources in the Rocky Mountains, near the 40th degree of latitude. Here, on the 13th of July, Dr. James, the botanist of the expedition, ascended a mountain, named after him *James's Peak*, the height of which was estimated, though on data by no

means sufficient, at not less than eight thousand five hundred feet above the ocean level; and then, striking the head-waters of the Arkansas, which also flows from the same mountain, they descended the valley of that river to its junction with the Mississippi. Much information was obtained, through this expedition, respecting the geography, natural history, and aboriginal inhabitants, of the countries traversed, all of which was communicated to the world in an exact and perspicuous narrative, published by Dr. James in 1823. One most important fact, in a political point of view, was completely established by the observations of the party; namely, that the whole division of North America, drained by the Missouri and the Arkansas, and their tributaries, between the meridian of the mouth of the Platte and the Rocky Mountains, is almost entirely unfit for cultivation, and therefore uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. The portion of this territory within five hundred miles of the Rocky Mountains, on the east, extending from the 39th to the 49th parallels of latitude, was indeed found to be a desert of sand and stones; and subsequent observations have shown the adjoining regions, to a great distance west of those mountains, to be still more arid and sterile. These circumstances, as they became known through the United States, rendered the people and their representatives in the federal legislature more and more indifferent with regard to the territories on the north-western side of the continent. It became always difficult, and generally impossible, to engage the attention of Congress to any matters connected with those countries: emigrants from the populous states of the Union would not banish themselves to the distant shores of the Pacific, whilst they could obtain the best lands on the Mississippi and its branches at moderate prices; and capitalists would not vest their funds in establishments for the administration and continued possession of which they could have no guarantee. From 1813 until 1823, few, if any, American citizens were employed in the countries west of the Rocky Mountains; and ten years more elapsed before any settlement was formed, or even attempted, by them in that part of the world.

Changes were, about the same time, made in the system of the British trade in the northern parts of America, which led to the most important political and commercial results.

Frequent allusions have been already made to the enmity subsisting between the Hudson's Bay and the North-West Companies.

This feeling was displayed only in words, or in the commission of petty acts of injury or annoyance by each against the other, until 1814, when a regular war broke out between the parties, which was, for some time after, openly carried on. The scene of the hostilities was the territory traversed by the Red River of Hudson's Bay and its branches, in which Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, had, in 1811, obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company a grant of not less than a hundred thousand square miles, for the establishment of agricultural colonies. The validity of this grant was denied by the North-West Company, to which the proposed occupation of the territory in question would have been absolutely ruinous, as the routes from Canada to the north-western trading posts ran through it, and from it were obtained nearly all the provisions consumed at those posts. The British government, however, appeared to favor and protect Lord Selkirk's project, and a large number of Scotch Highlanders were, without opposition, established on Red River, the country about which received, in 1812, the name of *Ossinobia*. For two years after the formation of the settlement, peace was maintained; at length, in January, 1814, Miles Macdonnel, the governor of the new province, issued a proclamation, in which he set forth the limits of the region claimed by his patron, and prohibited all persons, under pain of seizure and prosecution, from carrying out of it "any provisions, either of flesh, dried meat, grain, or vegetables," during that year. The attempts to enforce this prohibition were resisted by the North-West traders, who appeared so resolute in their determination not to yield, that the colonists became alarmed, and quitted the country, some of them returning to Canada, and others emigrating to the United States. In the following year, Lord Selkirk again sent settlers of various nations to the Red River, between whom and the North-West people hostilities were immediately begun. Posts were taken and destroyed on both sides; and, on the 19th of June, 1816, a battle was fought, in which the Ossinobians were routed, and seventeen of their number, including their governor, Mr. Semple, were killed. The country was then again abandoned by the settlers.*

These affairs were brought before the British Parliament in June,

* *Lord Selkirk's Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America*, published in 1816, and the review of it in the London Quarterly Review for October, 1816—*Narrative of the Occurrences in the Indian Countries of America*, published by the North-West Company in 1817, containing all the documents on the subject.

1819; and a debate ensued, in the course of which the proceedings of the two rival associations were minutely investigated. The ministry then interposed its mediation, and a compromise was thus at length effected, by which the North-West Company became united with, or rather merged in, the Hudson's Bay Company. At the same time, and in connection with this arrangement, an "*act for regulating the fur trade and establishing a criminal and civil jurisdiction in certain parts of North America*" was passed in Parliament, containing every provision required to give stability to the Hudson's Bay Company, and efficiency to its operations.

By this act, passed on the 2d of July, 1821, the king was authorized to make grants or give licenses to any body corporate, company, or person, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians, in all such parts of North America as may be specified in the grants, not being parts of the territories previously granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, or of any of his majesty's provinces in North America, or any territories belonging to the United States of America: *provided, however,* that no such grant or license shall be given for a longer period than twenty-one years; that no grant or license for exclusive trade, in the part of America west of the Rocky Mountains, which, by the convention of 1818 with the United States, remained free and open to the subjects or citizens of both nations, shall be used to the prejudice or exclusion of citizens of the United States engaged in such trade; and that no British subject shall trade in those territories west of the Rocky Mountains without such license or grant. By the same act, also, the courts of judicature of Upper Canada are empowered to take cognizance of all causes, civil or criminal, arising in any of the above-mentioned territories, including those previously granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, and "*other parts of America, not within the limits of either of the provinces of Upper or Lower Canada, or of any civil government of the United States;*" and justices of the peace are to be commissioned in those territories, to execute and enforce the laws and the decisions of the courts, to take evidence, and commit offenders and send them for trial to Canada, and even, under certain circumstances, to hold courts themselves, for the trial of criminal offences and misdemeanors not punishable by death, and of civil causes, in which the amount at issue should not exceed two hundred pounds.*

* See the act and the grant here mentioned in the Proofs and Illustrations, at the end of this volume, under the letter I, No. 2.

Upon the passage of this act, the union of the two companies was effected, and a grant was made, by the king, to "the governor and company of adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay, and to William Macgillivray, Simon Macgillivray, and Edward Ellice," the persons so named, representing the former proprietors of the North-West Company,* of the exclusive trade, for twenty-one years, in all the countries in which such privileges could be granted agreeably to the act. Persons in the service of the company were, at the same time, commissioned as justices of the peace for those countries; and the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada was rendered effective as far as the shores of the Pacific, no exception being made, in that respect, by the act, with regard to any of the territories embraced in the grant, "*not within the limits of any civil government of the United States.*"

About this period, also, the search for a north-west passage, or navigable communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, north of America, which had been so long suspended, was resumed by British officers, under the auspices of their government; and expeditions for that object were made through Baffin's Bay, as well as by land, through the northernmost parts of the American continent. The geographical results of these expeditions were highly interesting, while, at the same time, the skill, courage, and perseverance, of the British were honorably illustrated by the labors of Ross, Parry, Franklin, and their companions. The west coasts of Baffin's Bay were carefully surveyed, and many passages leading from it towards the west and south-west, were traced to considerable distances. The progress of the ships through these passages was, however, in each case, arrested by ice; and, although many extensive portions of the northern coast of the continent were explored, and the Arctic Sea, in their vicinity, was found free from ice during the short summer, the question respecting the existence of a northern channel of communication between the oceans was left unsolved. These voyages, independently of the value of their scientific results, also proved most advantageous to the commerce of the British throughout the whole of their territories in America, as new routes were opened, and new regions, abounding in furs, were rendered accessible.

The Russians were, in the mean time, constantly increasing their

* In 1824, the North-West Company surrendered its rights and interests to the Hudson's Bay Company, in the name of which alone all the operations were thenceforward conducted.

trade in the Pacific, and, in addition to their establishments on the northernmost coasts of that ocean, they had taken possession of the country adjoining Port San Francisco, which they seemed determined, as well as able, to retain. With this object, Baranof, the chief agent of the Russian American Company, in 1812, obtained from the Spanish governor of California permission to erect some houses, and to leave a few men on the shore of Bodega Bay, a little north of Port San Francisco, where they were employed in hunting the wild cattle, and drying meat for the supply of Sitka and the other settlements. In the course of two or three years after this permission was granted, the number of persons thus employed became so great, and their dwelling assumed so much the appearance of a fort, that the governor thought proper to remonstrate on the subject; and, his representations being disregarded, he formally commanded the Russians to quit the territories of his Catholic majesty. The command was treated with as little respect as the remonstrance; and, upon its repetition, the Russian agent, Kuskof, coolly denied the right of the Spaniards over the territory, which he asserted to be free and open for occupation by the people of any civilized power. The governor of California was unable to enforce his commands; and, as no assistance could be afforded to him from Mexico, in which the rebellion was then at its height, the intruders were left in possession of the ground, where they remained until 1840, in defiance alike of Spaniards and of Mexicans.

On the restoration of peace in Europe, in 1814, the Russian American Company resolved to make another effort to establish a direct commercial intercourse, by sea, between its possessions on the North Pacific and the European ports of the empire. With this object, the American ship Hannibal was purchased, and, her name having been changed to Suwarrow, she was despatched from Cronstadt, under Lieutenant Lazaref, laden with merchandise, for Sitka, whence she returned in the summer of 1815, with a cargo of furs valued at a million of dollars. The adventure proving successful, others of the same kind were made, until the communications became regular, as they now are.

After the departure of this vessel from Sitka, Baranof sent about a hundred Russians and Aleutians, under the direction of Dr. Schaeffer, a German, who had been the surgeon of the Suwarrow, with the intention, apparently, of taking possession of one of the Sandwich Islands. These men landed first at Owyhee, whence

they passed successively to Woahoo and Atooi; and in the latter island they remained a year, committing many irregularities, without, however, effecting, in any way, the supposed objects of their expedition, until they were at length forced to submit to the authorities of Tamahamaha, and to quit the islands.*

Expeditions were also made by the Russians to Bering's Strait, and the seas beyond it, for the purpose of determining the question as to the separation of Asia and America, which, though long before supposed to have been ascertained, was again rendered doubtful by some circumstances of recent occurrence. With this object, Captain Otto von Kotzebue sailed from Cronstadt in the ship Ruric, which had been fitted out at the expense of the ex-chancellor Romanzof, and, in the summer of 1816, penetrated through the strait into the Arctic Sea; but, although he surveyed the coasts of both continents on that sea more minutely than any navigator who had preceded him, he was unable to advance so far in any direction as Cook had gone in 1778. In 1820, two other vessels were sent to that part of the ocean, with the same objects; but no detailed account of their voyage has been made public. In the mean time, however, the doubts as to the separation of the two continents were completely removed, by Captains Wrangel and Anjou, who surveyed the eastern parts of the Siberian coast with great care, in defiance of the most dreadful difficulties and dangers.†

Nor did the Russians neglect to improve the administration of their affairs on the North Pacific coasts. In 1817, Captain Golownin was despatched from Europe, in the sloop of war Kamtchatka, with a commission from the emperor to inquire into the state of the Russian dominions in America; and, upon the report brought back by him, it was resolved that a radical change should be made in the management of those possessions. Accordingly, upon the renewal of the charter of the company on the 8th of July, 1819, regulations were put in execution, by which the governor and other chief officers of Russian America became directly responsible for their

* For further particulars on this subject, the reader — if he should consider the matter worth investigating — may consult Kotzebue's narrative of his voyage to the Pacific, in 1815–16, and Jarves's History of the Sandwich Islands.

† See the agreeable and instructive narrative, by Kotzebue, of his voyage in search of a north-east passage. Wrangel's account of his expedition, which has been recently published, is a most interesting work, not only from the multitude of new facts in geography, and in many of the physical sciences, which it communicates, but also from the admiration which it inspires for the courage, good temper, and good feeling, of the adventurous narrator. Wrangel has since been, for many years, the governor-general of Russian America, and is now an admiral in the service of his country.

conduct, and the condition of all classes of the population of those countries was materially benefited. The death of Baranof rendered the introduction of these reforms less difficult; and the superintendence of the colonies has ever since been committed to honorable and enlightened men, generally officers in the Russian navy, under whose direction the abuses formerly prevailing to so frightful an extent, have been gradually removed or abated.*

About the same time, an event occurred, of great importance in the history of a country which is, no doubt, destined materially to influence the political condition of the north-western coasts and regions of America. Tamahamaha, king of all the Sandwich Islands, died in May, 1819, at the age of sixty-three, and was succeeded in power by his son, or reputed son, Riho Riho, or Tamahamaha II.† Of the merits and demerits of Tamahamaha, it would be out of place here to speak at length. He was a chief of note at the time of the discovery of the islands by Cook, when his character had been already formed, and the seeds of much that was evil had been sown, and had taken firm root in his mind. No sooner, however, was he brought into contact with civilized men, than he began to learn, and, what was more difficult, to unlearn. His first objects were of a nature purely selfish. He sought power to gratify his ambition and his thirst for pleasure, but he used it, when obtained, for nobler ends; and of all the sovereigns of the earth, his contemporaries, no one certainly attempted or effected as much, in proportion to his means, for the advancement of his people, as this barbarian chief of a little ocean island.

Upon the death of Tamahamaha, great changes were effected in the affairs of the Sandwich Islands. The old king had resolutely maintained the religion of his forefathers, though he suppressed many of its horrible ceremonies and observances. Riho Riho, however, soon after his accession, abolished that religion, and embraced the faith of the white men who came to his islands in great ships from distant countries. His principal chiefs, Boki and Krymakoo, (or Kalaimaku,) had been previously, in August, 1819, baptized and received into the bosom of the Roman Catholic church by the

* Statische und ethnographische Nachrichten, über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestkuste von Amerika — Statistical and ethnographical Notices concerning the Russian Possessions on the North-West Coasts of America — by Admiral von Wrangel, late governor-general of those countries, published at St. Petersburg, in 1839.

† These names are now generally written *Liho Liho* and *Kamehamaha*.

chaplain of the French corvette L'Uranie; and, early in 1820, a vessel reached the islands from Boston, bringing a number of Protestant missionaries, who have ever since been established there, and have, until recently at least, exercised a powerful and generally beneficial influence over all the affairs of the kingdom.*

* For minute accounts of all these changes, and the different views of their effects, see Account of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands from 1822 to 1825, by C. S. Stewart, one of the missionaries — Polynesian Researches, by W. Ellis — The London Quarterly Review for March, 1827 — The narratives of voyages in the Pacific, by Beechey, Lord Byron, and Belcher — The History of the Sandwich Islands, by Jarves — The History of American Missions, &c.

CHAPTER XVI.

1820 to 1828.

Bill reported by a Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, for the Occupation of the Columbia River — Ukase of the Emperor of Russia, with Regard to the North Pacific Coasts—Negotiations between the Governments of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States — Conventions between the United States and Russia, and between Great Britain and Russia — Further Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain relative to the North-West Coasts — Indefinite Extension of the Arrangement for the joint Occupancy of the Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, by the British and the Americans.

Before 1820, little, if any thing, relative to the countries west of the Rocky Mountains had been said in the Congress of the United States; and those countries had excited very little interest among the citizens of the federal republic in general.

In December of that year, however, immediately after the ratification of the Florida treaty by Spain, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives in Congress, on the motion of Mr. Floyd, of Virginia — "that an inquiry should be made, as to the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and as to the expediency of occupying the Columbia River." The committee to which this resolution was referred, presented, in January following, a long report, containing a sketch of the history of colonization in America, with an account of the fur trade in the northern and north-western sections of the continent, and a description of the country claimed by the United States; from all which are drawn the conclusions, — that the whole territory of America bordering upon the Pacific, from the 41st degree of latitude to the 53d, if not to the 60th, belongs of right to the United States, in virtue of the purchase of Louisiana from France, in 1803, of the acquisition of the titles of Spain by the Florida treaty, and of the discoveries and settlements of American citizens; — that the trade of this territory in furs and other articles, and the fisheries on its coasts, might be rendered highly productive; and — that these advantages might be secured to citizens of the United States exclusively, by establishing "small trading guards" on the most north-eastern point of the Missouri,

and at the mouth of the Columbia, and by favoring emigration to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, not only from the United States, but also from China. To this report the committee appended "a bill for the occupation of the Columbia, and the regulation of the trade with the Indians in the territories of the United States." Without making any remarks upon the character of this report, it may be observed, that the terms of the bill are directly at variance with the provisions of the third article of the convention of October, 1818, between the United States and Great Britain; as the Columbia could not possibly be *free and open to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of both nations*, if it were *occupied* by either. The bill was suffered to lie on the table of the House during the remainder of the session: in the ensuing year, it was again brought before Congress, and an estimate was obtained, from the navy commissioners, of the expense of transporting cannon, ammunition, and stores, by sea, to the mouth of the Columbia; but no further notice was taken of the subject until the winter of 1823.

Measures had, in the mean time, been adopted by the Russian government, with regard to the north-west coasts of America, which strongly excited the attention of both the other powers claiming dominion in that quarter.

Soon after the renewal of the charter of the Russian American Company, a *ukase*, or imperial decree, was issued at St. Petersburg, by which the whole west coast of America, north of the 51st parallel, and the whole east coast of Asia, north of the latitude of 45 degrees 50 minutes, with all the adjacent and intervening islands, were declared to belong exclusively to Russia; and foreigners were prohibited, under heavy penalties, from approaching within a hundred miles of any of those coasts, except in cases of extreme necessity.*

This decree was officially communicated to the government of the United States in February, 1822, by the Chevalier de Poletica, Russian minister at Washington, between whom and Mr. J. Q Adams, the American secretary of state, a correspondence immediately took place on the subject. Mr. Adams, in his first note, simply made known the surprise of the president at the assertion of a claim, on the part of Russia, to so large a portion of the west

* The ukase, dated September 4th, 1821, and the correspondence between the Russian and American governments with regard to it, may be found at length among the documents accompanying President Monroe's message to Congress, of April 17th, 1822.

coasts of America, and at the promulgation, by that power, of rules of restriction so deeply affecting the rights of the United States and their citizens; and he desired to know whether the minister was authorized to give explanations of the grounds of the right claimed, upon principles generally recognized by the laws and usages of nations.

To this M. Poletica replied by a long letter, containing a sketch — generally erroneous — of the discoveries of his countrymen on the north-west coasts of America, which extended, according to his idea, southward as far as the 49th parallel of latitude. He defended the assumption of the 51st parallel as the southern limit of the possessions of his sovereign, upon the ground that this line was midway between the mouth of the Columbia, where the citizens of the United States had made an establishment, and the Russian settlement of Sitka; and he finally maintained that his government would be justifiable in exercising the rights of sovereignty *over the whole of the Pacific north of the said parallel*, inasmuch as that section of the sea was bounded on both sides by Russian territories, and was thus, in fact, a *close sea*. The secretary of state, in return, asserted that, "from the period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation, their vessels had freely navigated those seas; and the right to navigate them was a part of that independence, as also the right of their citizens to trade, even in arms and munitions of war, with the aboriginal natives of the north-west coast of America, who were not under the territorial jurisdiction of other nations." He denied *in toto* the claim of the Russians to any part of America south of the 55th degree of latitude, on the ground that this parallel was declared, in the charter * of the Russian American Company, to be the southern limit of the dis-

* The first article of the charter or privilege granted by the emperor Paul to the Russian American Company, on the 8th of July, 1799, is as follows:—

"In virtue of the discovery, by Russian navigators, of a part of the coast of America in the north-east, beginning from the 55th degree of latitude, and of chains of islands extending from Kamtchatka, northward towards America, and southward towards Japan, Russia has acquired the right of possessing those lands; and the said company is authorized to enjoy all the advantages of industry, and all the establishments, upon the said coast of America, in the north-east, from the 55th degree of latitude to Bering's Strait, and beyond it, as also upon the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, and the others, situated in the eastern Arctic Ocean."

By the second article,—

"The company may make new discoveries, not only north, but also south, of the said 55th parallel of latitude, and may occupy and bring under the dominion of Russia all territories thus discovered, observing the rule, that such territories should not have been previously occupied and placed under subjection by another nation."

coveries of the Russians in 1799; since which period they had made no discoveries or establishments south of the said line, on the coast now claimed by them. With regard to the suggestion that the Russian government might justly exercise sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean *as a close sea*, because it claims territories both on the Asiatic and the American shores, Mr. Adams merely observed, that the distance between those shores, on the parallel of 51 degrees north, is *four thousand miles;* and he concluded by expressing the persuasion of the president that the citizens of the United States would remain unmolested in the prosecution of their lawful commerce, and that no effect would be given to a prohibition manifestly incompatible with their rights.

The Russian minister plenipotentiary, a few days after the receipt of Mr. Adams's last communication, sent another note, supporting the rights of his sovereign, in which he advanced "the authentic fact, that, in 1789, the Spanish packet St. Charles, commanded by Captain Haro, found, in the latitude of *forty-eight and forty-nine degrees*, Russian establishments, to the number of eight, consisting, in the whole, of twenty families, and four hundred and sixty-two individuals, who were the descendants of the companions of Captain Tchirikof, supposed until then to have perished." Respecting this "*authentic fact*," it has been shown, in the account* already given of the Spanish voyage to which the Chevalier Poletica refers, that Martinez and Haro did find eight Russian establishments on the North Pacific coast of America in 1788, but that they were all situated in the latitudes of *fifty-eight* and *fifty-nine degrees*, and that the persons inhabiting them had all been, a short time previous, transported thither, from Kamtchatka and the Aleutian Islands, by Schelikof, the founder of the Russian American Company. The minister doubtless derived his information from the introduction to the journal of Marchand's voyage; but he neglected to read the note appended to that account, in which the error is explained.

The prohibitory regulation of the Russian emperor, and the correspondence relating to it, were immediately submitted to the Congress of the United States; and, in the ensuing year, a negotiation was commenced at St. Petersburg, the object of which was to settle amicably and definitively the limits of the territories on the north-west side of America, claimed by the two nations respectively, and the terms upon which their navigation and trade in the North Pacific were in future to be conducted. A negotiation,

* See p. 186.

for similar purposes, was, at the same time, in progress at St. Petersburg, between the governments of Russia and Great Britain; the latter power having formally protested against the claims and principles advanced in the ukase of 1821, immediately on its appearance, and subsequently, during the session of the congress of European sovereigns at Verona.* Under these circumstances, a desire was felt, on the part of the government of the United States, that a joint convention should be concluded between the three nations having claims to territories on the north-west side of America; and the envoys of the republic at London and St. Petersburg were severally instructed to propose a stipulation to the effect that no settlement should, during the next ten years, be made, in those territories, by Russians south of the latitude of 55 degrees, by citizens of the United States north of the latitude of 51 degrees, or by British subjects south of the 51st or north of the 55th parallels.

This proposition for a joint convention was not accepted by either of the governments to which it was addressed; the principal ground of the refusal by each being the declaration made by President Monroe in his message to Congress, at the commencement of the session of 1823, that — in the discussions and arrangements then going on with respect to the north-west coasts — "the occasion had been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, *that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power.*"† Against this declaration,

* Debate in Parliament on the inquiry made by Sir James Mackintosh on this subject, May 21, 1823.

† The message of December 2d, 1823, containing this declaration, also announced the resolution of the United States to view "as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition" towards themselves any attempt, on the part of a European power, to oppress or control the destiny of any of the independent states of America. This noble resolution was taken upon the assurance that the United States would, if necessary, be sustained in enforcing it by Great Britain, without whose coöperation it would have been ineffective, certainly as to the prevention of the attempts. The circumstances which induced the American government thus, at the same time, openly to offer a blow at the only nation on whose assistance it could depend, in case the anticipated attempts should be made by the despotic powers of Europe, have not been disclosed. That it is the true policy of the United States, by all lawful means, to resist the extension of European dominion in America, and to confine its limits, and abridge its duration, wherever it may actually exist, is a proposition which no arguments are required to demonstrate, either to American citizens or to European sovereigns; but this proclamation, by the government of the United States, of its intention to pursue those ends, could have no other effect than to delay the attainment of them, as it has evidently done.

which — however just and politic might have been the principle announced — was unquestionably imprudent, or at least premature, the British and the Russian governments severally protested; and as there were many other points on which it was not probable that the three powers could agree, it was determined that the negotiations should be continued, as they had been commenced, separately at London and at St. Petersburg.

Another publication, equally impolitic on the part of the American government, soon after contributed to render more difficult the settlement of the question of boundaries on the Pacific between the United States and Great Britain.

A select committee, appointed by the House of Representatives of the United States, in December, 1823, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of occupying the mouth of the Columbia, requested General Thomas S. Jesup, the quartermaster-general of the army, to communicate his opinions respecting the propriety of the measure proposed, as well as its practicability and the best method of executing it; in answer to which that officer sent, on the 16th of February, 1824, a letter containing an exposition of his views of the true policy of the United States with regard to the north-west coasts and territories of America, and of the means by which they might be carried into effect. Leaving aside the question as to the rights of the United States, he considered the possession and military command of the Columbia and of the Upper Missouri necessary for the protection, not only of the fur trade, but also of the whole western frontier of the republic, which is every where in contact with numerous, powerful, and warlike tribes of savages: and, for this purpose, he recommended the immediate despatch of two hundred men across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia, while two merchant vessels should transport thither the cannon, ammunition, materials, and stores, requisite for the first establishment; after which, four or five intermediate posts should be formed at points between Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, (the most western spot then occupied by American troops,) and the Pacific. By such means, says the letter, "present protection would be afforded to our traders, and, on the expiration of the privilege granted to British subjects to trade on the waters of the Columbia, we should be enabled to remove them from our territory, and to secure the whole trade to our own citizens."

The report of the committee, with the letter from General Jesup annexed, was ordered to lie on the table of the House, and nothing

more was done on the subject during that session; the papers, however, were both published, and they immediately attracted the attention of the British ministry. In a conference held at London, in July following, between the American envoy, Mr. Rush, and the British commissioners, Messrs. Huskisson and Stratford Canning, the latter gentlemen commented upon the observations of General Jesup, particularly upon those respecting the removal of British traders from the territories of the Columbia, which, they said, "were calculated to put Great Britain especially upon her guard, appearing, as they did, at a moment when a friendly negotiation was pending between the two powers for the adjustment of their relative and conflicting claims to that entire district of country."

It is moreover certain, from the accounts of Mr. Rush, as well as from those given subsequently by Mr. Gallatin, that the publication of General Jesup's letter, and the declaration in President Monroe's message against the establishment of European colonies in America, rendered the British government much less disposed to any concession, with regard to the north-west territories, than it would otherwise have been; and there is reason to believe, from many circumstances, that they tended materially to produce a union of views, approaching to a league, between that power and Russia, which has proved very disadvantageous to the interests of the United States on the North Pacific coasts.

The negotiation respecting the north-west coasts of America, commenced at London in April, 1824, was not long continued; the parties being so entirely at variance with regard to facts as well as principles, that the impossibility of effecting any new arrangement soon became evident. Mr. Rush,* the American plenipotentiary, began by claiming for the United States the exclusive possession and sovereignty of the whole country west of the Rocky Mountains, from the 42d degree of latitude, at least as far north as the 51st, between which parallels all the waters of the Columbia were then supposed to be included. In support of this claim, he cited, as in 1818, the facts — of the first discovery of the Columbia by Gray — of the first exploration of that river from its sources to the sea by Lewis and Clarke — of the first settlement on its banks by the Pacific Fur Company, "a settlement which was reduced by the arms of the British during the late war, but was formally sur-

* Letter from Mr. Rush to the secretary of state, of August 12th, 1824, among the documents accompanying President Adams's message to Congress of January 31st, 1826.

rendered up to the United States at the return of peace," and — of the transfer by Spain to the United States of all her titles to those territories, founded upon the well-known discoveries of her navigators; and he insisted, agreeably to express instructions from his government, "that no part of the American continent was thenceforth to be open to colonization from Europe." In explanation and defence of this declaration, Mr. Rush "referred to the principles settled by the Nootka Sound convention of 1790, and remarked, that Spain had now lost all her exclusive colonial rights, recognized under that convention: first, by the fact of the independence of the South American states and of Mexico; and next, by her express renunciation of all her rights, of whatever kind, above the 42d degree of north latitude, to the United States. Those new states would themselves now possess the rights incident to their condition of political independence; and the claims of the United States above the 42d parallel as high up as 60 degrees — claims as well in their own right as by succession to the title of Spain — would henceforth necessarily preclude other nations from forming colonial establishments upon any part of the American continents."

Messrs. Huskisson and Canning, in reply, denied that the circumstance of a merchant vessel of the United States having penetrated the north-west coast of America at the Columbia River, could give to the United States a claim along that coast, both north and south of the river, over territories which, they insisted, had been previously discovered by Great Britain herself, in expeditions fitted out under the authority and with the resources of the nation. They declared that British subjects had formed settlements upon the Columbia, or upon rivers flowing into it west of the Rocky Mountains, coeval with, if not prior to, the settlement made by American citizens at its mouth; and that the surrender of that settlement after the late war was in fulfilment of the treaty of Ghent, and did not affect the question of right in any way. They treated as false or doubtful the accounts of many of the Spanish voyages in the Pacific; alleging, as more authentic, the narrative of Drake's expedition, from which it appeared that he had, in 1579, explored the west coast of America to the 48th parallel of latitude, five or six degrees farther north than the Spaniards themselves pretended to have advanced before that period: and they refused to admit that any title could be derived from the mere fact of Spanish navigators having first seen the coast at particular spots, even when this was capable of being fully substantiated. Finally,

they assured Mr. Rush that *their government would never assent to the claim set forth by him respecting the territory watered by the Columbia River and its tributaries*, which, besides being essentially objectionable in its general bearings, had also the effect of interfering directly with the actual rights of Great Britain, derived from use, occupancy, and settlement; asserting, at the same time, that "they considered the unoccupied parts of America just as much open as heretofore to colonization by Great Britain, as well as by other European powers, agreeably to the convention of 1790, between the British and Spanish governments, and that the United States would have no right to take umbrage at the establishment of new colonies from Europe, in any such parts of the American continent." *

After much discussion on these points, Mr. Rush presented a proposal from his government, that any country west of the Rocky Mountains, which might be claimed by the United States, or by Great Britain, should be free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations for ten years from the date of the agreement: *Provided*, that, during this period, no settlements were to be made by British subjects north of the 55th or south of the 51st degrees of latitude, nor by American citizens north of the latter parallel. To this proposal, which Mr. Rush afterwards varied by substituting the 49th parallel of latitude for the 51st, Messrs. Huskisson and Canning replied by a counter proposal, to the effect, that the boundary between the territories of the two nations, beyond the Rocky Mountains, should pass from those mountains westward along the 49th parallel of latitude, to the north-easternmost branch of the Columbia River, called Macgillivray's River on the maps, and thence down the middle of the stream, to the Pacific; the British possessing the country north and west of such line, and the United States that which lay south and east of it: *Provided*, that the subjects or citizens of both nations should be equally at liberty, during the space of ten years from the date of the agreement, to pass by land or by water through all the territories on both sides of the boundary, and to retain and use their establishments already formed in any part of them. The British plenipotentiaries at the same time declared that this their proposal was one from which

* Protocol of the twelfth conference between the plenipotentiaries, held June 26th, 1824, among the documents annexed to President Adams's message to Congress of January 31st, 1826.

Great Britain would certainly not depart; and, as all prospect of compromise was thus destroyed, the negotiation ended.

In this discussion between the United States and Great Britain, upon the subject of their respective claims to the sovereignty of the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, the grounds of those claims were first made to assume a form somewhat definite; and this may be considered as principally due to the labor and penetration of Mr. Rush, who seems to have been the first to inquire carefully into the facts of the case. The introduction by him of the Nootka convention, as an element in the controversy, was according to express instructions from his government.* It appears to have been wholly unnecessary, and was certainly impolitic. No allusion had been made to that arrangement in any of the previous discussions with regard to the north-west coasts, and it was doubtless considered extinct; but when it was thus brought forward by the American government in connection with the declaration against European colonization, as a settlement of general principles with regard to those coasts, an argument was afforded in favor of the subsistence of the convention, of which the British government did not fail to take advantage, as will be hereafter shown.

* "The principles settled by the Nootka Sound convention of 28th October, 1790, were —

"'1st. That the rights of fishing in the South Seas; of trading with the natives of the north-west coast of America; and of making settlements on the coast itself, for the purposes of that trade, north of the *actual* settlements of Spain, were common to all the European nations, and, of course, to the United States.

"'2d. That, so far as the *actual* settlements of Spain had extended, she possessed the exclusive rights territorial, and of navigation and fishery; extending to the distance of ten miles from the coast so *actually occupied*.

"'3d. That, on the coasts of *South America*, and the adjacent islands *south* of the parts already occupied by Spain, no settlement should thereafter be made either by British or Spanish subjects; but, on both sides, should be retained the liberty of landing and of erecting temporary buildings for the purposes of the fishery. These rights were, also, of course, enjoyed by the people of the United States.

"'The exclusive rights of Spain to any part of the American continents have ceased. That portion of the convention, therefore, which recognizes the exclusive colonial rights of Spain on these continents, though confirmed, as between Great Britain and Spain, by the first additional article to the treaty of the 5th of July, 1814, has been extinguished by the fact of the independence of the South American nations and of Mexico. Those independent nations will possess the rights incident to that condition, and their territories will, of course, be subject to no *exclusive* right of navigation in their vicinity, or of access to them, by any foreign nation.

"'A necessary consequence of this state of things will be, that the American continents, henceforth, will no longer be subject to *colonization*. Occupied by civilized, independent nations, they will be accessible to Europeans, and each other, on that

In the mean time, the negotiation between the United States and Russia was terminated by a convention, signed at St. Petersburg, on the 5th of April, 1824, containing five articles: by the *first* of which, it is agreed that the respective citizens or subjects of the two nations shall not be disturbed or restrained in navigating or in fishing in any part of the Pacific Ocean, or in the power of resorting to the coasts upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives; saving, always, the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles, to wit: by the *second article*, the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point on the north-west coasts of America, where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commandant of the place, and *vice versa:* by the *third article*, neither the United States nor their citizens shall, in future, form any establishment on those coasts, or the adjacent islands, north of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and the Russians shall make none south of that latitude. "It is, nevertheless, understood," says the *fourth article*, "that during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hinderance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose

footing alone; and the Pacific Ocean, in every part of it, will remain open to the navigation of all nations, in like manner with the Atlantic.'" — Instructions of the Hon. J. Q. Adams, secretary of state of the United States, to Mr. Rush, dated July 22d, 1823, among the documents accompanying President Adams's message to Congress of January 31st, 1826.

With regard to the portion of these instructions here extracted, the reader is referred to the convention of 1790 itself, and to the remarks on it in pp. 213, 258, and 318, of this History, from which it will be seen that the convention, in all its stipulations, was simply an international agreement between Spain and Great Britain, binding them and their subjects only until its expiration, which took place, in consequence of the war, in 1796, and applying in no respect, either as to advantages or restrictions, to any other nation whatsoever; and that, consequently, other nations had the same right to occupy the vacant coasts of America, and to navigate and fish in the adjacent seas, within ten leagues, (the distance defined by the convention,) and even within ten miles, of the parts occupied by Spain, after, as before, the signature of that agreement; and Spain had as much right, after, as before, that event, to prohibit them from so doing. If the Nootka convention were, as asserted by the secretary of state, a definitive settlement of general principles of national law respecting navigation and fishery in the seas, and trade and settlement on the coasts, here mentioned, it would be difficult to resist the pretensions of the British plenipotentiaries with regard to the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, as set forth in the *statement* (Proofs and Illustrations, letter H) presented by them to Mr. Gallatin in 1826.

of fishing and trading with the natives of the country:" it being, however, stipulated by the remaining *fifth article*, that spirituous liquors, fire-arms, other arms, powder, and munitions of war, are always excepted from this same commerce permitted by the fourth article, and that, in case of contravention of this part of the agreement, the nation whose citizens or subjects may have committed the delinquency, shall alone have the right to punish them.*

This convention does not appear to offer any grounds for dispute as to the construction of its stipulations, but is, on the contrary, clear and equally favorable to both nations. The rights of both parties to navigate every part of the Pacific, and to trade with the natives of any places on the coasts of that sea, not already occupied, are first distinctly acknowledged; after which it is agreed, in order to prevent future difficulties, that each should submit to certain limitations as to navigation, trade, and settlement, on the north-west coasts of America, either perpetually or during a fixed period. Neither party claimed, directly or by inference, the immediate sovereignty of any spot on the American coasts not occupied by its citizens or subjects, or acknowledged the right of the other to the possession of any spot not so occupied; the definitive regulation of limits being deferred until the establishments and other interests of the two nations in that quarter of the world should have acquired such a development as to render more precise stipulations necessary.

The Russian government, however, construed this convention as giving to itself *the absolute sovereignty of all the west coasts of America north of the parallel of* 54 *degrees* 40 *minutes*, while denying any such right on the part of the United States to the coasts extending southward from that line. In February, 1825, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Great Britain, relative to North-West America, containing provisions similar to those of the convention between Russia and the United States, expressed in nearly the same words, but also containing many other provisions, some of which are directly at variance with the evident sense of the last-mentioned agreement. Thus it is established, by the treaty, that "*the line of demarkation between the possessions of the high contracting parties upon the coast of the continent, and the islands of America to the north-west*," shall be drawn from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales's Island, in latitude of 54 degrees 40

* This convention will be found at length among the Proofs and Illustrations, in the concluding part of this volume, under the letter K, No. 4.

minutes eastward, to the great inlet in the continent, called *Portland Channel*, and along the middle of that inlet, to the 56th degree of latitude, whence it shall follow the summit of the mountains bordering the coast, within ten leagues, north-westward, to Mount St. Elias, and thence north, in the course of the 141st meridian west from Greenwich, to the Frozen Ocean; "which line," says the treaty, "*shall form the limit between the Russian and the British possessions in the continent of America to the north-west*;" it being also agreed that the British should forever have the right to navigate any streams flowing into the Pacific from the interior, across the line of demarkation.*

That this treaty virtually annulled the convention, of the preceding year, between Russia and the United States, is evident; for the *convention* rested entirely upon the assumption that the United States possessed the same right to the part of the American coast south of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, which Russia possessed to the part north of that parallel: and the *treaty* distinctly acknowledged the former or southern division of the coast to be the property of Great Britain. It does not, however, appear that any representation on the subject was addressed by the American government to that of Russia; and the vessels of the United States continued to frequent all the unoccupied parts of the north-west coast, and to trade with the natives uninterruptedly, until 1834, when, as will be hereafter shown, they were formally prohibited, by the Russian authorities, from visiting any place on that coast north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, on the ground that their right to do so had expired, agreeably to the convention of 1824.

In December, 1824, President Monroe, in his last annual message to Congress, recommended the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia, or at some other point within the acknowledged limits of the United States, in order to afford protection to their commerce and fisheries in the Pacific, to conciliate the Indians of the north-west, and to promote the intercourse be-

* See Proofs and Illustrations, at the end of this volume, under the letter K, No. 5. Some curious particulars relative to the negotiation which led to this treaty may be found in the Political Life of the Hon. George Canning, by A. G. Stapleton, chap. xiv. Mr. Canning, it seems, was anxious for the conclusion of a joint convention between Great Britain, the United States, and Russia, as regards the freedom of navigation of the Pacific, until the appearance of the declaration in the message of President Monroe above mentioned, after which he determined only to treat with each of the other parties separately.

tween those territories and the settled portions of the republic; to effect which object, he advised that appropriations should be made for the despatch of a frigate, with engineers, to explore the mouth of the Columbia and the adjacent shores. The same measures were, in the following year, also recommended by President Adams, among the various plans for the advantage of the United States and of the world in general, to which he requested the attention of Congress, in his message, at the commencement of the session. In compliance with this recommendation, a committee was appointed by the House of Representatives, the chairman of which, Mr. Baylies, of Massachusetts, presented two reports,* containing numerous details with respect to — the history of discovery and trade in North-West America, — the geography, soil, climate, productions, and inhabitants, of the portion claimed by the United States, — the number and value of the furs procured there, — the expenses of surveying the coasts and of forming military establishments for its occupation, and many other matters relating to that part of the world; in consideration whereof, the committee introduced a bill for the immediate execution of the measures proposed by the president. This bill was laid on the table of the House, and the subject was not again agitated in Congress until 1828.

Meanwhile, the period of ten years, during which the countries claimed by the United States or by Great Britain, west of the Rocky Mountains, were, agreeably to the convention of 1818, to remain free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations, was drawing to a close; and a strong desire was manifested, on the part of the American government, that some definitive arrangement with regard to those countries should be concluded between the two powers, before the expiration of the term. The British secretary for foreign affairs also signified that his government was prepared to enter into a new discussion of the question at issue; and a negotiation with these objects was accordingly commenced between Mr. Gallatin, the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at London, and Messrs. Addington and Huskisson, commissioners on the part of Great Britain.

Before relating the particulars of this negotiation, it should be observed that the relative positions of the two parties, as to the occupancy and actual possession of the countries in question, had been materially changed since the conclusion of the former conven-

* Dated severally January 16th, and May 15th, 1826.

tion between them. The union of the rival British companies, and the extension of the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada over the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, had already proved most advantageous to the Hudson's Bay Company, which had at the same time received the privilege of trading in that territory, to the exclusion of all other British subjects. Great efforts were made, and vast expenses were incurred, by this company, in its efforts to found settlements on the Columbia River, and to acquire influence over the natives of the surrounding country; and so successful had been those efforts, that the citizens of the United States were obliged, not only to renounce all ideas of renewing their establishments in that part of America, but even to withdraw their vessels from its coasts. Indeed, for more than ten years after the capture of Astoria by the British, scarcely a single American citizen was to be seen in those countries. Trading expeditions were subsequently made from Missouri to the head-waters of the Platte and the Colorado, within the limits of California, and one or two hundred hunters and trappers, from the United States, were generally roving through that region; but the Americans had no settlements of any kind, and their government exercised no jurisdiction whatsoever west of the Rocky Mountains.

Under such favorable circumstances, the Hudson's Bay Company could not fail to prosper. Its resources were no longer wasted in disputes with rivals; its operations were conducted with despatch and certainty; its posts were extended, and its means of communication increased, under the assurance that the honor of the British government and nation was thereby more strongly interested in its behalf. The agents of the company were seen in every part of the continent, north and north-west of the United States and Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, hunting, trapping, and trading with the aborigines; its boats were met on every stream and lake, conveying British goods into the interior, or furs to the great depositories on each ocean, for shipment to England in British vessels; and the utmost order and regularity were maintained throughout by the supremacy of British laws. Of the trading posts, many were fortified, and could be defended by their inmates — men inured to hardships and dangers — against all attacks which might be apprehended; and the whole vast expanse of territory above described, including the regions drained by the Columbia, was, in fact, occupied by British forces, and governed by British laws, though there

was not a single British soldier — technically speaking — within its limits.

Considering this state of things, and also the characters of the two nations engaged in the controversy and of their governments, it may readily be supposed that many and great obstacles would exist in the way of a definitive and amicable arrangement of the questions at issue, between the Americans ever solicitous with respect to territory which they have any reason to regard as their own, and the British with whom the acquisition and security of commercial advantages always form a paramount object of policy. To the difficulties occasioned by the conflict of such material interests, in this particular case, were added those arising from the pride of the parties, and their mutual jealousy, which seems ever to render them adverse to any settlement of a disputed point, even though it should be manifestly advantageous to them both.

In the first conference,* the British commissioners declared that their government was still ready to abide by the proposition made to Mr. Rush, in 1824, for a line of separation between the territories of the two nations, drawn from the Rocky Mountains, along the 49th parallel of latitude to the north-easternmost branch of the Columbia, and thence down that river to the sea; giving to Great Britain all the territories north, and to the United States all south, of that line. Mr. Gallatin, in reply, agreeably to instructions from his government, repeated the offer made by himself and Mr. Rush, in 1818, for the adoption of the 49th parallel as the line of separation from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, with the additional *provisions*, — that, if the said line should cross any of the branches of the Columbia at points from which they are navigable by boats to the main stream, the navigation of such branches, and of the main stream, should be perpetually free and common to the people of both nations — that the citizens or subjects of neither party should thenceforward make any settlements in the territories of the other; but that all settlements already formed by the people of either nation within the limits of the other, might be occupied and used by them for ten years, and no longer, during which all the remaining provisions of the existing convention should continue in force. The British refused to accede to this or any other plan of partition which should deprive them of the northern bank of the

* President Adams's message to Congress of December 28th, 1827, and the accompanying documents.

Columbia, and the right of navigating that river to and from the sea; though they expressed their willingness to yield to the United States, in addition to what they first offered, a *detached territory*, extending, on the Pacific and the Strait of Fuca, from Bulfinch's Harbor to Hood's Canal, and to stipulate that no works should at any time be erected at the mouth or on the banks of the Columbia, calculated to impede the free navigation of that river, by either party. The Americans, however, being equally determined not to give up their title to any part of the country south of the 49th parallel, all expectation of effecting a definitive disposition of the claims was abandoned.

The plenipotentiaries then directed their attention to the subject of a renewal of the arrangement for the use and occupancy of the territories in question by the people of both nations. With this view, the British proposed that the existing arrangement should be renewed according to the terms of the third article of the convention of October 20th, 1818, for fifteen years from the date of the expiration of that convention; with the additional provisions, however, that, during those fifteen years, neither power should assume or exercise any right of exclusive sovereignty or dominion over any part of the territory; and that no settlement then made, or which might thereafter be made, by either nation in those countries, should ever be adduced in support of any claim to such sovereignty or dominion. This proposition was received by Mr. Gallatin for reference to his government, although he saw at once that the additional provisions were inadmissible; and the negotiation was, in consequence, suspended for some months.

During this first period of the negotiation, the claims and pretensions of the two nations respecting the countries in question, were developed and discussed more fully than on any previous occasion, not only in the conferences between the plenipotentiaries, but also in written statements,* formally presented on each side. As nearly

* The *statement* of the British commissioners is presented entire in the Proofs and Illustrations, under the letter H, in order that no doubt may subsist as to the nature of the claims of Great Britain, and of the evidence and arguments by which they are supported. As a state paper, it will, perhaps, be found unworthy of the nation on whose part it was produced, and of at least one of the persons from whom it proceeded; many will regret to see appended to it the name of William Huskisson, and to learn that it received the approval of George Canning.

The *counter-statement* of Mr. Gallatin, a most able document, is omitted only because its insertion would have too much increased the bulk of the volume.

every point touched by either of the parties has been already examined minutely in the foregoing pages, it only remains now to recapitulate them, and to add some remarks, which could not have been conveniently introduced at an earlier period.

Mr. Gallatin claimed for the United States the possession of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, on the grounds of —

The acquisition by the United States of the titles of France through the Louisiana treaty, and the titles of Spain through the Florida treaty;

The discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, the first exploration of the countries through which that river flows, and the establishment of the first posts and settlements in those countries by American citizens;

The virtual recognition of the title of the United States, by the British government, in the restitution, agreeably to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, of the post near the mouth of the Columbia, which had been taken during the war;

And, lastly, upon the ground of *contiguity*, which should give the United States a stronger right to those territories than could be advanced by any other power — a doctrine always maintained by Great Britain, from the period of her earliest attempts at colonization in America, as clearly proved by her charters, in which the whole breadth of the continent, between certain parallels of latitude, was granted to colonies established only at points on the borders of the Atlantic.*

Messrs. Huskisson and Addington, on the other hand, declared that Great Britain claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of the territory on the Pacific between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude; her present claim, not in respect to any part, but to the whole, being limited to a right of joint occupancy, in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive dominion in *abeyance*. They then proceeded to examine the grounds of the claims of the United States, none of which they admitted to be

* "If," says Mr. Gallatin, "some trading factories on the shores of Hudson's Bay have been considered by Great Britain as giving an exclusive right of occupancy as far as the Rocky Mountains; if the infant settlements on the more southern Atlantic shores justified a claim thence to the South Seas, and which was actually enforced to the Mississippi, — that of the millions already within reach of those seas cannot consistently be rejected." This argument, it may be added, has been since constantly increasing in force.

valid, except that acquired from Spain, through the Florida treaty, in 1819; and the right thus acquired they pronounced to be nothing more than the right secured to Spain, in common with Great Britain, by the Nootka convention, in 1790, to trade and settle in any part of those countries, and to navigate their waters. Dismissing the claims of Spain, on the grounds of discovery, prior to 1790, as futile and visionary, and inferior to those of Great Britain on the same grounds, they maintained that all arguments and pretensions of either of those powers, whether resting on discovery or on any other consideration, were definitively set at rest by the Nootka convention, after the signature of which, the title was no longer to be traced in vague discoveries, several of them admitted to be apocryphal, but in the text and stipulations of that convention itself; and that, as the Nootka convention applied to all parts of the north-west coast of America not occupied, in 1790, by either of the parties, it of course included any portion of Louisiana which might then have extended, on the Pacific, north of the northernmost Spanish settlement, and which could not, therefore, be claimed by the United States, in virtue of the treaty for the cession of Louisiana to that republic, in 1803.

Having assumed this ground, it was scarcely necessary for the British plenipotentiaries to go further into the examination of the titles of the United States; and they probably acted on this supposition, as it is otherwise impossible to account for the gross misstatements with regard to the discoveries of the Americans, the extravagant and unfounded assumptions, and the illogical deductions, in the document presented by them to Mr. Gallatin, on the part of their government. Thus, with regard to the discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, they insisted that "Mr. Meares, a lieutenant in the royal navy, who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the north-west coasts of America," really effected that discovery four years before Gray is even pretended to have entered the river;* though they indeed admitted that "Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, *was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river, a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares*" when he entered the same bay; but that, even supposing the priority of Gray's discovery to be proved, it was of no consequence in the case, as the

* See p. 177.

country in which it was made "falls within the provisions of the convention of 1790." They refused to allow that the claims of the United States are strengthened by the exploration of the country through which the Columbia flows, as performed in 1805–6 by Lewis and Clarke, "because, if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years," the agents of the North-West Company had established posts on the northern branch of the river, and were extending them down to its mouth, when they heard of the formation of the American post at that place in 1811.* That the restoration of Astoria, in 1818, conveyed a virtual acknowledgment by Great Britain of the title of the United States to the country in which that post is situated, was also denied, on the ground that letters protesting against such title were, at the time of the restoration, addressed, by members of the British ministry, to British agents in the United States and on the Columbia.† It is needless to add any thing to what has been already said on these points, in order to prove the entire groundlessness of the assertions contained in the British statement with regard to them.

The charters granted by the sovereigns of Great Britain and France, conveying to individuals or companies large tracts of territory in America, were represented, by the British plenipotentiaries, as being nothing "more, in fact, than a cession to the grantee or grantees of whatever rights the grantor might suppose himself to possess, to the exclusion of other subjects of the same nation, — binding and restraining those only who were within the jurisdiction of the grantor, and of no force or validity against the subjects of other states, until recognized by treaty, and thereby becoming a part of international law." The erroneousness of these views is obvious, and was easily demonstrated by Mr. Gallatin, who showed, by reference to the history of British colonization and dominion in America, that the royal grantors of territories in that continent did consider their charters as binding on all, whether their own subjects or not, and with regard to countries first discovered and settled by people of other nations, whenever they were found to be within the limits thus indicated. These facts were cited, not in vindication of the justice of those grants, but merely to prove in what light they had been regarded by Great Britain: and, if the principle thus assumed by that power, and maintained from 1580 to 1782, as relating to Atlantic colonies, were correct, she could not

* See p. 297. † See p. 310.

deny its application to the United States, now the owners of Louisiana.*

The British plenipotentiaries were, however, clear and explicit as to the intentions of their government, which were declared, at the conclusion of their statement, in terms of moderation and forbearance truly edifying. Great Britain, they assert, claims, *at present*, nothing more than the rights of trade, navigation, and settlement, in the part of the world under consideration, agreeably to the provisions of the Nootka convention, the basis of the law of nations with regard to those territories and waters, under the protection of which many important British interests have grown up; and she admits that the United States have the same rights, but none other, although they have been exercised only in one instance, and not at all since 1813. In the territory between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, are many British posts and settlements, for the trade and supply of which, the free navigation of the Columbia, to and from the sea, is indispensable; the United States possess not a single post or settlement of any kind in that whole region. Great Britain, nevertheless, for the sake of peace and good understanding, agrees to submit to a definitive partition of that territory, giving to the United States the whole division south of the Columbia, and a large tract containing an excellent harbor, north of that river; and, the United States having declined to accede to this proposition, it only remains for Great Britain to maintain and up-

* "This construction does not appear either to have been that intended at the time by the grantors, or to have governed the subsequent conduct of Great Britain. By excepting from the grants, as was generally the case, such lands as were already occupied by the subjects of other civilized nations, it was clearly implied that no other exception was contemplated, and that the grants were intended to include all unoccupied lands within their respective boundaries, to the exclusion of all other persons or nations whatsoever. In point of fact, the whole country drained by the several rivers emptying into the Atlantic Ocean, the mouths of which were within those charters, has, from Hudson's Bay to Florida, and, it is believed, without exception, been occupied and held by virtue of those charters. Not only has this principle been fully confirmed, but it has been notoriously enforced much beyond the sources of the rivers on which the settlements were formed. The priority of the French settlements on the rivers flowing westwardly from the Alleghany Mountains into the Mississippi was altogether disregarded; and the rights of the Atlantic colonies to extend beyond those mountains, as growing out of the contiguity of territory, and as asserted in the earliest charters, was effectually and successfully enforced."

The American minister might also have cited the charters granted to the Virginia Company by King James I., in 1609 and 1611, in virtue of which, the Dutch settlements on the Hudson River, in a country first discovered, explored, and occupied, under the flag of the United Provinces, were, in 1664, — forty years after the dissolution of the company, — during peace between the two nations, seized by British forces, as being included in the territories conceded to that company.

hold the qualified rights which she now possesses over the whole of the territory in question. "To the interests which British industry and enterprise have created Great Britain owes protection. That protection will be given, both as regards settlement and freedom of trade and navigation, with every attention not to infringe the coördinate rights of the United States; it being the earnest desire of the British government, so long as the joint occupancy continues, to regulate its own obligations by the same rule which governs the obligations of any other occupying party." Thus, in 1826, the British government based its claims, with regard to the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, entirely on the Nootka convention of 1790, and the acts of occupation by its subjects under that agreement; the abrogation of which, by the war between the parties, in 1796, — ten years before a single spot in those territories had been occupied by a British subject, — has been already so fully demonstrated,* that any further observations would be superfluous.

The proposition of the British plenipotentiaries, with regard to the renewal of the existing arrangement for ten years, was rejected by the president of the United States,† on the grounds — that, so far as it would tend to prevent the Americans from exercising exclusive sovereignty at the mouth of the Columbia River, it would be contrary to their rights, as acknowledged by the treaty of Ghent, and by the restitution of the place agreeably to that treaty; — that the proposed additional provisions do not define, but leave open to disputation, the acts which might be deemed an exercise of exclusive sovereignty; — and that, from the nature of the institutions of the United States, their rights in the territory in question must be protected, and their citizens must be secured in their lawful pursuits, by some species of government, different from that which it has been, or may be, the pleasure of Great Britain to establish there. Mr. Gallatin, on the 24th of May, 1827, communicated to the British commissioners the fact of the rejection of their proposition, and the reasons for it, declaring, at the same time, formally, in obedience to special instructions, that *his government did not hold itself bound hereafter in consequence of any proposal which it had made for a line of separation between the territories of the two nations beyond the Rocky Mountains; but would consider itself at liberty to contend for the full extent of the claims of the United States.*

* See the examinations of this question, at pp. 213, 257, and 318.

† Letter of February 24th, 1827, from the Hon. Henry Clay to Mr. Gallatin.

The British plenipotentiaries, having entered on the protocol of the conferences a declaration with regard to the previous claims and propositions of their government, similar to that made on the part of the United States by Mr. Gallatin, then intimated their readiness to agree to a simple renewal of the terms of the existing arrangement, for ten years from the date of the expiration of the convention of 1818; provided, however, that, in so doing, they should append to the new convention, in some way, a declaration of what they considered to be its true intent, namely, — that *both parties were restricted, during its continuance in force, from exercising, or assuming to themselves the right to exercise, any exclusive sovereignty or jurisdiction over the territories mentioned in the agreement.* The objections to this arrangement were nearly as strong as to that which had already been proposed and refused; Mr. Gallatin, however, desired to know what species of acts the British would consider as an exercise of exclusive sovereignty or jurisdiction. In reply, he was informed that Great Britain would not complain of the extension, over the regions west of the Rocky Mountains, of the jurisdiction of any territory, *having for its eastern boundary a line within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States; provided* — that no custom-house should be erected, nor any duties or charges on tonnage, merchandise, or commerce, be raised, by either party, in the country west of the Rocky Mountains — that the citizens or subjects of the two powers residing in or resorting to those countries, should be amenable only to the jurisdiction of their own nation respectively — and that no military post should be established by either party in those countries; or, at least, no such post as would command the navigation of the Columbia or any of its branches.

To the first of these conditions, Mr. Gallatin saw no strong reason to object. With regard to the second, he considered it indispensable that the respective jurisdiction of the courts of justice should be determined by positive compact, as it would scarcely be possible otherwise to prevent collisions; and upon the third condition, he believed it would be very difficult to arrive at a correct understanding, as the British government would not admit the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company to be military establishments. On all these points, the two governments might afterwards negotiate; but the American minister refused to assent to any declaration or explanation whatsoever respecting the terms under which the territories in question were to remain open to the people of the two

countries; and the British were equally resolved not to agree to a renewal of the engagement for a *fixed* period of time, without such a declaration.

Finally, on the 6th of August, 1827, a convention was signed by the plenipotentiaries, to the effect, that the provisions of the third article of the convention of October 20th, 1818, — rendering *all the territories claimed by Great Britain or by the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations for ten years,* — should be further extended for an indefinite period; either party being, however, at liberty to annul and abrogate the agreement, on giving a year's notice of its intention to the other.* This convention was submitted to the Senate of the United States in the following winter, and, having been approved by that body, it was immediately ratified.

In relating the circumstances connected with the adoption of the convention of October, 1818, the opinion was expressed, that it was perhaps the most wise, as well as most just, arrangement which could then have been made; and this renewal of the arrangement for an indefinite period, leaving each of the parties at liberty to abrogate it, after a reasonable notice to the other, appears to merit the same commendation. No unworthy concession was made, no loss of dignity or right was sustained, on either side; and to break the amicable and mutually profitable relations, then subsisting between the two countries, on a question of mere title to the possession of territories from which neither could derive any immediate benefit of consequence, would have been impolitic and unrighteous. The advantages of the convention were, in 1827, as in 1818, nearly equal to both nations; but the difference was, on the whole, in favor of the United States. The British might, indeed, derive more profit from the fur trade as carried on by their organized Hudson's Bay Company, than the Americans could expect to obtain by the individual efforts of their citizens; but the value of that trade is much less than is generally supposed: no settlements could be formed in the territory beyond the Rocky Mountains, by which it could acquire a *population*, while the arrangement subsisted; and the facilities for occupying the territory at a future period, when its occupation by the United States should become expedient, would undoubtedly have increased in a far greater ratio on their part than on that of Great Britain. For the difficulties which must arise

* Proofs and Illustrations, letter I, No. 6.

whenever the convention is abrogated, even agreeably to the manner therein stipulated, it became, of course, the duty of each government to provide in time.

In the session of Congress following that in which the new convention with Great Britain had been approved, the subject of the occupation of the mouth of the Columbia River was again discussed; and, after a long series of debates, in which the most eminent members of the House of Representatives took part, a bill was reported, whereby the president was authorized to cause the territory west of the Rocky Mountains to be explored, and forts and garrisons to be established in any proper places, between the parallels of 42 degrees and 54 degrees 40 minutes; and also to extend the jurisdiction of the United States over those countries, as regards citizens of the Union. The adoption of these measures was urged, on the ground that it was the duty of the government to make good, by occupation, the right of the United States, which was pronounced unquestionable, lest, by neglect, the country should fall irrevocably into the possession of another power, which had unjustly contested that right: and, as inducements to pursue this course, pictures most flattering were presented of the soil, climate, and productions, of the regions watered by the Columbia, and of the various advantages which would be secured to the citizens of the Union engaged in the trade of the Pacific Ocean, by the settlement of those coasts. The bill was opposed, as infringing the convention recently concluded with Great Britain; in addition to which, it was contended, that, were all opposition on the part of that or other powers removed, and the right of the United States established and universally recognized, the occupation of the countries in question in the manner proposed, would be useless, from their extreme barrenness, from the dangers to navigation presented by their coasts, and from the difficulty of communicating with them either by sea or by land; and such occupation might be injurious, as citizens of the United States would be thus induced to settle in those countries, and their government would find itself bound to protect and maintain them, at great expense, without a commensurate advancement of the public good. In the course of the debates, several amendments were proposed to the bill, but it was finally rejected on the 9th of January, 1829; and, for many years afterwards, very little attention was bestowed, by any branch of the government of the United States, to matters connected with the territories west of the Rocky Mountains.

CHAPTER XVII.

1823 TO 1844

Few Citizens of the United States in the Countries west of the Rocky Mountains between 1813 and 1823 — Trading Expeditions of Ashley, Sublette, Smith, Pilcher, Pattie, Bonneville, and Wyeth — Missionaries from the United States form Establishments on the Columbia — First Printing Press set up in Oregon — Opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Americans; how exerted — Controversy between the United States and Russia — Dispute between the Hudson's Bay and the Russian American Companies; how terminated — California; Capture of Monterey by Commodore Jones — The Sandwich Islands; Proceedings of the Missionaries; Expulsion of the Catholic Priests, and their Reinstatement by a French Force — The Sandwich Islands temporarily occupied by the British.

It has already been said, that, during the ten years immediately following the dissolution of the Pacific Fur Company, and the seizure of its establishments on the Columbia by the British, few, if any, citizens of the United States entered the countries west of the Rocky Mountains; although, within that period, the facilities for communication between those countries and the settled portions of the American Union had been increased by the introduction of steam vessels on the Mississippi and its tributary rivers. Nearly all the trade of the regions of the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri was then carried on by the old North American Fur Company, at the head of which Mr. Astor still remained; and by another association, called the Columbia Fur Company, formed in 1822, composed principally of persons who had been in the service of the North-West Company, and were dissatisfied with their new masters. The Columbia Company established several posts on the upper waters of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Yellowstone, which were, however, transferred to the North American Company, on the junction of the two bodies in 1826. The Americans had also begun to trade with the northernmost provinces of Mexico, before the overthrow of the Spanish authority in that country; after which event, large caravans passed regularly, in each summer, between St. Louis and Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, on the head-waters of the River Bravo del Norté.

The first attempt to reëstablish commercial communications between the United States and the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, was made by W. H. Ashley, of St. Louis, who had been, for some time previous, engaged in the fur trade of the Missouri and Yellowstone countries. He quitted the state of Missouri in the spring of 1823, at the head of a large party of men, with horses carrying merchandise and baggage, and proceeded up the Platte River, to the sources of its northern branch, called the *Sweet Water*, which had not been previously explored. These sources were found to be situated in a remarkable valley, or cleft, in the Rocky Mountains, in the latitude of 42 degrees 20 minutes; and immediately beyond them were discovered those of another stream, flowing south-westward, called by the Indians *Sidskadee*, and by the Americans *Green River*, which proved to be one of the head-waters of the Colorado of California. In the country about these streams, which had not then been frequented by the British traders, Mr. Ashley passed the summer, with his men, employed in trapping, and in bartering goods for skins with the natives; and, before the end of the year, he brought back to St. Louis a large and valuable stock of furs.

In 1824, Mr. Ashley made another expedition up the Platte, and through the cleft in the mountains, which has since been generally called the *Southern Pass;* and then, advancing farther west, he reached a great collection of salt water called the *Utah Lake*, (probably the Lake Timpanogos, or Lake Tegayo, of the old Spanish maps,) which lies imbosomed among lofty mountains, between the 40th and the 42d parallels of latitude. Near this lake, on the south-east, he found another and smaller one, to which he gave his own name; and there he built a fort, or trading post, in which he left about a hundred men, when he returned to Missouri in the autumn. Two years afterwards, a six-pound cannon was drawn from Missouri to this fort, a distance of more than twelve hundred miles; and, in 1828, many wagons, heavily laden, performed the same journey.

During the three years between 1824 and 1827, the men left by Mr. Ashley in the country beyond the Rocky Mountains collected and sent to St. Louis furs to the value of more than one hundred and eighty thousand dollars; this enterprising man then retired from the trade, and sold all his interests and establishments to the Rocky Mountain Company, at the head of which were Messrs. Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, persons not less energetic and determined.

These traders carried on for many years an extensive and profitable business, in the course of which they traversed every part of the country about the southern branch of the Columbia, and nearly the whole of continental California. Unfortunately, however, they made no astronomical observations, and, being unacquainted with any branch of physical science, very little information has been derived through their means. Smith, after twice crossing the continent to the Pacific, was murdered, in the summer of 1829, by the Indians north-west of the Utah Lake.

These active proceedings of the Missouri fur traders roused the spirit of the North American Company, which also extended its operations beyond the Rocky Mountains, though no establishments were formed by its agents in those countries; and many expeditions were made, in the same direction, by independent parties, of whose adventures, narratives, more or less exact and interesting, have been published. In 1827, Mr. Pilcher went from Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, with forty-five men, and more than a hundred horses; and, having crossed the great dividing chain of mountains by the Southern Pass, he spent the winter on the Colorado. In the following year, he proceeded to the Lewis River, and thence, northwardly, along the foot of the Rocky Mountains, on their western side, to the Flathead Lake, near the 47th degree of latitude, which he describes as a beautiful sheet of water, formed by the expansion of the Clarke River, in a rich and extensive valley, surrounded by high mountains. There he remained until the spring of 1829, when he descended the Clarke to Fort Colville, an establishment then recently formed by the Hudson's Bay Company, on the northern branch of the Columbia, at its falls; and thence he returned to the United States, through the long and circuitous route of the Upper Columbia, the Athabasca, the Assinaboin, Red River, and the Upper Missouri. The countries thus traversed by Mr. Pilcher have all become comparatively well known from the accounts of subsequent travellers; but very little information had been given to the world respecting them before the publication of his concise narrative.* The account of the rambles of J. O. Pattie, a Missouri fur trader, through New Mexico, Chihuahua, Sonora, and California, published in 1832, throws some light on the geography of parts of those countries of which little can as yet be learned from any other source. During his peregrinations, Pattie several times crossed the great dividing chain of mountains between New Mexico on the

* Published with President Jackson's message to Congress, January 23d, 1829.

east, and Sonora and California on the west, and descended and ascended the Colorado, and its principal tributaries, which he describes as being navigable by boats for considerable distances. He also made trips across Sonora to the Californian Gulf, and across California to the Pacific, as well as through the Mexican provinces on the coasts of that ocean, where he suffered imprisonment and many other hardships from the tyranny of the authorities.

In 1832, Captain Bonneville, of the army of the United States, while on furlough, led a band of more than a hundred men, with twenty wagons, and many horses and mules, carrying merchandise from Missouri to the countries of the Colorado and the Columbia, in which he passed more than two years, engaged in hunting, trapping, and trading.*

About the same time, Captain Wyeth, of Massachusetts, endeavored to establish a regular system of commercial intercourse between the states of the Union and the countries of the Columbia, to which latter the general name of OREGON then began to be universally applied in the United States. His plan, like that devised by Mr. Astor in 1810, was to send manufactured goods to the Pacific countries, and from thence to transport to the United States, and even to China, not only furs, but also the salmon which abound in the rivers of North-Western America. With these objects, he made two expeditions over land to the Columbia, in the latter of which he founded a trading post, called *Fort Hall*, on the south side of the Snake or Lewis branch of that river, at the entrance of the Portneuf, about a hundred miles north of the Utah Lake; and he then established another post, principally for fishing purposes, on Wappatoo Island, near the confluence of the Willamet River with the Columbia, a hundred miles above the mouth of the latter. This scheme, however, failed entirely. The Hudson's Bay Company's agents immediately took the alarm, and founded a counter establishment, called *Fort Boisé*, at the entrance of the *Boisé* or *Read's River* into the Lewis, some distance below Fort Hall, where they offered goods to the Indians at prices much lower than those which the Americans could afford to take; and Wyeth, being thus driven out of the market, was forced to compromise with his opponents, by selling his fort to them, and engaging to desist from the

* The narrative of this expedition, written from the notes of Captain Bonneville, by Washington Irving, in the vein, half serious, half jocose, of Fray Agapida's Chronicle, contains some curious, though generally overcharged, pictures of life among the hunters, trappers, traders, Indians, and grisly bears, of the Rocky Mountains; but it adds very little to our knowledge of the geography of those regions.

fur trade. Meanwhile, a brig, which he had despatched from Boston, with a cargo of goods, arrived at Wappatoo Island, where she, after some further arrangements with the Hudson's Bay Company, took in a cargo of salted salmon, for the United States. She reached Boston in safety; but the results of her voyage were not such as to encourage perseverance in the enterprise, which was thereupon abandoned.*

The American traders, being excluded by these and other means from the Columbia countries, confined themselves almost entirely to the regions about the head-waters of the Colorado and the Utah Lake, where they formed one or two small establishments; though they sometimes extended their rambles westward to the Sacramento, the Bay of San Francisco, and Monterey, where they were viewed with dislike and mistrust by the Mexican authorities. The number of citizens of the United States thus employed in the country west of the Rocky Mountains seldom, if ever, exceeded two hundred: during the greater part of the year, they roved through the wilds, in search of furs, which they carried, in the summer, to certain places of rendezvous on the Colorado, or on the Lewis, and there disposed of them to the traders from Missouri; the whole business being conducted by barter, and without the use of money, though each article bore a nominal value, expressed in dollars and cents, very different from that assigned to it in the states of the Union.†

About the time of Wyeth's expeditions also took place the earliest emigrations from the United States to the territories of the Columbia, for the purpose of settlement, and without any special commercial objects.

The first of these colonies was founded, in 1834, in the valley of

* Captain Wyeth's expeditions, though unprofitable to himself, have been rendered advantageous to the world at large; for his short memoir on the regions which he visited, printed with the report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the Oregon territory, in February, 1839, affords more exact and useful information, as to their general geography, climate, soil, and agricultural and commercial capabilities, than any other work yet published. Wyeth's movements are also related incidentally in the account of Bonneville's adventures, and in the interesting Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains, &c., by J. K. Townsend, a naturalist of Philadelphia, published in 1839.

† Thus, among the prices current at the rendezvous on Green River, in the summer of 1838, we find whisky at three dollars per pint, gunpowder at six dollars per pint, tobacco at five dollars per pound, dogs (for food) at fifteen dollars each, &c. Twenty dollars were frequently expended in rum and sugar, for a night's carouse, by two or three traders, after the conclusion of a bargain. Under such circumstances, it may be supposed that the price of beaver and muskrat skins was proportionally raised; and that a package, purchased for a hundred dollars on Green River, may have been afterwards sold with profit at St. Louis for twenty.

the Willamet River, eighty miles above its junction with the Columbia, by a small party from the Northern and Eastern States of the Union, under the direction of Messrs. Lee, Shepherd, and other Methodist missionaries, who cleared land, erected houses, and opened schools for the instruction of the natives. A few retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company had already settled in the same valley, by permission of the chief factor, and were there principally engaged in herding cattle. In the following year, Mr. Parker, a Presbyterian minister from Ithaca, in New York, proceeded, by way of the Platte and the Southern Pass, to the mouth of the Columbia, and thence returned to the United States;* and, upon his reports, Messrs. Spalding, Gray, and Whitman, were sent, by the American Board of Foreign Missions, to prosecute the objects of that society in the Oregon regions. Other missionaries of each of these sects, with their families and friends, have since successively gone from the United States, and formed settlements at various points, in all of which schools for the education of the natives have been opened; and a printing press has been erected at the Walla-Walla station, on which were struck off the first sheets ever printed on the Pacific side of America north of Mexico.

In order "to obtain some specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Columbia," Mr. W. Slacum, a purser in the navy of the United States, was, in 1838, commissioned by Mr. Forsyth, then secretary of state, to proceed to that country, and make the necessary observations and inquiries; in fulfilment of which commission, Mr. Slacum went to the Columbia by sea, and spent six weeks, during the winter of 1836–7, in visiting the various factories and settlements on the great river below its falls and on the Willamet.†

The attention of the American government had been again directed to the north-west coasts of America, by several circumstances, especially by the recent refusal of the Russian government to allow the vessels of the United States to trade on the unoccupied parts of that coast north of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. This refusal was based on

* Mr. Parker's Journal of his tour beyond the Rocky Mountains, published at Ithaca, in 1838, would have been more valuable, had the worthy and intelligent author confined himself to accounts of what he himself experienced, and not wandered, as he has done, into the regions of history, diplomacy, and cosmogony.

† Mr. Slacum's Report may be found among the documents published by the Senate of the United States, in 1837–8. It contains no information of value, and abounds in errors, many of them on material points.

the fact that the period of ten years, fixed by the fourth article of the convention of 1824 between the two nations, during which the vessels of both parties might frequent the bays, creeks, harbors, and other interior waters on the north-west coast, had expired: and the Russian government had chosen to consider that article as the only limitation of its right to exclude American vessels from all parts of the division of the coast on which the United States, by the convention, engaged to form no establishments; disregarding entirely the first article of the same agreement, by which all unoccupied places on the north-west coast were declared free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations. The government of the United States immediately protested against this exclusion; and their plenipotentiaries at St. Petersburg have been instructed to demand its revocation.* To the reasons offered in support of

* See President Van Buren's message to Congress of December 3d, 1838, and the accompanying documents. The letters of Messrs. Wilkins and Dallas, successively plenipotentiaries of the United States at St. Petersburg, relating the particulars of their negotiations with the Russian minister, will be found very interesting, from the luminous views of national rights presented in them. The instructions of Mr. Forsyth, the American secretary of state, to Mr. Dallas, dated November 3d, 1837, are also especially worthy of attention. After repeating the cardinal rule as to the construction of instruments, — that *they should be so construed, if possible, as that every part may stand*, — he proceeds to show that the fourth article of the convention of April, 1824, was to be understood as giving "permission to enter interior bays, &c., at the mouth of which there might be establishments, or the shores of which might be in part, but not wholly, occupied by such establishments; thus providing for a case which would otherwise admit of doubt, as it would be questionable whether the bays, &c., described in it, belonged to the *first* or the *second* article. In no sense," continues Mr. Forsyth, "can it be understood as implying an acknowledgment, on the part of the United States, of the right of Russia to the *possession* of the coast above the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes north; but it should be taken in connection with the other articles, which have, in fact, no reference whatever to the question of the right of possession of the unoccupied parts of the coast. In a spirit of compromise, and to prevent future collisions or difficulties, it was agreed that no new establishments should be formed by the respective parties north or south of a certain parallel of latitude, after the conclusion of the agreement; but the question of the *right of possession* beyond the existing establishments, as it subsisted previous to, or at the time of, the conclusion of the convention, was left untouched. The United States, in agreeing not to form new establishments north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, made no acknowledgment of the right of Russia to the possession of the territory above that line. If such admission had been made, Russia, by the same construction of the article referred to, must have acknowledged the right of the United States to the territory south of the line. But that Russia did not so understand the article, is conclusively proved by her having entered into a similar agreement in a subsequent treaty (1825) with Great Britain, and having, in fact, acknowledged in that instrument the right of possession of the same territory by Great Britain. The United States can only be considered as acknowledging the right of Russia to acquire, by actual occupation, a just claim to unoccupied lands above the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes north; and even this is a mere matter

this demand, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, Count Nesselrode, did not attempt to offer any reply, contenting himself simply with declaring that his sovereign was not inclined to renew the fourth article, as it afforded the Americans the opportunity of furnishing the natives on the coasts with spirituous liquors and fire-arms; though no case was adduced in support of that assertion. Thus the matter rests; the American traders being excluded from visiting any of the coasts of the Pacific north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, on the ground that those coasts are acknowledged by the United States to belong to Russia, whilst the latter power, by its treaty with Great Britain in 1825, directly denies any rights, on the part of the United States, to the coasts south of that parallel.

The Russian government also refused the same privilege to British vessels after 1835, and moreover opposed by force the exercise of another privilege claimed by the British under the treaty of 1825, namely, that of navigating the rivers flowing from the interior of the continent to the Pacific across the line of boundary therein established. In 1834, the Hudson's Bay Company fitted out an expedition for the purpose of establishing a trading post on the large river Stikine, which enters the channel named by Vancouver *Prince Frederick's Sound*, between the main land and one of the islands of the north-west archipelago claimed by Russia, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes. Baron Wrangel, the Russian governor-general, having, however, been informed of the project, erected a block-house and stationed a sloop of war at the mouth of the Stikine; and, on the appearance of the vessel bringing the men and materials for the contemplated establishment, the British were warned not to attempt to pass into the river, and were forced to return to the south. All appeals to the treaty were ineffectual, and the Hudson's Bay Company was obliged to desist from the prosecution of the plan, after having, as asserted on its part, spent more than twenty thousand pounds in fitting out the expedition.

of inference, as the convention of 1824 contains nothing more than a negation of the right of the United States to occupy new points within that limit. Admitting that this inference was in contemplation of the parties to the convention, it cannot follow that the United States ever intended to abandon the just right, acknowledged by the first article to belong to them, under the law of nations; that is, to frequent any part of the unoccupied coast of North America, for the purpose of fishing or trading with the natives. All that the convention admits is, an inference of the right of Russia to acquire possession by settlement north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes north; and, until that possession is taken, the first article of the convention acknowledges the right of the United States to fish and trade, as prior to its negotiation."

The British government immediately demanded satisfaction from that of Russia for this infraction of the treaty; and, after some time spent in negotiation between the two powers, as well as between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company, it was agreed, in 1839, that the British trading association should enjoy, for ten years, from the 1st of June, 1840, the exclusive use of the continent assigned to Russia by the treaty of 1825, extending from the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes northward to Cape Spenser, near the 58th degree, in consideration of the annual payment of two thousand seal skins to the Russian Company.* The difficulty was thus ended, to the advantage of both parties: the British having access to a long line of coast, without which the adjoining interior territories would have been useless; while the Russians receive, as rent, a much greater amount in value than they could possibly have drawn from that coast by any other means.

The charter of the Russian American Company was renewed for twenty years, in 1839; at which time the company possessed thirty-six establishments in its territories in America, and twelve vessels, some of them large, employed in the transportation of furs and merchandise. The revenue from these establishments is undoubtedly large, as the company is constantly extending its operations, and its stock maintains a high value. There is, moreover, every reason to believe that the regulations of this body are as humane, and are enforced with as much strictness, as the peculiar circumstances under which its servants are placed will admit; and that, if the amount of labor required from those servants is not diminished, their comforts are much increased. Great care appears to be bestowed on the moral and religious education of the natives, particularly of those of the Aleutian Islands and Kodiak, who are more intelligent than the people of the coasts farther north or east. Moreover, a race of half breeds, there called *Creoles*, children of native women by Russian fathers, is growing up, to whose instruction in the language, religion, and customs, of Russia, the company particularly directs its efforts.*

In California, few events worthy of note occurred during the whole period of fifty years, from the first establishment of Spanish

* Wrangel's Statistical and Ethnographical Account of the Russian Possessions in America, above mentioned, at page 329. The accounts of Wrangel on these points are particular, and they are confirmed by those of other persons who have recently visited the Russian settlements.

colonies and garrisons on the west coasts of that country, to the termination of the revolutionary struggle between Spain and Mexico. Before the disturbances in Mexico began, the missions were, to a certain extent, fostered by the Spanish government; and supplies of money and goods were sent to them, with regularity, from Acapulco and San Blas: but, after the revolution broke out, these remittances were reduced, and all the establishments, civil, military, and religious, fell into decay. The missionaries lost much of their influence over the Indians; and the defences of the country became so ineffective, that Monterey, in despite of its forts and castle, was, in 1819, taken and sacked by a Buenos Ayrean privateer, under the command of a Frenchman.

On the termination of the revolutionary struggle, and the establishment of independence in Mexico, the soldiers and priests in California, for the most part, submitted, though with reluctance, to the authority of the new republic; and the remainder of the population followed their example, probably without inquiring into the circumstances. The country was then divided politically into two *territories*, of which the peninsula formed one, called *Lower California*; the other, called *Upper California*, embracing the whole of the continental portion. By the constitution of 1824, each of these territories became entitled to send one member to the National Congress; and, by subsequent decrees of the general government, all the adult Indians, who could be considered as civilized or capable of reasoning, (*gente de razon*,) were freed from submission to their former pastors, had lands assigned to them, and were declared citizens of the republic. These seeming boons were, however, accompanied by the withdrawal of nearly all the allowances previously made for the support of the establishments, and by the imposition of taxes and duties on all imports, including those from Mexico. The authority of the missionaries thus dwindled away; and those who had been long in the country, either returned to Mexico or Spain, or escaped to other lands. The cultivation of the mission farms was abandoned; the Indians, freed from restraint, relapsed into barbarism, or sunk into the lowest state of indolence and vice; and the missions were finally placed by the government in the hands of administrators, under whom they appear to be fast falling to ruin.

Whilst the number of civilized Indians in California was by these measures diminished, the white population was at the same time somewhat increased. Immediately after, and indeed before, the

overthrow of the Spanish authority in that country, its ports became the resort of foreigners, especially of the whalers and traders of the United States, who offered coarse manufactured articles and groceries in exchange for provisions, and for the hides and tallow of the wild cattle abounding in the country. This trade was at first carried on in the same irregular manner as the fur trade with the Indians on the coasts farther north; as it increased, however, it became more systematized, and mercantile houses were established in the principal ports. The majority of the merchants were foreigners, English, French, or Americans: in their train came shop and tavern-keepers, and artisans, from various countries; and to these were added deserting seamen and stragglers from the Missouri and the Columbia.

This state of things was by no means satisfactory to the Mexican government; and orders were given to the commandant-general of Upper California to enforce the laws prohibiting foreigners from entering or residing in the Mexican territories without special permission from the authorities. Agreeably to these orders, a number of American citizens were, in 1828, seized at San Diego, and kept in confinement until 1830, when an insurrection broke out, headed by a General Solis, which they were instrumental in subduing; and, in consideration of their services, they were allowed to quit the country. The trading expeditions of Ashley and Smith, of which accounts have been already presented, at the same time gave great uneasiness to the Mexican government, and were made the subjects of formal complaints to that of the United States.

These circumstances, with others of the same nature then occurring in Texas, served to delay the conclusion of treaties of limits, and of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Mexico; which were, however, at length signed and ratified, so as to become effective in 1832. By the treaty of limits, the line of boundary from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, which was settled between the United States and Spain in 1819, was adopted as separating the territories of the United States on the north from those of Mexico on the south; and the latter power accordingly claims as its own the whole territory west of the great dividing chain of mountains, as far north as the 42d parallel of latitude.

The Mexican government likewise endeavored to prevent the evils anticipated from the presence of so many foreigners in California, by founding new colonies of its own citizens in that country. Criminals were to be transported thither; but although many were

thus sentenced, few, if any, ever reached the place of their destination. A number of persons, of various trades and professions, were also sent out from Mexico in 1834, to be located on the lands of the missions in California; but, ere they reached those places, the administration by which the scheme was devised, had been overthrown, and the new authorities, entertaining different views, *ordered the settlers to be driven back to their native land.*

These new authorities — that is to say, General Santa Anna and his partisans — determined to remodel the constitution, under which Mexico had been governed, as a federal republic, since 1824. What other form was to have been introduced in its stead, is not known; for, in the spring of 1836, at the moment when the change was about to be made, Santa Anna was defeated and taken prisoner by the Texans at San Jacinto. Those who succeeded to the helm being, however, no less averse to the federal system, it was abolished in the latter part of the same year, and a constitution was adopted, by which the powers of government were placed almost entirely in the hands of the general congress and executive, all *state rights* being destroyed. This central system was opposed in many parts of the republic, and nowhere more strenuously than in California, where the people rose in a body, expelled the Mexican officers, and declared that their country should remain independent until the federal constitution were restored. The general government, on receiving the news of these proceedings, issued strong proclamations against the insurgents, and ordered an expedition to be prepared for the purpose of reëstablishing its authority in the revolted territory; but General Urrea, to whom the execution of this order was committed, soon after declared in favor of the federalists, and the Californians were allowed to govern themselves as they chose for some months, at the end of which, in July, 1837, their patriotic enthusiasm subsided, and they voluntarily swore allegiance to the new constitution.

Since that time, the quiet course of things in California has, so far as known, been disturbed by only one occurrence worthy of being mentioned; namely, the capture and temporary occupation of Monterey by the naval forces of the United States, under Commodore T. A. C. Jones, of which the following brief account will suffice. This officer, while cruising on the South American coast of the Pacific, received information which led him to believe that Mexico had, agreeably to a menace shortly before uttered by her government, declared war against the United States; and, being determined

to strike a blow at the supposed enemy, he sailed, with his frigate, the United States, and the sloop of war Cyane, to Monterey, where he arrived on the 19th of October, 1842. Having disposed his vessels in front of the little town, he sent an officer ashore, to demand the surrender "of the castle, posts, and military places, with all troops, arms, and munitions of war of every class," in default of which, the sacrifice of human life and the horrors of war would be the immediate consequence. The commandant of the place, astounded by such a demand, made in a time of profound peace, summoned his officers to a council, in which it was decided that no defence could be made: he therefore submitted without delay, and the flag of the United States replaced that of Mexico over all the public edifices; the fortifications were garrisoned by American soldiers, and the commodore issued a proclamation to the Californians, inviting them to submit to the government of the federal republic, which would protect and insure to them the undisturbed exercise of their religion, and all other privileges of freemen. Scarcely, however, was this proclamation sent forth, ere the commodore received advices which convinced him that he had been in error, and that the peace between his country and Mexico remained unbroken; he had, therefore, only to restore the place to its former possessors, and to retire with all his forces to his ships, which was done on the 21st of the month, twenty-four hours after the surrender. Thus ended an affair, the effects of which have been unfortunately to increase the irritation already existing in Mexico against the United States, and to render less easy the adjustment of the differences between the two nations. The armed force in California has since been considerably augmented; but it is evident that all the efforts of Mexico would be unavailing to retain those distant possessions, in the event of a war with a powerful maritime state.

In the Sandwich Islands, a complete change has taken place since the death of Tamahamaha. His son and successor, Riho Riho, died, in 1824, in London, whither he had gone, with his queen, to visit his brother sovereign of Great Britain; and he was himself succeeded by Kauikeaouli, another reputed son of the great Tamahamaha, who now fills the throne, under the name of Kamehamaha III. These changes were all advantageous to the missionaries from the United States, many of whom were domiciliated in the islands; particularly after the conversion of Krymakoo, or Billy Pitt, the old prime minister, and of Kaahumanu, the widow of the great Tamahamaha, who, after passing half a century in the con-

stant practice of the most beastly sensuality, embraced Christianity in her old age, and became an efficient protector of its professors. Kaahumanu acted as regent during the minority of the king, which did not expire until 1834; this young man, immediately on taking the reins of government into his own hands, determined to enjoy life like other princes; "he avoided the society of the more influential chiefs, and associated with young and unprincipled men. Breaking over the laws to which he had formerly given his assent, he bought ardent spirits, and drank with his companions, though seldom to intoxication. He enticed others into the same practices, and is said even to have inflicted punishment on those who would not comply. He revived the *hualaha*, or national dance, and it was understood that he intended to revive other practices, which had been common in the days of heathenism."* The example of the sovereign, was imitated by his subjects; grog-shops were opened, distilleries were set up, and other immoralities reappeared. But the church had now been too strongly united to the state for these things to continue: the chiefs were nearly all, nominally at least, Christians; and the king was, in the end, obliged to submit. He afterwards proved quite tractable, and though he sometimes complains, he has never again attempted to assert his freedom from religious restraint.

The missionaries, persevering in the task which they had undertaken, employed every means to gain ascendency over the young, and to train them in the ways of religion and strict morality. With this object, they made themselves well acquainted with the language of the islands; and, finding that all its sounds might be expressed by fourteen letters of the Roman alphabet,† they thus reduced its

* History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, p. 241.

† The letters are, a, e, i, o, u, vowels, each having, in all cases, one and the same sound, namely, that given to it in the Italian language; and b, h, k, l, m, n, p, t, and w, consonants, having each the simple sound assigned to it in English. The same language was found, by the missionaries, in use in all parts of the group; but it was pronounced differently in different islands, and nearly all the names of people and places, which had been made known by Cook, Vancouver, and other navigators, were written according to the sounds of an impure dialect. The orthography of all these names was, in consequence, changed to suit the new system, not only in the books, published for the use of the islanders in their own language, but likewise in all the publications in English, issuing from the missionary press. However advantageous this may be for the natives, and for those who study their language, its good effects, on the whole, may be doubted; it supposes every person to be acquainted with the new system, without a knowledge of which, no one can compare or connect the information afforded by Cook and Vancouver, with that obtained from the modern works. As an exemplification of the serious embarrassment thus

words to writing, and translated into it the Bible and several other works, which were all successively printed, at Honolulu, in Woahoo, the seat of the government. They, at the same time, exerted themselves to amend the customs of the people, and to reform the vices of their government; gradually procuring the adoption of written laws, and, finally, in 1840, of a written constitution, all which measures evinced much wisdom and knowledge of the world, as well as justice and morality, on the part of the framers.

In these endeavors to raise a barbarous people to civilization, and to place their country among Christian states, the American missionaries were constantly opposed and thwarted by their own fellow-citizens and the subjects of other nations, who resorted to the islands for the purposes of trade, or of refreshment, after long and dangerous voyages. The precepts of a religion enjoining self-denial in all things could not find favor among such persons, to whom its apostles became objects of hatred, as the destroyers of all their pleasures. Bickerings took place between the two parties: the missionaries were assaulted with sticks and stones, and knives, all which they fearlessly confronted, rather than yield a foot of the ground already occupied; and the poor young king was alternately subjected to complaints from sea-captains and consuls on the one side, and to remonstrances from his spiritual advisers on the other. The missionaries nevertheless prevailed: severe laws were enacted against intoxication and other debauchery; the drinking-shops and distilleries, though one belonged to the king, and another to his prime minister, were successively closed; and, finally, on the 28th of August, 1838, a law was passed, forbidding the introduction of spirituous liquors into the islands.

occasioned, it may be asked, what would be said of an English History of Germany, in which Vienna should be written *Wien*, Cologne *Coellu*, Bohemia *Boehmen*, Moravia *Maehren*, according to their true German orthography? Yet this would be fully as reasonable, and not more embarrassing, than the changes of Owyhee into *Hawaii*, of Atooi into *Kauai*, of Karakakooa into *Keilakakua*, of Tamoree into *Kaumalii*, and even of great Tamahamaha into *Kamehameha*, which are made in all the reports, histories, newspapers, &c., of the American missionaries and their friends.

The writer of these observations makes them in no captious or unkind spirit: he has himself, long since, mastered the difficulties of which he complains, though not without considerable labor, much more than the generality of persons will give to the subject: and he knows, from daily experience, that very few, even among the best informed and most intelligent men in the United States, have any idea, that *Hawaii* is identical with Owyhee, and that Tamahamaha and *Kamehameha* are not two distinct personages.

But this course of things was not destined to run on smoothly. In 1831, two Catholic priests, Messrs. Bachelot, a Frenchman, and Short, an Irishman, who had resided some time in the islands, engaged in propagating their doctrines among the natives, were forcibly expelled by the pious regent, Kaahumanu, on the ground, as it has been said, *that they worshipped the bones of dead men*, which was strictly prohibited by law. A chapel and a school were, however, soon after opened at Honolulu, by another Catholic priest, named Walsh; and in 1838, Kaahumanu being dead, Messrs. Bachelot and Short ventured to return to the islands, from California, where they had passed the greater part of their time, since their expulsion. They were, however, again ordered by the government to take their departure; and, on their refusal, they were forcibly put on board of the vessel which brought them, and thus sent away. Against this act of violence protests were made by the consuls of the United States and Great Britain, on the part of the owners of the vessel, and by the commanders of a British and a French ship of war, which arrived at the time in the islands; but the king carried his determination into execution. That the Protestant missionaries were the instigators of this proceeding, has been asserted, though it is denied by their friends; that they might, if they chose, have prevented the act, there can, however, be as little doubt, as that they should have done so, if it were in their power.*

For this act, which, besides being entirely at variance with the constant principle of protestantism, and with the spirit of toleration now so happily pervading the world, indicated extreme ignorance, and culpable disregard of consequences, on the part of those who directed it, a severe retribution was soon after exacted. On the 9th of July, 1839, the French frigate Artemise arrived at Honolulu, and her captain, Laplace, immediately demanded reparation for the insult offered to his country and its national religion; with which object, he required — that the Roman Catholic worship should be declared free throughout the islands, and its professors should enjoy all the privileges heretofore granted to Protestants; — that the government should give a piece of ground for the erection of a Catholic church; — that all Catholics im-

* History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, p. 221. — "The American missionaries, as was their duty, labored to guard their hearers against the delusions of Romanism, but gave no advice concerning the removal of the priests."

prisoned on account of their religion should be liberated; and finally — that, as a security for the performance of these engagements, twenty thousand dollars should be placed, and should remain, in his hands. With these demands the king immediately complied; and had the French commander contented himself with what he had thus effected, his conduct would have been blameless in the eyes of all unprejudiced men: but he also required and obtained, that the brandy and wines of his country, the introduction of which, as of all other spirituous liquors, was most properly prohibited by law, should be admitted into the islands on paying a duty of not more than five per cent. on their value; an act, considering the relative degrees of civilization of the two parties, far more reprehensible than that for which he had just before exacted atonement. Captain Laplace also thought proper to declare, that in case he should make an attack on Honolulu, the American missionaries should not enjoy the protection promised by him, in a circular, to the people of civilized nations generally — a threat, which, it is needless to show, would, if carried into execution, have occasioned a most serious breach of good understanding between France and the United States.

Difficulties about the same time arose between the government of the Sandwich Islands and the British consul; in consequence of which, the king at length determined to despatch an agent to the United States, Great Britain, and France, in order to obtain, if possible, the recognition of the independence of his dominions by those nations, and to make some definite arrangement for the prevention of difficulties in future. With these objects, Timoteo Haalileo, a young native who had been educated in the schools of the missionaries, and had filled several important offices, was selected as the agent; and he was to be accompanied by Mr. W. Richards, one of the American missionaries, who had long resided in the islands, and had distinguished himself for his zeal in behalf of the people and their sovereign. They arrived in Washington in the winter of 1842, and upon their application, President Tyler addressed a message to Congress,* in which, after briefly recapitulating the advantages derived by the United States from the Sandwich Islands, as a place of trade and refreshment for vessels in the Pacific, and alluding to the desire manifested by their government to improve the

* President Tyler's message of December 21st, 1842, and accompanying documents.

moral and social condition of the people, he declared — that any attempt by another power to take possession of the islands, colonize them, and subvert the native government, could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States; and that should such attempt be made, the American government would be justified in remonstrating decidedly against it. The only immediate result of this message, however, was the despatch of an American agent to the islands, of whose negotiations no accounts have been published. Messrs. Richards and Haalileo proceeded to England, and thence to France, in each of which countries their efforts are said to have been crowned with success.

In the mean time, however, Lord George Paulet, a captain in the British navy, arrived at Woahoo, in February, 1843, in the ship Carysfort, and demanded from the king explanations with regard to the conduct of his government towards the consul and subjects of her Britannic majesty; and, not receiving a satisfactory answer within the period prescribed, he threatened, in the event of longer delay, to make an attack on Honolulu. To this threat negotiations succeeded, and the king, finding himself unable to comply with the demands, or to resist them, declared that he surrendered all the islands under his dominion to the king of Great Britain, until the matter could be arranged between the government of that country and the agents whom he had already sent thither. Lord George Paulet accordingly hoisted the British flag, appointed commissioners to take charge of the administration, and issued various regulations for the government of the islands until further orders could be received from England.

The news of these events created much excitement in the United States; and a protest against the occupation of the Sandwich Islands by Great Britain, was addressed by the American government to the court of London. On the 25th of June, however, the British minister at Washington declared officially, — that the acts of Lord George Paulet were entirely unauthorized by her majesty's government, which had determined to recognize the independence of the islands, under their present chief; it being, however, understood, that the government of the islands would be compelled to do full justice to all British subjects aggrieved by it: and, conformably with this declaration, on the 31st of July, the king was reinstated in all his honors and privileges, by rear admiral Thomas, the commander-in-chief of the British naval forces in the Pacific.

These acts of the British and the French, with regard to the Sandwich Islands, arose, doubtless, rather from political jealousy of each other, on the parts of those nations, than from the simple desire to protect their respective subjects, in their trade or religion. The French are earnestly endeavoring to obtain a firm position in the Pacific, as demonstrated by their attempt to form a settlement in New Zealand, by their occupation of the islands north of the Marquesas group, discovered by Ingraham in 1791, and by other circumstances; whilst the British have shown their determination to counteract these efforts, especially in their resistance to the occupation of Otaheite by the French, during the summer of 1843. To either of these nations the Sandwich Islands would prove a most valuable acquisition, as it would afford the means of controlling the trade and fishery of the North Pacific, and of exercising a powerful influence over the destinies of the North-west coasts of America and California. The United States, claiming the North-west coasts, and conducting nearly the whole of the fishery and trade of the North Pacific, are of course most deeply interested in all that may affect the independence of these islands; and having neither the power nor the will, to establish their own authority over places so remote, it is the policy and duty of their government, to oppose, at almost any hazard, the attempts of other nations to acquire influence or dominion over them. So long as these three nations continue at peace with each other, the Sandwich Islands may continue independent, and may be regarded, nominally at least, as a civilized state; but should a war, or even serious difficulties occur between any two of these powers, that independence will infallibly cease.

To conclude, with regard to the Sandwich Islands — their population is rapidly diminishing under the too great warmth of the civilization suddenly planted among them, by which new vices have been introduced, and new wants, unaccompanied by any increase of energy and industry, have been engendered. The day is, probably, not far distant, when the aborigines will be reduced to a few wanderers; and the islands will be, effectively, occupied by Anglo Saxons, the certain, though comparatively mild, exterminators of the uncivilized races with which they are brought into contact.*

* The Sandwich Islands are ten in number, situated in the northern division of the Pacific Ocean, between the latitudes of 19 and 22 degrees; about 2500 miles from the American coast and 5,000 miles from China. The principal islands are — Owyhee or *Hawaii* the largest, Mowee or *Maui*, Woahoo or *Oahu*, and Atooi or

CHAPTER XVIII.

1842 to 1844.

Excitement in the United States respecting Oregon — Treaty of Washington determining Boundaries between the Territories of Great Britain and those of the United States, east of the Lake of the Woods — Mr. Linn's Bill in the Senate of the United States, for the immediate occupation of Oregon — Reflections on the Convention of 1827 — Present State of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories — Conclusion.

During the latter years of the period to which the preceding chapter relates, the people as well as the government of the United States were becoming seriously interested in the subject of the claims of the republic to countries west of the Rocky Mountains. The population of the Union had, in fact, been so much increased, that large numbers of persons were to be found in every part, whose spirit of enterprise and adventure could not be restrained within the limits of the states and organized territories; and, as the adjoining central division of the continent offered no inducements to settlers, those who did not choose to fix their habitations in Texas, began to direct their views towards the valleys of the Columbia, where they expected to obtain rich lands without cost, and security under the flag of the stars and stripes.

This feeling began to manifest itself, about the year 1837, by the formation of societies for emigration to Oregon, in various parts of the Union, and especially in those which had themselves been most recently settled, and were most thinly peopled. From these associations, and from American citizens already established in Oregon, petitions were presented to Congress, as well as resolutions from the legislatures of States, urging the general government, either to

Kauai; the others, namely, Tahoorowa or *Kahulawe*, Morotai or *Molokai*, Morokini or *Molowini*, Ranai or *Lanai*, Onechow or *Nihaui*, and Tahoora or *Kaula*, are all small. The superficial extent of the whole group is about 6,500 square miles, of which Owyhee includes about 4,500. Owyhee is supposed to contain 80,000 inhabitants; the population of the remainder being about 70,000. The capital is Honoruru or *Honolulu*, in Woahoo, which is said to have 10,000 inhabitants; the only other town of any size is Lahaina in Mowee.

settle the questions of right as to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, by definitive arrangement with the other claimant powers, or to take immediate military possession of that country, and to extend over it the jurisdiction of the United States; and bills, having for their object the accomplishment of one or the other of these ends, were annually introduced into each house of the federal legislature. The executive branch of the government was likewise assiduously engaged, in doing all that could be done by it, with the same object. Mr. Forsyth, the enlightened and energetic Secretary of State, exerted himself to procure every information, which might serve to establish the true grounds and extent of the rights of the United States, and the value of the countries claimed by them, in order that their government might, whenever it should act, be fully justified before the world; and Messrs. Poinsett and Paulding, the secretaries of war and the navy, besides furnishing reports on various points connected with these subjects, which had been submitted to their respective departments, particularly instructed Lieutenant Wilkes, the commander of the exploring vessels sent to the Pacific about this time, to survey the Columbia regions as completely as he could, and to inquire into the condition and prospects of their actual occupants.*

The information thus obtained by the executive departments and the legislative committees, was from time to time communicated to Congress, and published by its order;† no bill, with regard to Ore-

* Of this expedition, partial accounts only have appeared; a narrative of all the incidents and observations, will, however, soon be published, with maps, charts, tables, &c., which, there is reason to believe, will not yield in interest and importance to any similar work of the day. In addition to numerous explorations, discoveries and surveys in the southern division of the ocean, the Sandwich Islands, and the Columbia country, with the adjacent coasts, were carefully examined; and many new facts, relating to the geography of those parts of the world, will, doubtless, be communicated in the forthcoming narrative.

† Report to the Senate, by Mr. Linn, with Maps, June 6, 1838. *Senate Document, No.* 470 *of the* 2*d Session of the* 25*th Congress.*

Reports of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of the House of Representatives, respecting the territory of Oregon, with a Map, presented Jan. 4th and Feb. 16th, 1839, by Mr. Cushing; accompanied by a bill to provide for the protection of the citizens of the United States, residing in that territory or trading on the Columbia River. *Report of House of Representatives, No.* 101, 3*d Session of* 25*th Congress.*

Memoir, Historical and Political, on the North-West Coast of North America, and the adjacent Countries, with a Map and a Geographical View of those Countries. By Robert Greenhow, Translator and Librarian to the Department of State. Presented Feb. 10th, 1840, by Mr. Linn. *Senate Doc. No.* 174, 1*st Session of* 26*th Congress.* See Preface to this History.

gon, however, passed either house of that body before 1843; and no decisive measure on that subject was adopted by the American government. In 1842, Lord Ashburton arrived at Washington, as a special plenipotentiary of Great Britain, for the settlement of certain points of difference between that power and the United States; and it was at first supposed by the public in both countries, that the arrangement of the questions respecting the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, was one of the objects of his mission. A treaty was, however, concluded, in August of that year, between him and Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State of the United States, in which all the undetermined parts of the line separating the territories of the two nations, from the Bay of Fundy to the Lake of the Woods, were clearly defined and settled; but no allusion was made to any portion of America situated farther west. This treaty was soon after ratified by both governments; but the exclusion of the Oregon question from it, seems to have increased the excitement on that subject, among the people of the United States, and to have created a similar excitement in Great Britain.

In the message of President Tyler to Congress, at the commencement of the ensuing session, allusion was made to "the territory of the United States commonly called the Oregon territory, lying on the Pacific Ocean, north of the 42d degree of latitude, to a portion of which Great Britain lays claim. In advance of the acquirement of individual rights to these lands," continues the message, "sound policy dictates that every effort should be resorted to, by the two governments, to settle their respective claims. It became evident, at an early hour of the late negotiations, that any attempt, for the time being, satisfactorily to determine those rights, would lead to a protracted discussion, which might embrace in its failure other more pressing matters; and the executive did not regard it as proper to waive all the advantages of an honorable adjustment of other difficulties, of great magnitude and importance, because this, not so immediately pressing, stood in the way." Having thus indicated the circumstances which prevented the question from being discussed during the recent negotiation, the president intimated his intention "to urge on Great Britain the importance of its early settlement."

This part of the president's message was referred to the committees on foreign affairs in both houses of Congress, and a few days afterwards, Mr. Linn, one of the senators from Missouri, who

had always displayed the strongest interest in all that related to the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, and had assiduously endeavored to effect their incorporation into the republic, brought a bill into the Senate "to authorize the adoption of measures for the occupation and settlement of the territory of Oregon, for extending certain portions of the laws of the United States over the same, and for other purposes." This bill proposed — that the president be authorized and required to cause to be erected, at suitable places and distances, a line of stockade and blockhouse forts, not exceeding five in number, from some points on the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers, into the best pass for entering the valley of the Oregon, and also at or near the mouth of the Columbia River — that provision be made by law, to secure and grant six hundred and forty acres of land to every white male inhabitant of the territory of Oregon, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, who shall cultivate and use the same for five consecutive years, or to his heirs at law, if such there be, in case of his decease; and to every inhabitant or cultivator, being a married man, in addition, one hundred and sixty acres for his wife, and the same for each of his children under the age of eighteen years, or who may be born within the five years above mentioned; *provided*, that no sale or other alienation of such lands, or execution or lien on them, shall be valid until the patents have been issued for them — that the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the District Courts of the territory of Iowa be extended over that part of the Indian countries lying west of the present limits of Iowa, south of the 49th parallel of latitude, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the boundary line between the United States and Texas, not included within the limits of any state; and also over the Indian countries comprising the Rocky Mountains, and the country between them and the Pacific Ocean, south of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and north of the 42d parallel; and that justices of the peace be appointed for all these countries, as now appointed by law for Iowa, who shall have power to arrest and commit for trial, agreeably to the laws of Iowa, all offenders against the laws of the United States; *provided*, — that any subject of Great Britain, who may have been so arrested for crimes or misdemeanors committed in the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, while they remain free and open to the people of both nations, shall be delivered up to the nearest or most convenient British authorities, for the purpose of being tried according to

British laws; — and that an additional judge of the Supreme Court of Iowa be appointed, and empowered to hold courts in the countries to which the bill relates. A *preamble* to the bill, declaring the rights of the United States to all the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, between the latitudes of 42 degrees and 54 degrees 40 minutes, and the determination of the government to maintain them, was struck out, at the suggestion of Mr. Archer, upon the ground that it was at best unnecessary, and was certainly uncourteous towards the other party claiming the same territories, which would be thus directly taxed with advancing an empty pretension.

This bill was defended, generally, on the grounds that its adoption would be the exercise by the United States of rights, which were unquestionable, and had been long unjustly withheld from them by Great Britain; and that taking this for granted, it afforded the best means, in all respects, of making good those rights, and securing to the Republic, the ultimate possession of the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, which must otherwise remain, irretrievably, in the hands of another power. The opponents to the bill, all insisted that the proposed cession of lands would be a direct infraction of the convention of 1827, with Great Britain, which could not be legally abrogated, by either party, until a year's notice of such intention had been given to the other; and that independently of this consideration, the measures proposed were impolitic, expensive, and by no means calculated to attain the end in view. With regard to its particular provisions, the advocates of the bill appear to have been unanimous, in considering them all essential to its objects, and were unwilling to admit any material amendments; its opponents differed as to some of those provisions, but they were united in disapprobation of the clause relating to grants of lands to settlers.

As it would be impossible, within a reasonable space, to present clearly all the views of the different members of the Senate, who took part in this discussion, nothing more will be here attempted than to indicate, generally, the most striking points touched by each.

Mr. Linn, as the proposer of the bill, explained and defended each of its provisions, on the grounds of their justice, of their compatibility with the existing diplomatic arrangements, and of their efficiency for the attainment of the end in view, namely, — the possession of these extensive and valuable territories, by the United States, to which they belong of right. After recapitulating the various grounds

of that right, he contended that the Americans had been deprived of the privileges of the joint occupancy, secured to them by the existing convention of 1827, in consequence of the encroachments of the Hudson's Bay Company, which, under the direct protection of the British government, had taken actual possession of the whole territory beyond the Rocky Mountains. Great Britain, he insisted, was there employing the same policy and mechanism, of a great trading company, by means of which she had made her way to the dominion of India: she had already practically taken possession of all that she ever claimed south and north of the Columbia; her agents have directly avowed that she would not give up the establishments which she had encouraged her subjects to form there; and as a farther proof of her intentions, the Hudson's Bay Company had, within a few years, founded farming settlements, on an extensive scale, from which large exports of provisions are made to the Russian posts, and the Sandwich Islands. The bill proposed, continued Mr. Linn, does not pretend to dispossess Great Britain of what she now holds; it does not define the territory of the United States. Can that power object to proceedings on the part of the United States, similar to her own? She has extended her jurisdiction over Oregon, has built forts, and set up farming and other establishments. Why cannot the Americans do the same?

Mr. Sevier, considered that the justice of the claims of the United States being admitted, there should be no delay in taking possession of the country claimed, for which the only means were, to provide an adequate amount of population, within the shortest time. The inducements held out to settlers by the bill, were trifling, when compared with the difficulties to which they would be subjected; and not only should the lands be granted to them, and forts be built, and garrisoned for their protection, but, if necessary, a railroad should be made from the Missouri to the Columbia, as he contended might be done, for two millions of dollars, over which emigrants might be conveyed in two or three days.

Mr. Benton, in defence of the bill, entered at length into the history of discovery and settlement, on the west coasts of North America, also presenting and reviewing the various conventions between civilized nations, with regard to it. He considered the right of the United States, to the territories south of the 49th parallel of latitude, as determined by the possession of Louisiana, the northern boundary of which he asserted to have been fixed at that parallel, by commis-

sioners, appointed agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht; and he was prepared for war, if necessary, rather than surrender any part of the territory, thus rightfully belonging to his country, the agricultural, commercial and political advantages of which he described in detail, displaying the same minute and accurate knowledge with regard to its geography and resources, as he had shown respecting its history.

Mr. Morehead supported the same views. Examining the convention of 1827, he conceived, that it provided only for temporary occupation; but that the felling of forests, the construction of regular habitations, the fencing in of fields, the regular improvement of the soil, the fitting up of mills and workshops, and, added to all these, the erection of forts to protect them, as had been done by the British, in Oregon, meant something more, and were intended to constitute a lasting, and, of course, exclusive occupation of the places thus appropriated. Now these are not merely the acts of the Hudson's Bay Company; they are done under the sanction of the British government, and they form the system adopted everywhere by that government, for territorial encroachment, especially against nations capable of resisting a direct attack.

Mr. Woodbury took a view, somewhat different, of the bearing of the convention of 1827, which he regarded as leaving to each party the right to settle, provided the trade were left free to both; in support of this construction, he cited the declarations of the British ministers, during the negotiations on that subject, and the stipulation proposed by them, — that "neither party should assume, or exercise any right of sovereignty or dominion over any part of the country," and — that "no settlement then existing, or which might in future be made, should ever be adduced by either party, in support, or furtherance of such claims of sovereignty, or dominion." On these grounds, he considered that the bill should pass, and that the United States should no longer hesitate to exercise rights, which Great Britain did not scruple to exercise herself.

Mr. Phelps concurred with Mr. Woodbury, in his construction of the convention of 1827, which he conceived, would not be violated by the section of the bill, providing for grants of land to settlers. The grants proposed, are but prospective. Citizens of the United States are invited to settle in Oregon, and, after having resided there five years, certain portions of land are to be secured to them. Within those five years, the questions of right to the territory will have been determined, and if those who have acted on the faith of

the invitation, do not then receive the advantages promised, their government will, of course, be bound to indemnify them.

Mr. Young was also convinced of the right of the United States to the territory claimed by them beyond the Rocky Mountains; and would give his full support to the bill, which he conceived in no point at variance with the stipulations of the convention. The grant of lands was promised, and not to be directly made. It was the constant custom of this government, not to make the final grant, until all conflicting title had been extinguished, as evinced by the treaties with Indian tribes, for the acquisition of their titles to lands: Great Britain, knowing this, could not object, but would consider that the measure is provisional, and that as a negotiation was pending for the adjustment of boundaries west of the Rocky Mountains, no grant could be made until that question had been settled.

Mr. Mac Roberts dwelt particularly on the importance to the claims of the United States, of the convention of 1790, between Great Britain and Spain; the fifth article of which, according to his construction, assured to Spain the sovereignty of all the coasts and territories on the Pacific, south of Nootka Sound.

Mr. Henderson regarded the act of the British parliament, extending the jurisdiction of the courts of Canada over Oregon, to be an act of possession, and implying either no such legal equalities on the part of the United States, or that they also had their tribunals, asserting their rights of jurisdiction; which latter state of things, would be a conflict of jurisdictions, incapable of being reconciled.

Mr. Huntingdon, though firmly convinced of the rights of the United States to the territory in question, and of the propriety of making them good, so soon as possible, could not but consider the bill as an infringement of the existing convention with Great Britain. An exercise by either government, of the sovereign right to grant lands, would be incompatible with that freedom and openness of the territory to the people of both nations, which was the capital object of the convention. Such a gift of lands was the highest act of territorial sovereignty; both parties could not exercise it at once, and the people of the one not exercising it, must, of necessity, be excluded, not only from the enjoyment of what was stipulated as free to both, but from the territory itself, except on terms of sufferance and inferiority. The present state of things should undoubtedly be ended, but in the manner provided by the convention, namely, — by giving immediate notice to Great Britain of the inten-

tion of the United States to abrogate that convention, at the expiration of a year.

Mr. Mac Duffie opposed the bill *in toto*. He insisted, that its adoption would be a violation of the convention with Great Britain; as its tendency was, and could be no other than to take possession of the country, and to make ready by all means and appliances, to maintain that possession. It was an invitation to the citizens of the Union — not to carry on the fur-trade, nor to do that which the convention permits — but to settle permanently. For such a measure, he denied that any emergency then called. The question had slept for many years, whilst the United States were at the height of their prosperity; and it was most imprudent to bring it up now, when their condition was far otherwise, and to brandish the sword in the face of a powerful opponent, when there was every probability that the matter might be arranged peaceably by negotiation. He said, that Great Britain had done nothing which indicated an intention to establish for herself an exclusive occupation. Her forts were nothing more than stockades, made by her traders, for their protection against Indians; and the only mode in which her subjects have interfered with American citizens has been by underselling them in the commerce with the natives. He then proceeded to inquire what advantages the United States could derive from the territories of which it was proposed, at these hazards and costs, to take possession. He represented the whole region beyond the Rocky Mountains, and a vast tract between that chain and the Mississippi, as a desert, utterly without value for agricultural purposes, and which no American citizen should be condemned to inhabit, unless as a punishment; and he combated the idea, that steam could ever be employed to facilitate communications across the continent, between the Columbia countries and the States of the Union. The expenses which the passage of the bill must entail, would, he conceived, be incalculable, whilst no returns could be expected for them. The fur-trade, if advantageous, could benefit only a few capitalists, for whose advancement the agriculture, commerce, and industry of the whole republic should not be taxed. In conclusion, he entreated the Senate to pause — to wait a year or two years, in order to see what might be done by peaceful means, and without a ruinous waste of resources.

Mr. Calhoun presented a summary of the ground of the claims of the United States and of Great Britain to the territories in question,

and of the arrangements attempted, as well as of those made; and, reviewing the provisions of the bill, he conceived that it directly violated the subsisting convention on the subject between the two nations. The American government, it is true, does not, by this bill, confer grants of land upon its citizens, but it binds itself to do so; and that engagement forms a complete reality as to assuming possession. Upon examining all the acts of Great Britain, with regard to those countries, he could find nothing in them of equal extent and force; the act of parliament of 1821 merely extends the jurisdiction of British laws over British subjects, and authorizes no possession. He could not but anticipate a breach of the peace with Great Britain, if the part of the bill then before the Senate, relating to grants of land, were carried into effect; all its other provisions he regarded favorably, and he was resolved to contribute, so far as lay in his power, to the maintenance of all the rights of the United States which could be exercised conformably with the convention of 1827. With regard to the value of the territory to the United States, he differed with his colleague (Mr. Mac Duffie). He believed the possession of the countries of the Columbia to be important in many respects; but he considered that the time was not come, when their occupation should be attempted, at the risk of a war with the most powerful nation of the earth. The advance of the citizens of the Union over the western regions, had been already rapid, beyond all the calculations of the most sanguine statesmen; no extraordinary means were required from their government to accelerate it. He was desirous to give to the bill all the attention which its importance required; and he hoped that it would be recommitted to the committee on Foreign Relations, whose report would doubtless throw additional light on the subject.

Mr. Rives likewise presented a historical review of the circumstances on which the titles of the United States and Great Britain were founded. Great Britain had taken measures to occupy the country in question, the United States had taken none, and their right might thus have been considered in time as waived, but for the convention which preserved it untouched. It was time that the United States should act on the subject; and if the bill could be recommitted and reported again, without the clause for granting lands to settlers, he would give it his hearty support: but considering that provision as inconsistent with the terms of the existing convention with Great Britain, he could not approve it in its present form.

Mr. Choate opposed the provision in the bill for grants of land; but in all other particulars he was entirely in favor of it. He contended that, agreeably to the convention of 1827, still subsisting, neither government, as a government, could do any thing to divest the citizens or subjects of the other of the enjoyment of the common freedom of the country; and if the subjects or citizens of either made establishments there, they did so at their own risk, and neither government was called to interfere. If this bill were passed, its effect must be to hinder some part of the territory from being open, except as regards American citizens. He was willing that the United States should, as Great Britain had done, and as permitted by the convention, extend their jurisdiction over all the countries to which the bill applies, and erect forts where needed; but not do more. If they had not done so earlier, it was to be attributed to their own supineness, not to the injustice of the other party. In conclusion, he recommended, either that notice be given to Great Britain of the intention of the United States to abrogate the convention at the end of a year; or — better still — that a negotiation be immediately commenced, by means of which, the only material subject of difficulty with that power, may be terminated amicably.

Mr. Berrien objected to the bill proposed, on many grounds, as to its principles and its details. The question was one of the utmost gravity, — of a future empire, to be founded in the west, by the institutions and commerce of the United States, — a question, with which weighty considerations are complicated, including an important compact with a foreign power. That power has its own views on this question, at variance with those of the United States, but on which she doubtless believes as fully. This bill, however, supposes all the right to be on the side of the Union, which is thus legislating upon an *ex parte* decision. The territory, which forms the subject of the discussion, is a barren and savage region, as yet unoccupied by the people of either nation, except for hunting, fishing, and trading with the natives; all which are conducted freely and equally by the people of both nations, under the faith of a convention to that effect: and by the side of this compact a bill is placed, which assumes and engages to give the soil itself, and all that goes with it, not merely for the term of the duration of the convention, but "as long as the grass shall grow or the waters shall flow." The patents, thus granted, would bar all British subjects from particular spots; and the act of granting them being a clear

and positive appropriation, by the American government, of that domain, would certainly be a violation of the compact. It has been alleged, that the patents are not immediate, but provisional; that the government pledges itself to issue them to those entitled to receive them, *at* the end of five years: but there is no difference between these two forms of the act of a government — of a perpetual body; the parties are put into present possession, and protection is promised to them there. The bill, moreover, violates the faith of the political contract at home, by interfering with the treaty-making power of the executive. The adjustment of the matter by negotiation with Great Britain, is only postponed, in order that it may be soon resumed, with the prospect of accommodation; and it is most inexpedient, at such a moment, to interfere with the legitimate organ of the government, for such functions. Were the bill passed, it would warrant, in his opinion, the exercise, by the President, of the qualified *veto*, given to him by the constitution, for the protection of the peculiar prerogative of his office.

Mr. Archer directed his attention chiefly to what he considered as the two great points presented for consideration by this bill; namely — the consistency of the provision for granting allodial titles to lands in Oregon, with the stipulations of the Convention of 1837 — and the general policy of accelerating the settlement of that territory by the people of the United States. Upon the first point he shewed, by reference to the proceedings and results of the several negotiations between the United States and Great Britain on the subject, that the *title* to the territory had been the only question discussed; that no agreement on that question had ever been attained, and that the two governments, finding it impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, had, by the convention, dissoluble at the pleasure of either, left the country equally free to the people of both. The title was thus in suspense, and with it were suspended all the privileges flowing therefrom, except those of temporary use; most especially was suspended the right to grant a property in the soil: and if this were not the true meaning and intention of the agreement, it was vain and useless. No breach of the contract on the part of Great Britain had been proved; the people of that nation had indeed gained advantages in trade over the citizens of the United States: yet it was not by constraint or intimidation, but by greater dexterity in business, which involved no contravention of stipulations, and could authorize no contravention on the other side. If the present

bill should become a law, the United States must be prepared to maintain and execute all its provisions; and Great Britain, though like the United States, directly interested in the continuance of peace, would, if she viewed the measures in question as an infringement of the Convention, stand upon that point, when she might not stand upon the value of the territory. War might be the consequence, and it was proper to consider on which side the advantages would be in the contest, and what would be its results. In any case, whether or not war should ensue, the question of the possession of Oregon could only be decided by negotiation; and if, at the end of a war, the United States should obtain all that they here claim, it would be but a poor recompense for the evils and costs incurred. With regard to the policy of accelerating the settlement of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, by American citizens, Mr. Archer coincided nearly in opinion with Mr. Mac Duffie; he considered that territory as of little value to any nation; the part near the coast alone contained land fit for agricultural purposes, and there were no harbors which were or could be rendered tolerable. The United States had seven hundred millions of acres of land east of the Rocky Mountains still vacant, of which a large portion was more fertile and salubrious than any other lands, wherever they might be, even in Oregon; these should be occupied before the population could with reason be urged to establish themselves in the latter country. In conclusion, he had no objection to the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States to the Pacific, in the manner proposed by the bill, or to the erection of forts on the Columbia, if they should be found necessary; or to any other measure which might be taken *pari passu* with Great Britain, not inconsistent with reciprocal stipulations: but he should oppose the provision respecting grants of land, not only for the reasons already given, but also because it would tend to defeat the very object of the bill, namely, — the ultimate possession of the country west of the Rocky Mountains by the United States.

To the objections thus made to his bill, Mr. Linn replied at length, displaying considerable ingenuity of argument, particularly with the object of shewing that all which was thereby openly proposed had been already done in a covert manner by Great Britain. He dwelt on the great importance of the Oregon countries, — on the vast extent of lands on the Columbia and its tributary streams, which were said to exceed in productiveness any in the States of

the Union, — and on the number and excellence of the harbors on those coasts, the use of which was imperatively required by the American whaling vessels employed in the adjacent ocean, — on the facility with which travel and transportation might be effected across the continent, by means of ordinary roads at present, and by railroads hereafter; and he produced a number of letters, reports, and other documents from various sources, confirming all these statements. Finally, he appealed to the honor and generosity of the nation, for its protection to the American citizens already established in Oregon, who had gone thither in confidence that such aid would be extended to them, and were groaning under the oppressions of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Previous to the final vote, Mr. Archer endeavored to have the clause, respecting the grants of lands, struck out; but his motion did not prevail, and on the 3d of February, 1843, the bill was passed by the Senate, twenty-four being for, and twenty-two against it. It was immediately sent to the House of Representatives, in which a report against its passage was made by Mr. Adams, the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; the session, however, expired, without any debate on the subject in that house.*

During the many years in the course of which the question of the occupation of Oregon by the United States was frequently discussed in Congress, nothing whatever was said on that subject, in the British Parliament, before 1843. The debates on Mr. Linn's bill, in which the whole policy of the American government, its means and intentions, its strength and its weakness, were minutely set forth and communicated to the world, did not however fail to elicit some observations from the leaders of the two parties in the House of Commons. Whilst the treaty recently concluded at Washington, relative to boundaries east of the Lake of the Woods, was before that body, frequent allusions were made to the measures proposed in Congress "for immediately taking forcible possession" of Oregon, and to the spirit of the American people on that subject, as indicated by the speeches, and the passage of the bill for those measures, in the Senate.† Lord Palmerston, the leader of the op-

* This was destined to be the last effort of Mr. Linn, for the advancement of the cause to which he had so long devoted his powerful energies. He expired on the 3d of October, 1843, at his residence in St. Genevieve, Missouri, without warning, and probably without a struggle.

† Debates in Parliament, March 21st, 1843.

position to the ministry, pronounced, that if this bill were to pass, and be acted on, it would be a declaration of war; it would be the invasion and seizure of a territory, in dispute, by virtue of a decree, made by one of the parties in its own favor: he moreover conceived, that the passage of such a bill by the Senate, a body comprising among its members a large portion of the men of the greatest weight and most distinguished ability in the United States, showed a most excited condition of the public mind in that country. In answer to this, Sir Robert Peel, the Premier, simply said, that a proposition had been addressed to the American government, for considering the best means of effecting a conciliatory adjustment of the questions with regard to Oregon; and if the bill had passed the legislature of the Union, it would not have received the sanction of the executive, which had given to the British government the strongest assurances of anxiety, to settle those questions by negotiation.

In order to determine whether the bill for the occupation of Oregon, passed by the Senate of the United States, in 1843, could, if it had become a law, have been carried into fulfilment without a breach of public faith, until after the abrogation of the existing convention with Great Britain, in the manner therein stipulated, it will be necessary first to analyze that convention, and to reduce the various permissions, requirements and prohibitions involved in it, to their simplest expressions. The two nations on agreeing, as by that convention, to leave the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, with its waters, free and open to the citizens and subjects of both, of course agreed, that neither should exercise any exclusive dominion, or do any thing calculated to hinder the people of the other from enjoying the promised advantages, in any part of that territory. Each nation of course reserved to itself the right to provide for the maintenance of peace and the administration of justice among its own citizens, and to appoint agents for that purpose to reside in the territory; it was, indeed, the duty of each as a civilized power to do so without delay: and it was morally imperative upon these governments to enter into a supplementary compact for the exercise of concurrent jurisdiction, in cases affecting the persons or interests of subjects or citizens of both nations, unless provision to that effect should have already been made in some other way. Finally, as the country was inhabited by tribes of savages, the citizens and subjects of each of the civilized nations residing therein,

might take precautions for their defence against attacks from those savages, by military organization among themselves, and by the erection of the fortifications necessary for that special purpose; and it here again became the duty of the contracting parties to settle by compact the manner in which their governments might jointly or separately aid their people in such defence. As the advantages offered to the citizens or subjects of the two nations are not defined, the terms of the convention relating to them, are to be understood in their most extensive favorable sense; including the privileges, not only of fishing, hunting and trading with the natives, but also — of clearing and cultivating the ground, and using or disposing of the products of such labor in any peaceful way — of erecting buildings for residence or other purposes, and making dams, dikes, canals, bridges, and any other works which the private citizens or subjects of the parties might erect or make in their own countries; under no other restrictions or limitations than those contained in the clause of the convention providing for the freedom and openness of the territory, or those which might be imposed by the respective governments.

This appears to be the amount of the permissions, requirements and prohibitions of the convention; and had the two governments done all that is here demanded, no difficulties could have been reasonably apprehended, so long at least as the territory in question remains thinly peopled. These things, however, have not all been done. Not only has no supplementary compact been made, between the two governments, but the United States have neglected to secure the protection of their laws to their citizens, who have thus, doubtless in part, been prevented from drawing advantages from the convention, equal to those long since enjoyed by British subjects, under the security of the prompt and efficient measures of their government.

If this view of the existing convention between the United States and Great Britain, relative to the territory west of the Rocky Mountains be correct, and embrace all that it allows, demands and forbids, neither of the parties could be justified, during the subsistence of the agreement, in ordering the erection of forts at the mouth of the Columbia, where they certainly are not required for protection against any third power, and in promising to secure large tracts of land in that territory, by patent, to its citizens or subjects. Had the bill passed by the Senate in 1843, become a law, the convention

would from that moment have been virtually and violently rescinded; and any attempt to enforce the measures would undoubtedly have been resisted by Great Britain. The abrogation of the convention, in the manner therein provided, or in some other way, by common consent of the parties, should precede all attempts by either, to occupy any spot in the territory permanently; and whenever the government of either nation considers the time to be near, in which such occupation by its own citizens or subjects will be indispensable, it should endeavor to settle by negotiation with the other power, some mode of effecting that object, before giving notice of its intention to abrogate the agreement; for such a notice can only be regarded as the announcement of the determination of the party giving it, to take forcible possession of the territory, at the end of the period prescribed.

Lord Palmerston was not mistaken in his estimate of the excitement existing in the United States on this subject; and that excitement has been infinitely increased, by the recent debates in the Senate. On the faith of the promise held out by the passage of the bill for the immediate occupation of Oregon, nearly a thousand American citizens, men, women, and children, began their march in June, 1843, from Missouri to the Columbia;* and there

* These emigrants took their departure from Westport, in Missouri, the place of rendezvous, in the beginning of June, 1843, with about two hundred wagons, and a large number of horses and cattle; and having soon after divided into four bodies, they pursued their march along the valley of the river Platte, through the Southern Pass in the Rocky Mountains, and over the great ridge, separating the waters of the Colorado from those of the Columbia, to Fort Hall, the Hudson's Bay Company's post on the Lewis River, where they arrived in August. They lost six or seven of their number on their way to Fort Hall, from sickness, fatigue and accidents; but, upon the whole, their progress was attended with fewer difficulties, or dangers, than they had anticipated. The Sioux and Blackfeet Indians did not venture to attack them; but gazed at a distance, with wonder, on those pale-faces, leaving their sunny valleys on the Mississippi, for the rugged barren wastes of the Columbia. Since their departure from Fort Hall nothing has been heard from the emigrants; but there is no reason to believe that they will meet with any obstacles of consequence, in their way to the Willamet Valley, which seems to be the place of their immediate destination.

It is somewhat curious, that on the first of July, 1843, whilst this large body of emigrants were quietly pursuing their way across the continent, an article appeared in the Edinburgh Review, — a work so generally correct on American affairs, and so reasonable in its views and speculations, with regard to them — containing such observations as the following — "However the political questions between England and America, as to the ownership of Oregon may be decided, *Oregon will never be colonized overland from the United States.* * * * *The world must assume a new face, before the American wagons make plain the road to the Columbia as they*

is reason to believe that even a greater number will soon follow, if the accounts from those already gone should prove as favorable as may be expected. These immigrations must necessarily change the aspect of the questions at issue between Great Britain and the United States, and materially affect the views of their governments; arrangements which might have been made when the number of American citizens and the amount of American interests in Oregon were trifling, may have been thus rendered impracticable, and the obstacles to an amicable adjustment may have been considerably increased.

For the long and entire silence in the British legislature with regard to Oregon, the ministry appears to have made ample amends, by care and action; and every thing seems to have been done which could tend to secure for Great Britain the ultimate possession of the whole territory drained by the Columbia, without infringing, in the mean time, the agreement made with the United States. For this purpose the British ministers could have no counsellors better qualified to advise, or whose interests were more completely identified with those of the government, than the Hudson's Bay Company; and from the results, the utmost confidence may be supposed to exist between those two parties.

The Hudson's Bay Company, representing in all respects the interests of Great Britain, in North-West America, has indeed become a powerful body. The field of its operations was more than doubled by its union with the North-West Company, and by the license to trade, in exclusion of all other British subjects, in the countries west of the Rocky Mountains, where the fur-bearing animals were more abundant than in any other part of the world; while the extension of the jurisdiction of the Canada courts over the whole division of the continent, to which its charters apply, and the appointment of its own agents as magistrates, in those regions, gave all that could have been desired for the enforcement of its regulations. The arrangement made with the Russian American

have done to the Ohio. * * * Whoever, therefore, is to be the future owner of Oregon, *its people will come from Europe.*" This is not the first occasion, in which European predictions, implying doubts as to the energy of American citizens, and the success of their undertakings, have been contradicted by facts so soon as uttered. Whatever may be the result of this enterprise, certain it is that the emigrants from the Missouri, with their wives, their children and their wagons, arrived in Oregon; and no one will question their power to maintain themselves there, if any other people can do so.

Company, through the intervention of the two governments, secured to the Hudson's Bay Company the most advantageous limits in the north-west; and the position assumed by Great Britain, in the discussions with the United States, respecting Oregon, were calculated to increase the confidence of the body, in the strength of its tenure of that country, and to encourage greater efforts on its part to assure that tenure.

The license granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, expired in 1842, but another had been previously conceded, also for twenty-one years, containing some new and important provisions.* Thus, the Company was bound, under heavy penalties, to enforce the due execution of all criminal processes, by the officers and other persons legally empowered, in all its territories; and to make and submit to the government such rules and regulations for the management of the trade with the Indians, as should be effectual to prevent the sale and distribution of spirituous liquors among them, and to promote their moral and religious improvement. It is moreover declared in the grant, that nothing therein contained should authorize the Company to claim the right of trade in any part of America, to the prejudice or exclusion of the people of "*any foreign states*," who may be entitled to trade there, in virtue of conventions between such states and Great Britain; and the government reserves to itself the right to establish within the territories included in the grant, any colony or province, to annex any part of those territories to any existing colony or province, and to apply to such portion any form of civil government which might be deemed proper. Whether this last provision was introduced with some special and immediate object, or with a view to future contingencies, no means have as yet been afforded for determining. It is, however, certain, that the British government insisted strongly on retaining the above-mentioned privileges; and it is most probable that the Red River and the Columbia countries were in view at the time, as the remainder of the territory, included in the grant and not possessed by the Company in virtue of the charter of 1669, is of little value in any way.

In addition to the assistance and protection thus received from the British government, the constitution of the Hudson's Bay Company is such as to secure the utmost degree of knowledge and pru-

* See extracts from these charters, showing all their provisions, in the Proofs and Illustrations under the letter I.

dence in its councils, and of readiness and exactness in the execution of its orders. Its affairs are superintended by a *Governor*, a *Deputy Governor*, and a *Committee of Directors*, established at London, by whom all general orders and regulations are devised and issued, and all reports and accounts are examined and controlled. The proceedings of this body are enveloped in profound secrecy, and the communications made to the government in writing, which are likely to be published, are expressed in terms of studied caution, and afford only the details absolutely required. The trade in America is especially directed by a *Resident Governor*, who occasionally visits and inspects all the principal posts; under him, as officers, are *chief factors*, *chief traders*, and *clerks*, for the most part natives of North Britain, and an army of regular servants, employed as *hunters*, *traders*, *voyageurs*, &c., nearly all of them Canadians or half-breeds. The number of all these persons is small, when compared with the duties which they have to perform; but the manner in which they are admitted into the service, and the training to which they are subjected, are such as to render their efficiency and their devotion to the general interests as great as possible. The strictest discipline, regularity and economy are enforced in every part of the company's territories; and the magistrates appointed under the act of parliament for the preservation of tranquillity, are seldom called to exercise their functions, except in the settlement of trifling disputes.

In the treatment of the aborigines of the countries under its control, the Hudson's Bay Company appears to have admirably combined and reconciled policy with humanity. The prohibition to supply those people with ardent spirits, appears to be rigidly enforced. Schools for the instruction of the native children are established at all the principal trading posts, each of which also contains a hospital for sick Indians, and offers employment for those who are disposed to work, whilst hunting cannot be carried on. Missionaries of various sects are encouraged to endeavor to convert them to Christianity, and to induce them to adopt the usages of civilized life, so far as may be consistent with the nature of the labors required for their support; and attempts are made, at great expense, to collect the Indians in villages, on tracts where the climate and soil are most favorable for agriculture. Particular care is extended to the education of the half-breed children, the offspring of the marriage or concubinage of the traders with the Indian women,

who are retained, and bred as far as possible among the white people, and are employed, whenever they are found capable, in the service of the company. As there are few or no white women in those territories, except in the Red River settlements, it may be easily seen that the half-breeds must in a short time form a large and important portion of the native population.

The conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company in these respects is certainly worthy of commendation. It is however to be observed, that of the whole territory placed under the authority of that body, only a few small portions are capable of being rendered productive by agriculture. From the remainder of the country, nothing of value in commerce can be obtained except furs, and those articles can be procured in greater quantities and at less cost, by the labor of the Indians, than by any other means. There is, consequently, no object in expelling or destroying the native population, which can never be dangerous from its numbers; while on the contrary, there is a direct and evident motive of interest for preserving and conciliating them, and the British certainly employ the best methods to attain those ends. By the system above described, the natural shyness and distrust of the savages have been in a great measure removed; the ties which bound together the members of the various tribes have been loosened, and extensive combinations for any purpose have become impossible. The dependence of the Indians upon the company is at the same time rendered entire and absolute; for having abandoned the use of all their former arms, hunting and fishing implements, and clothes, they can no longer subsist without the guns, ammunition, fish-hooks, blankets and other similar articles, which they receive only from the British traders. The portion of the Hudson's Bay Company towards the North-American Indians, is thus wholly different from that held by the East India Company with respect to the Chinese; the motives for prohibiting the introduction of spirits among the former people, being as strong on the one part as those for favoring the consumption of opium among the latter people, are on the other.

The course observed by the Hudson's Bay Company towards American citizens, in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, has been equally unexceptionable, and yet equally politic. All the missionaries and emigrants from the United States, and indeed all strangers from whatsoever country they might come, were received at the establishments of the company on the Columbia with the

utmost kindness and hospitality; and they were aided in the prosecution of their objects, — so far and so long as those objects were not commercial. But no sooner did any one, unconnected with the company, attempt to hunt, or to trap, or to trade with the natives, than all the force of the body was immediately directed towards him.* There is no evidence or well-founded suspicion, that the Hudson's Bay agents have ever resorted directly or indirectly to violence, in order to defeat the efforts of such rivals. And, indeed, those means would have been superfluous, whilst the company enjoys such great advantages in its organization, its wealth, and the minute knowledge of the country and influence over the natives, possessed by its agents. Wherever an American trading post has been established, or an American party has been engaged in trade on the Columbia, there appeared a Hudson's Bay agent, at the head of a number of hunters, or with a large stock of merchandise or a large amount of specie in hand, which were offered for skins on terms much more favorable to the Indians than those possessed by the citizens of the United States; and the latter, in consequence, finding their labors vain, were soon obliged to retire from the field. Even without employing such extraordinary and expensive means, the British traders, receiving their goods in the Columbia by sea from London, free from duty, can always undersell the Americans, who must transport their merchandise two thousand miles over land, from the frontiers of the United States, where the articles best adapted for the trade have previously been subjected to an import duty. In pursuance of the same system, the company endeavors, and generally with success, to prevent the vessels of the United States from obtaining cargoes on the north-west coasts of America; though the mariners of all nations, when thrown upon these coasts by shipwreck or by other misfortunes, have uniformly received shelter and protection, at its posts and factories.

The furs and skins which have hitherto formed almost the whole returns from the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, are collected at the different posts, in part by regularly employed hunters and trappers, but chiefly by trade with the Indians of the surrounding country; and they are nearly all shipped for London in the

* A worthy missionary, now established on the Columbia, while acknowledging, in conversation with the author, the many acts of kindness received by him from the Hudson's Bay Company's agents, at the same time declared — that he would not buy a skin to make a cap, without their assent.

company's vessels at Montreal, or York Factory on Hudson's Bay, or Fort Vancouver on the Columbia; the goods for the trade and the supply of the posts being received in the same way. The average annual value of the furs thus exported for several years before 1838, was estimated at about one million of dollars; and that of the merchandise introduced at about two hundred thousand dollars. It is, however, certain that the fur-trade is declining in every part of these territories, from the diminution in the numbers of the animals, whilst the price of the furs does not increase, in consequence of the use of other articles in their place. The Hudson's Bay Company endeavors to prevent this decrease of the animals, particularly in the countries east of the Rocky Mountains, by withdrawing its hunters and traders from certain districts during several years in succession; but in Oregon, where its control is less absolute, and its tenure less secure, no precautions of that kind are observed, and many of the posts have been recently abandoned, or reduced, from want of sufficient business. How much longer the fur-trade may be prosecuted with advantage in the Columbia regions, it is impossible to judge from the imperfect data as yet afforded; but there is reason to believe that the Hudson's Bay Company must ere long abandon that part of America, unless some other mode of employing its capital there, can be adopted.

With regard to colonization, it has been already said that a very small proportion of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories is capable of being rendered productive by cultivation. The only place east of the Rocky Mountains, in which attempts have been made to found permanent agricultural settlements, is on the Red River, between the 49th parallel of latitude, there forming the northern boundary of the United States, and Lake Winnipeg, into which that river empties. Of the cession of this country by the Hudson's Bay Company to Lord Selkirk, and the unfortunate results of his first efforts to colonize it, accounts have been already given. New efforts, with the same object, were afterwards made by the son and successor of that nobleman, with but little success; and the territory was at length, in 1836, retro-ceded to the company, which has, with much difficulty and expense, established on it about six thousand persons, white, Indian, and half-breed, under what conditions as to tenure of the soil, is not known. The land produces wheat, rye, potatoes, hemp and some other vegetables, and grass for cattle, tolerably well, and it may be considered fertile, when compared with

other parts of the continent situated so far north; it is, however, deficient in wood, and notwithstanding all the advantages held out to the inhabitants by the Hudson's Bay Company, there is no probability that it will ever rise to importance in any way, and least of all, as a check to incursions from the United States, which seems to be one of the principal objects proposed by its founders.* West of the Rocky Mountains the Hudson's Bay Company has not, so far as is known, either formed, or encouraged others to form, permanent settlements; nor does it appear that any grant or sale of lands, either immediate or prospective, has been made in these territories, by any British authority. Some of the retired servants of the company have indeed been allowed to remain in the country with their families, as agriculturists; but they are in all respects subject to the company, and liable, at any moment, to be expelled from their homes by its agents.

As the fur trade in the countries of the Columbia decreased, the Hudson's Bay Company began to turn its attention to other objects. Farms were laid out on an extensive scale, and mills for grinding grain and sawing wood were erected near the lower part of the great

* Mr. Pelly, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in a letter addressed, on the 10th of February, 1837, to Lord Glenelg, the British secretary for the colonies, says, with respect to the Red River settlement, "This rising community, if well governed, may be found useful at some future period, in the event of difficulties occurring between Great Britain and the United States of America, who have several military posts, say those of the Sault Saint Marie, Prairie du Chien, and the River Saint Peters, established on their Indian frontiers, along the line of boundary with British North America." On the other hand, Mr. Simpson, in his interesting account of the discoveries made in the northernmost parts of America, by himself, and his unfortunate companion Mr. Dease, in 1838 and 1839, states that the settlers on the Red River, have "found out the only practicable outlet for their cattle and grain, in the fine level plains leading to the Mississippi and the St. Peters, where there is the promise of a sufficient market among the Americans;" particularly as, —"the bulky nature of the exports, [tallow, flax, hemp and wool] a long and dangerous navigation to Hudson's Bay, and above all, the roving and indolent habits of the half breed race, who form the mass of the population, and love the chase of the buffalo better than the drudgery of agriculture or regular industry, seem to preclude the possibility of this colony rising to importance."

According to Mr. Simpson, the colony, in 1839, contained between five and six thousand persons, almost all Indians or half-breeds, whose general character has been already given. The Scotch, who compose nearly the remainder of the population, are industrious and economical, and avoid as carefully as possible all amalgamation with the others; in order to avoid which, they generally retire to the United States, so soon as they have accumulated a moderate amount of property. Four fifths of the people are Roman Catholics, for whose spiritual instruction and assistance, a bishop and three priests reside among them; the number of Protestant clergymen was two.

river, near Bulfinch's Harbor, near Puget's Sound, and in other places; besides which, large quantities of salmon are annually taken and cured. From the use and exportation of the articles thus produced, some revenue is gained; but it is evident, that capital invested in such a manner cannot yield considerable dividends; and no other modes for its employment are offered at present in these territories or farther north. Oregon indeed contains lands in small detached portions, which may afford to the industrious cultivator the means of subsistence, and also, perhaps, in time, of procuring some foreign luxuries; but it produces no precious metals, no opium, no cotton, no rice, no sugar, no coffee; nor is it, like India, inhabited by a numerous population, who may easily be forced to labor for the benefit of a few. With regard to commerce, it offers no great advantages, present or immediately prospective. It contains no harbor in which articles of merchandise from other countries will, probably at any future period, be deposited for reëxportation; while the extreme irregularity of its surface, and the obstructions to the navigation of its rivers, the removal of which is hopeless, forbid all expectation, that the productions of China or any other land bordering on the Pacific, will ever be transported across Oregon to the Atlantic regions of the continent.*

* It will here be proper to introduce some observations on a subject which merits consideration from its connection with the interests and destinies of North-West America, namely — the question as to the practicability of effecting a passage for ships between the Atlantic and the Pacific, through the central parts of the American continent, where those seas are separated by narrow tracts of land.

Humboldt, in his justly-celebrated essay on Mexico, indicated nine places in America, in which the waters of the two oceans, or of streams entering into them respectively, are situated at short distances apart. Of these places it is necessary here to notice but three, to each of which, attention has been strongly directed, at different times, and especially of late years, in the expectation that such a navigable passage for ships might be effected through it. They are, — the Isthmus of Panamá — Nicaragua — and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

With regard to the last mentioned of these places, it has been determined, by accurate surveys, that the mountain chain, separating the two oceans, is nowhere less than a thousand feet in height above the level of the sea; and that a canal connecting the River Guasecualco, flowing into the Mexican Gulf, with the Pacific, must pass through an open cut of nearly that depth, or a tunnel, in either case more than thirty miles in length, as there is no water on the summit to supply locks, should it be found practicable to construct them. Thus much for the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

In Nicaragua, it has been proposed to improve the navigation of the San Juan River, from its mouth on the Mosquito coast, to the great Lake of Nicaragua from which it flows, or to cut a canal from the Atlantic to that lake, whence another canal should be made to the Pacific. Now, without enumerating the many other

Thus, on reviewing the agricultural, commercial, and other economical advantages and disadvantages of Oregon, there appears to be no reason, founded on such considerations, which should render either of the powers, claiming the possession of that country, anxious to occupy it immediately, or unwilling to cede its own pretensions to the other, for a very moderate compensation. But political considerations, among which are always to be reckoned, as the principal, those proceeding from national and individual ambition, jealousy, and hatred, ever have proved, and doubtless will in this

obstacles to this plan, any one of them sufficient to defeat it, were all things besides favorable, it may be simply stated — that one mile of tunnel and two of very deep cutting through volcanic rocks, in addition to many locks, will be required in the fifteen miles, which, by the shortest and least difficult route, must be passed between the lake and the Pacific. Is such a work practicable?

The Isthmus of Panamá remains to be considered. From recent and minute surveys, it has been proved that no obstacles to a ship-canal are presented by the *surface* of this isthmus, equal to those which have been surmounted in many instances of a similar nature in Europe and in the United States. On the other hand, the country contains only a few inhabitants of the most wretched description, from whose assistance in the work no advantage in any way could be derived; so that all the laborers, with all their clothes, provisions, and tools, must be transported thither from a distance. The heat is at all times intense, and the wet season continues during eight months of the year; the rains in July, August, September, and October, being incessant, and heavier, perhaps, than in any other part of the world. As to salubrity, there is a difference of opinion; but it is scarcely possible that the extremes of heat and dampness, which are there combined, could be otherwise than deleterious to persons from Europe, or from the northern states of the American Union, by whom the labor of cutting a canal must be performed, — unless, indeed, it should be judged proper to employ negroes from the West Indies on the work.

It seems, therefore, that a canal is practicable across the Isthmus of Panamá: there is, however, not the slightest probability that it will be made during this century, if ever; the commercial utility of such a communication being scarcely sufficient to warrant the enormous expenses of its construction and maintenance. Ships from Europe or the United States, bound for the west coasts of America, or the North Pacific, or China, would probably pass through it, unless the tolls should be too heavy; but in returning they would pursue the route around the Cape of Good Hope, which would be shorter, and in all respects more advantageous for them, as well as for all vessels sailing, in either direction, between the Atlantic coasts and India or Australia. *Should the canal ever be made by any company or nation whatsoever, it will, in time, notwithstanding any precautions by treaty or otherwise, become the property of the greatest naval power, which will derive a vast increase of political strength from the possession.*

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec offers many advantages for travellers, and even for the transportation of precious commodities, especially to the people of the United States. The mouth of the Guasecualco River, on its northern shore, is less than seven hundred miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, and only one hundred miles by the road from a port on the Pacific, near Tehuantepec, which might be made a good harbor; so that even now a traveller might go in a fortnight from Washington to the Pacific coast, and thence, by a steam-vessel, in ten days more, to the mouth of the Columbia, or to the Sandwich Islands.

case prove paramount to the others. It is the unobjectionable, and indeed imperative policy of the United States, to secure the possession of those territories, in order to provide places of resort and refreshment for their numerous vessels, engaged in the trade and fishery of the Pacific, particularly as there is a prospect that they may in time be excluded from the Sandwich Islands; and also to prevent those territories from falling into the hands of any other power, which might direct against their western frontiers the hordes of Indians roving through the middle and westernmost divisions of the continents. Great Britain, on the other hand, can have no motive for opposing the occupation of Oregon by the United States, except that of checking their advancement, by excluding their vessels from the Pacific, and by maintaining an influence deleterious to their interests and safety, over the savages in their vicinity. That the latter nation should, within any period which it is now possible to foresee, furnish a population to the regions in question, there are certainly at present no grounds for supposing. Her provinces in America have no redundance of inhabitants; and what inducements can be offered in good faith to her subjects in Europe, for undertaking a voyage of six months to the Columbia, or a voyage to Canada and a subsequent journey of five thousand miles through her wild and frozen *Indian territories*, so long as the West Indies, Southern Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and, lastly — the United States — are open to them? The difficulties experienced by American citizens in their passage to Oregon, along the valleys of the Platte and the Lewis, great though they may be at present, sink into insignificance, when compared with those which British subjects must encounter, in proceeding to that country, by either of the routes above indicated: and the contrast becomes still stronger, when we compare the character and habits of Americans, trained from their childhood to struggle and provide against the hardships and privations incident to the settlement of a new country, with those of Europeans, accustomed only to a routine of labor the most simple, and the least calculated to nourish energies or to stimulate invention.

The history of the western section of America, has now been concluded. Accounts have been presented of all the expeditions, discoveries, settlements and other events worthy of record, in that

part of the world; and of all the claims, and pretensions advanced by civilized nations, and all the discussions, negotiations and conventions between them with regard to it. Of these international questions, the only serious one remaining undetermined, is that between the United States and Great Britain, the subject of which is no less than the right of possessing the vast territories of the Columbia, commonly called the Oregon region. Concerning this question, it has been shown — that the United States asserted that right against Great Britain in 1815, as founded on the discoveries and settlements of their citizens, prior to any made by the other party; and that having, in 1819, obtained by the Florida treaty, all the titles of Spain to those countries, their government has ever since claimed the entire and exclusive sovereignty over them, though it has more than once offered, for the sake of peace, to surrender to Great Britain, all north of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. It has also been shown, that Great Britain first claimed the entire sovereignty of the Columbia territories, on the ground of their having been early taken possession of, and ever since considered as part of the British dominions, and then of settlements made in them by her subjects, coeval with, if not prior to, any made by American citizens; after all which direct and positive assertions of absolute right, it was finally, in 1826, declared by that power in her *ultimatum*, — that she claimed no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of those territories, and that her pretensions with regard to them, were limited to a right of joint occupancy of the whole, in common with other states, agreeably to the Nootka convention of 1790, between her and Spain, leaving the right of sovereignty in abeyance. The grounds of all these conflicting claims, the nature and duration of the Nootka convention, and the extent and character of the provisions of the convention of 1827, between Great Britain and the United States, agreeably to which the part of America in question, has remained to this day free and open to the citizens and subjects of both nations, have been examined and reviewed so fully in the preceding pages, that farther particulars with regard to them are unnecessary.

The period during which the right of dominion over the Oregon regions, might remain in abeyance, is now drawing to a close. Under the existing convention, Great Britain has enjoyed almost all the advantages which she could have derived from those countries in any case; the United States have, however, secured the continuance

of their title unimpaired; that they did not obtain farther benefits from the arrangement, has been in a great measure due to themselves, or rather to the consideration that they could direct their efforts more profitably elsewhere. This state of things can, however, no longer continue. American citizens, relying on the justice of the claims of their republic to the countries of the Columbia, are removing thither in great numbers; and it becomes the duty of their government, which has always asserted and supported those claims, to provide for their protection and secure enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, by measures entirely incompatible with the stipulations of the subsisting convention. With this view, Great Britain has been again invited to a negotiation, for the settlement of the questions of territorial right, already so often and so vainly discussed; the invitation has been accepted, and the Hon. Richard Pakenham has arrived at Washington, as Minister Plenipotentiary from that government, provided — as there is reason to believe — with instructions to treat for a definitive partition of the countries to which these questions relate.

It is scarcely within the province of the historian to anticipate, or at least to carry his speculations farther than the immediate consequences of events which have already occurred. It appears, however, to be certain, that under all or any succeeding circumstances, whether of peaceful partition of the countries in dispute, or — the only other probable alternative — of war between the two claimant powers, *those countries will receive their population from the United States*. Nearly a thousand citizens of the federal republic — a number far greater than that of the first settlers in Virginia or in New England — have within a few months entered Oregon; and an equal number will soon follow, with the determination to make it their home. Many of them will, doubtless, like all other emigrants to new countries, repent of having engaged in such an enterprise; and some will probably return, to seek a more agreeable abiding-place in the regions of the east: but the great majority will remain beyond the Rocky Mountains, and they and their descendants will spread northward and southward from the Columbia so far as soil and climate may invite.

END OF THE HISTORY.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.

ORIGINAL ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF THE GREEK PILOT JUAN DE FUCA ALONG THE NORTH-WEST COASTS OF AMERICA, IN 1592.

A Note made by me, Michael Lock the elder, touching the Strait of Sea commonly called Fretum Anian, *in the South Sea, through the North-West Passage of* Meta Incognita.*

WHEN I was at *Venice*, in April, 1596, haply arrived there an old man, about sixty years of age, called, commonly, *Juan de Fuca*, but named properly *Apostolos Valerianus*, of nation a Greek, born in *Cephalonia*, of profession a mariner, and an ancient pilot of ships. This man, being come lately out of Spain, arrived first at *Leghorn*, and went thence to *Florence*, where he found one John Douglas, an Englishman, a famous mariner, ready coming for *Venice*, to be pilot of a Venetian ship for England, in whose company they came both together to *Venice*. And John Douglas being acquainted with me before, he gave me knowledge of this Greek pilot, and brought him to my speech; and, in long talks and conference between us, in presence of John Douglas, this Greek pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth:—

First, he said that he had been in the West Indies of Spain forty years, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, in the service of the Spaniards.

Also, he said that he was in the Spanish ship which, in returning from the Islands *Philippinas*, towards *Nova Spania*, was robbed and taken at the *Cape California* by *Captain Candish*, Englishman, whereby he lost sixty thousand ducats of his own goods.

Also, he said that he was pilot of three small ships which the viceroy of *Mexico* sent from *Mexico*, armed with one hundred men, under a captain, Spaniards, to discover the *Straits of Anian*, along the coast of the *South Sea*, and to fortify in that strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English nation, which were feared to pass through those

* Extracted from the Pilgrims of Samuel Purchas, vol. iii. p. 849. The orthography of the English is modernized. The letters inserted are, however, given in their original *lingua Franca*. See p. 87 of the History.

straits into the *South Sea;* and that, by reason of a mutiny which happened among the soldiers for the misconduct of their captain, that voyage was overthrown, and the ship returned from *California* to *Nova Spania*, without any thing done in that voyage; and that, after their return, the captain was at *Mexico* punished by justice.

Also, he said that, shortly after the said voyage was so ill ended, the said viceroy of *Mexico* sent him out again, in 1592, with a small caravel and a pinnace, armed with mariners only, to follow the said voyage for the discovery of the *Straits of Anian*, and the passage thereof into the sea, which they call the *North Sea*, which is our north-west sea; and that he followed his course, in that voyage, west and north-west in the *South Sea*, all along the coast of *Nova Spania*, and *California*, and the *Indies*, now called *North America*, (all which voyage he signified to me in a great map, and a sea card of mine own, which I laid before him,) until he came to the latitude of 47 degrees; and that, there finding that the land trended north and north-east, with a broad inlet of sea, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trending still sometime north-west, and north-east, and north, and also east and south-eastward, and very much broader sea than was at the said entrance, and that he passed by divers islands in that sailing; and that, at the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the north-west coast thereof, a great headland or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar, thereupon.

Also, he said that he went on land in divers places, and that he saw some people on land clad in beasts' skins; and that the land is very fruitful, and rich of gold, silver, pearls, and other things, like *Nova Spania*.

And also, he said that he being entered thus far into the said strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the sea wide enough every where, and to be about thirty or forty leagues wide in the mouth of the straits where he entered, he thought he had now well discharged his office; and that, not being armed to resist the force of the savage people that might happen, he therefore set sail, and returned homewards again towards *Nova Spania*, where he arrived at *Acapulco*, anno 1592, hoping to be rewarded by the viceroy for this service done in the said voyage.

Also, he said that, after coming to *Mexico*, he was greatly welcomed by the viceroy, and had promises of great reward; but that, having sued there two years, and obtained nothing to his content, the viceroy told him that he should be rewarded in Spain, of the king himself, very greatly, and willed him, therefore, to go to Spain, which voyage he did perform.

Also, he said that, when he was come into Spain, he was welcomed there at the king's court; but, after long suit there, also, he could not get any reward there to his content; and therefore, at length, he stole away out of Spain, and came into Italy, to go home again and live among his own kindred and countrymen, he being very old.

Also, he said that he thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to be for that they did understand very well that the English nation had now given over all their voyages for discovery of the north-west passage; wherefore they need not fear them any more to come that way into the *South Sea*, and therefore they needed not his service therein any more.

Also, he said that, understanding the noble mind of the queen of

England, and of her wars against the Spaniards, and hoping that her majesty would do him justice for his goods lost by Captain Candish, he would be content to go into England, and serve her majesty in that voyage for the discovery perfectly of the north-west passage into the *South Sea*, if she would furnish him with only one ship of forty tons' burden, and a pinnace, and that he would perform it in thirty days' time, from one end to the other of the strait; and he willed me so to write to England.

And, upon conference had twice with the said Greek pilot, I did write thereof, accordingly, to England, unto the right honorable the old Lord Treasurer Cecil, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt, that famous cosmographer, certifying them hereof. And I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds, to bring the said Greek pilot into England with myself, for that my own purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answer that this action was well liked and greatly desired in England; but the money was not ready, and therefore this action died at that time, though the said Greek pilot, perchance, liveth still in his own country, in *Cephalonia*, towards which place he went within a fortnight after this conference had at *Venice*.

And, in the mean time, while I followed my own business in *Venice*, being in a lawsuit against the Company of Merchants of Turkey, to recover my pension due for being their consul at *Aleppo*, which they held from me wrongfully, and when I was in readiness to return to England, I thought I should be able of my own purse to take with me the said Greek pilot; and therefore I wrote unto him from *Venice* a letter, dated July, 1596, which is copied here under: —

* "Al Mag^co. Sig^r. Capitan Juan de Fuca, Piloto de India, amigo mio char^mo. en Zefalonia.

"Muy Honrado Sennor,

"Siendo yo para buelverme en Inglatierra dentre de pocas mezes, y accuerdandome de lo trattado entre my y V. M. en Venesia sobre el viagio de las Indias, me ha parescido bien de scrivir esta carta a V. M. para que se tengais animo de andar con migo, puedais escribirme presto en que maniera quereis consertaros. Y puedais embiarmi vuestra carta con esta nao Ingles, que sta al Zante (sino hallais otra coiuntura meior) con el sobrescritto que diga en casa del Sennor Eleazar Hycman, mercader Ingles, al tragetto de San Tomas en Venisia. Y Dios guarde la persona de V. M. Fecha en Venesia al primer dia de Julio, 1596 annos.

"Amigo de V. M., "Michael Lock, *Ingles.*"

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* To the Magnificent Captain Juan de Fuca, Pilot of the Indies, my most dear friend in Cephalonia.

Most Honored Sir,

Being about to return to England in a few months, and recollecting what passed between you and myself, at Venice, respecting the voyage to the Indies, I have thought proper to write you this letter, so that, if you have a mind to go with me, you can write me word directly how you wish to arrange. You may send me your letter by this English vessel, which is at Zante, (if you should find no better opportunity,) directed to the care of Mr. Eleazer Hyckman, an English merchant, St Thomas Street, Venice. God preserve you, sir.

Your friend,

Michael Lock, *of England.*

Venice, *July 1st*, 1596.

And I sent the said letter from Venice to Zante in the ship Cherubin; and, shortly after, I sent a copy thereof in the ship Minion, and also a third copy thereof by Manea Orlando, patron de nave Venetian. And unto my said letters he wrote me answer to Venice by one letter, which came not to my hands, and also by another letter, which came to my hands, which is copied here under: —

* "Al Illmo Sig^or. Michael Lock, Ingles, in casa del Sig^or. Lasaro, mercader Ingles, al tragetto de San Tomas en Venesia.

"Muy Illustre Sig^or.,

"La carta de V. M. recevi a 20 dias del mese di Settembre, por loqual veo loche V. M. me manda. Io tengho animo de complir loche tengo promettido a V. M. y no solo yo, mas tengo vinte hombres para lievar con migo, porche son hombres vaglientes; y assi estoi esperando por otra carta che avisé á V. M. parache me embiais los dinieros che tengo escritto a V. M. Porche bien save V. M. como io vine pover, porque me glievo Captain Candis mas de sessenta mille ducados, como V. M. bien save; embiandome lo dicho, ire a servir a V. M. con todos mis compagneros. I no spero otra cosa mas de la voluntad é carta de V. M. con tanto nostro Sig^or. Dios guarda la illustre persona de V. M. muchos annos. De Ceffalonia a 24 de Settembre del 1596.

"Amigo y servitor de V. M.,

"Juan Fuca."

And the said letter came into my hands in Venice, the 16th day of November, 1596; but my lawsuit with the Company of Turkey was not ended, by reason of Sir John Spenser's suit, made in England, at the queen's court, to the contrary, seeking only to have his money discharged which I had attached in Venice for my said pension, and thereby my own purse was not yet ready for the Greek pilot.

And, nevertheless, hoping that my said suit would have shortly a good end, I wrote another letter to this Greek pilot from Venice, dated the 20th of November, 1596, which came not to his hands, and also another letter, dated the 24th of January, 1596, which came to his hands. And thereof he wrote me answer, dated the 28th of May, 1597, which I received the 1st of August, 1597, by Thomas Norden, an English merchant, yet living in London, wherein he promised still to go with me unto England, to perform the said voyage for discovery of the north-west passage into the South Sea, if I would send him money for his charges, according to his

* To the Illustrious Michael Lock, Englishman, at the house of Mr. Lazaro, English merchant, in St. Thomas Street, Venice.

Most Illustrious Sir,

Your letter was received by me on the 20th of September, by which I am informed of what you communicate. I have a mind to comply with my promise to you, and have not only myself, but twenty men, brave men, too, whom I can carry with me; so I am waiting for an answer to another letter which I wrote you, about the money which I asked you to send me. For you know well, sir, how I became poor in consequence of Captain Candish's having taken from me more than sixty thousand ducats, as you well know. If you will send me what I asked, I will go with you, as well as all my companions. I ask no more from your kindness, as shown by your letter. God preserve you, most illustrious sir, for many years.

Your friend and servant,

Juan Fuca.

Cephalonia, *September 24th*, 1596.

former writing, without which money he said he could not go, for that as he was undone utterly when he was in the ship Santa Anna, which came from China, and was robbed at California. And yet again, afterward, I wrote him another letter from Venice, whereunto he wrote me answer by a letter written in his Greek language, dated the 20th of October, 1598, the which I have still by me, wherein he promiseth still to go with me into England, and perform the said voyage of discovery of the north-west passage into the South Sea by the said straits, which he calleth the Strait of Nova Spania, which he saith is but thirty days' voyage in the straits, if I will send him the money formerly written for his charges; the which money I could not yet send him, for that I had not yet recovered my pension owing me by the Company of Turkey aforesaid; and so, of long time, I stayed any further proceeding with him in this matter.

And yet, lastly, when I myself was at Zante, in the month of June, 1602, minding to pass from thence for England by sea, for that I had then recovered a little money from the Company of Turkey, by an order of the lords of the Privy Council of England, I wrote another letter to this Greek pilot, to Cephalonia, and required him to come to me to Zante, and go with me into England, but I had no answer thereof from him; for that, as I heard afterward at Zante, he was then dead, or very likely to die of great sickness. Whereupon, I returned myself, by sea, from Zante to Venice, and from thence I went, by land, through France, into England, where I arrived at Christmas, anno 1602, safely, I thank God, after my absence from thence ten years' time, with great troubles had for the Company of Turkey's business, which hath cost me a great sum of money, for the which I am not yet satisfied of them.

B.

Furs and the Fur Trade.

Fur, strictly speaking, is the soft, fine hair which forms the natural clothing of certain animals, particularly of those inhabiting cold countries. In commerce, however, the word is understood to mean the skin of the animal, with the hair attached, either before or after, but generally after, it has been rendered soft and pliable, by a peculiar process, called *dressing*. The undressed skins are commonly called *peltry:* but *fur* and *peltry* are employed as synonymous terms; and the word *fur*, in commerce, is generally to be understood as *peltry*. The skins of seals, bears, wolves, lions, leopards, buffaloes, &c., are also placed under the denomination of *furs*, in commerce.

Skins must have formed the first clothing of man in cold countries; and, at the present day, they constitute the whole or the greater part of the dress of many millions of individuals. For this purpose, the skin, with or without the fur, is employed as cloth would be; or the fur alone is converted by art into the peculiar substance called *felt*, of which hats are made.

Furs differ in value, according to the fineness, the length, the thickness, and the color, of their hair. The most precious is that of the ermine, a species of weasel; it is thick, soft, fine, and of dazzling whiteness, except the tip of the tail, which is of a glossy black color, and is used to form spots on the skin. Of great value, also, are the skins of the marten, the sable, the fiery fox, the silver fox, and the black fox; after which come those of the sea otter, the beaver, the seal, and — though far inferior to the others — of the muskrat, the raccoon, the fox, the weasel, &c. Of these, the ermine is, as before said, the most precious; the muskrat is that of which the greatest quantity is collected; while the aggregate value of the beaver skins annually consumed among civilized nations is greater than that of all the other furs together.

The finer furs are principally used in Russia, Turkey, and China, — in the latter country especially, where they form important portions of the dress of every rich, noble, or ostentatious person. In Europe, and in the United States, furs are also much worn in the shape of caps, muffs, and trimmings. The greatest consumption of the inferior furs is in the manufacture of hats, which is of comparatively modern date, and, as well as the use of those articles, is confined almost entirely to Europe and America. The furs mostly used for this purpose are those of the beaver, the otter, the nutria, (an animal resembling the beaver, found in Patagonia,) and the muskrat; but the greater number of hats are composed chiefly of wool, with or without a slight covering of fur.

Nearly all the furs now brought into commerce are procured from the countries north of the 40th parallel of north latitude, through the agency of the British Hudson's Bay Company, or of the Russian American Company, or by various private associations and individuals in the United States. Of those obtained in the Russian dominions, some are carried over land to China, others also over land to Europe, and the remainder by sea to Europe. Those found in the territories of the United States are nearly all carried to New York, from which portions are sent to London or to Canton. The furs collected in the parts of America possessed or claimed by Great Britain, are mostly shipped for London, either at Montreal, or at York Factory on Hudson's Bay, or at Fort Vancouver, at the head of navigation of the Columbia River. The southern hemisphere supplies scarcely any furs, except those of the nutria, of which considerable quantities are brought from Buenos Ayres to New York or to London. London is undoubtedly the most extensive mart for furs in the world, and New York is probably the second; of the others, the principal are Leipsic, Nijney-Novogorod on the Wolga, Kiakta on the boundary line between Russia and China, and Canton. Of the value of the furs thus annually brought into trade, it is impossible to form an exact estimate. According to a rough calculation, the amount received by the first collectors, for the skins in their undressed state, is about three millions of dollars; but they afterwards pass through many hands, so that the price is much enhanced before they reach the actual consumer.

The fur trade has been, hitherto, very profitable to those engaged in it; but it is now, from a variety of causes, declining every where. The increase in the number of persons employed in the pursuit, and the spread of civilized population over the countries from which the furs are chiefly procured, are rapidly diminishing the number of the animals; so that, in many countries in which they formerly abounded, not one can be obtained

at the present day. This diminution in the amount of the article offered has not, however, increased the price; as other articles, composed of silk, wool, or cotton, are substituted for furs, with advantage, both as to comfort and cheapness.

For particulars with regard to the manner in which the fur trade of the northern parts of America is conducted, see the accounts of the Russian American Company's establishments and system, in the Geographical Sketch, and in chap. xii. of the History, and the view of the Hudson's Bay Company's proceedings, in chap. xviii. Respecting the furs themselves, minute information may be derived from an article on the subject by Mr. Aiken, in the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, published at London in 1830, as also from a similar article, by Professor Silliman, in the American Journal of Science and Art for April, 1834, and from the article on furs in McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce.

C.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SPANISH COMMANDANT AND COMMISSIONER AT NOOTKA SOUND AND THE MASTERS OF THE AMERICAN TRADING VESSELS COLUMBIA AND HOPE, RESPECTING THE OCCURRENCES AT THAT PLACE IN THE SUMMER OF 1789.*

Translation of the Letter from the Spanish Commandant to Captains Robert Gray and Joseph Ingraham.

NOOTKA, *August 2d*, 1792.

IN order to satisfy the court of England, as is just, for the injury, damages, and usurpation, which it conceives itself to have sustained at this port, in the year 1789, I have to request of you, gentlemen, the favor to inform me, with that sincerity which distinguishes you, and which is conformable with truth and honor, for what reason Don Esteban José Martinez seized the vessels of Colnett, [called] the Iphigenia and the North-West America? What establishment or building had Mr. Meares on the arrival of the Spaniards? What territories are those which he says that he purchased from Maquinna, Yuquiniarri, or other chief of these tribes? With what objects were the crew of the North-West America transferred to the Columbia, and ninety-six skins placed on board that ship? Finally, what was the whole amount of skins carried by you to China, and to whom did they belong?

Your most obedient and assured servant,

JUAN FRANCISCO DE LA BODEGA Y QUADRA.

* The letter of Gray and Ingraham is copied from Ingraham's Journal of his voyage in the Hope, preserved, in manuscript, in the library of the Department of State at Washington. The translation of Quadra's letter is made from the original in Spanish, which is attached by a wafer to the journal. A synopsis of the letter of Gray and Ingraham, which is, in every respect, incorrect, may be found in Vancouver's Journal, vol. i. p. 389. See p. 242 of this History.

*Answer of Captains Gray and Ingraham to Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra.**

NOOTKA SOUND, *August 3d*, 1792.

SIR,

Your esteemed favor was handed to us yesterday, requesting from us information relative to the transactions between the English and Spaniards in this sound, in the year 1789, which we will do with great pleasure, and impartially, as you request.

On the 5th of May, 1789, when Don Estevan José Martinez arrived in Friendly Cove, he found riding at anchor there the Iphigenia only; the ship Columbia being at Mahwhinna, five miles up the sound. The sloop Washington and North-West America (schooner) were on a cruise. This information is necessary in order to regulate the sequel of the present. After the usual ceremonies of meeting were over, Don Martinez requested the papers of each vessel, and demanded why they were at anchor in Nootka Sound, alleging it belonged to his Catholic majesty. Captain Viana, who passed as commander of the Iphigenia, answered, they had put in, being in distress, having but little provisions, and in great want of every necessary, such as cables, anchors, rigging, sails, &c.; that they were in daily expectation of the arrival of Captain Meares from Macao, to supply them, when they should depart. Captain Meares was expected to return in the same vessel he sailed in from hence in the year 1788, which was under the Portuguese colors, and had a Portuguese captain on board: this vessel, with the Iphigenia, were said to belong to one Cravalia, or Cavallo, a merchant of Macao, in whose name the Iphigenia's papers were made out. Seeing the Iphigenia was in such want, Don Martinez gave them a temporary assistance, by supplying them with such articles as they were most in want, till the vessel before mentioned should arrive. At this time there was not the least suspicion of any misunderstanding or disturbance among us, as Don Martinez was apparently satisfied with the answers each vessel had given to his request.

However, on the 10th of May, the San Carlos, Captain Arrow, [Haro,] arrived. The same day the American officers came to Uquot, or Friendly Cove, to welcome them in; and the next morning, the 11th of May, Don Martinez captured the Iphigenia, and his reason, as we understand, was, that, in their Portuguese instructions, they had orders to capture any English, Spanish, or Russian, subjects they met on the north-west coast of America. This, at the time, seemed improbable, as she was a vessel of small force; and it was afterwards found to have been a mistake, owing to their want of a perfect knowledge of the Portuguese language. However, after the vessel was taken, the officers and seamen were divided, some on board the Princesa, and some on board the San Carlos, where they were treated with all imaginable kindness, and every attention paid them.

* Reference is frequently made to this letter in the 8th and 11th chapters of the preceding History. A synopsis of its contents may be found in the 10th chapter of Vancouver's account of his expedition, on comparing which with the letter, it will be seen that the evidence of the American captains is garbled and distorted in the most unworthy manner in the synopsis, not only by suppressions, but even by direct falsifications. To show this fully, it would be necessary to insert the whole of Vancouver's synopsis; the assertion, however, is sufficiently proved by the few notes which follow.

* On the 24th of May, the above-mentioned mistake being discovered, the Iphigenia was returned again, and the Portuguese flag hoisted on board her: the same day, Captain Douglas, with the Portuguese captain and seamen, repaired on board. The Iphigenia, while in possession of the Spaniards, from being a wreck was put in complete order for sea, being calked, rigging and sails repaired, anchors and cables sent from the Princesa, &c. On the 26th, Don Martinez supplied them with every kind of provisions they were in need of, for which Captain Douglas gave him bills on Cravalia, the before-mentioned merchant of Macao. On the 31st, the Iphigenia sailed, and was saluted by the Spanish fort; and the commodore accompanied them out of the harbor, giving every assistance with boats, &c. When Captain Douglas took his leave of the commodore, he declared he should ever entertain a sense of Don Martinez's kindness, deeming his conduct relative to the vessel no more than his duty as a king's officer. Upon the whole, we both believe the Iphigenia's being detained was of infinite service to those who were concerned in her. This must be plain to every one who will consider the situation of the vessel when the Princesa arrived, and the advantages reaped from the supplies and assistance of the Spaniards. The detention, if it may be called so, could be no detriment; for, had nothing taken place, she must have remained two months longer at least, having, as has already been mentioned, put into port, being in distress. Of course they could not have sailed till supplies arrived, which was not till July, as will appear in the sequel: whereas, being early fitted, as above mentioned, she sailed on the coast northward of Nootka Sound, and, there being no other vessel there, they collected upwards of seven hundred sea otter skins; which has been often represented to us by Captain Douglas and his officers, after our arrival in China. This may suffice for the transactions relative to the Iphigenia. Before Captain Douglas sailed, he gave Don Estevan Martinez a letter to Mr. Funter, master of the schooner North-West America, telling him, from Captain Meares's not arriving at the appointed time, there was great reason to fear the vessel he sailed from Nootka in had never reached China, (she being in bad condition when she sailed from this place;) therefore, as he, Mr. Funter, must, on his arrival, be destitute of every necessary, he was at liberty to conduct as he thought most conducive to the interests of his employers. We shall make mention of this vessel again hereafter.

Interim, we observe your wish to be acquainted what house or establishment Mr. Meares had at the time the Spaniards arrived here. We answer in a word, *None*. On the arrival of the Columbia, in the year 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts, covered with boards, made by the Indians; but this Captain Douglas pulled to pieces, prior to his sailing for the Sandwich Islands, the same year. The boards he took on board the Iphigenia, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick, which was cut up and used as firewood on board the Columbia; so that, on the arrival of Don Estevan J. Martinez, there was

* Of the whole of this paragraph, all that is said by Vancouver is, "The vessel and cargo were liberated, and Martinez supplied the Iphigenia's wants from the Princesa, enabling her, by so doing, to prosecute her voyage without waiting for the return of Mr. Meares." The extremity of distress to which the Iphigenia was reduced on her arrival at Nootka, the seven hundred sea otter skins, and the other advantages derived by her owners from the supplies furnished by the Spanish commandant, are carefully kept out of sight.

no vestige of any house remaining. As to the land Mr. Meares said he purchased of Maquinna or any other chief, we cannot say further than we never heard of any; although we remained among these people nine months, and could converse with them perfectly well. Besides this, we have asked Maquinna and other chiefs, since our late arrival, if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka Sound; they answered, *No;* that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land.

On the 8th of June, the schooner North-West America arrived, and the next day the Spaniards took possession of her. Don E. J. Martinez had an account taken of the property on board, particularly of the skins, which he said should be given to the officers and seamen, that they might be sure of their wages. On the 16th of June, the sloop Princess Royal arrived from Macao, commanded by Thomas Hudson; this vessel brought accounts of the safe arrival of Captain Meares, and that Captain Colnett was coming on the coast, commodore of the English trading vessels from Macao for the ensuing season, in a snow named the Argonaut. Mr. Hudson likewise brought accounts of the failure of Juan Cravalia & Co., merchants of Macao, before mentioned. What right the commodore had to detain the North-West America before, it is not for us to say; but he always said it was an agreement * between Captain Douglas and himself; but, after the arrival of this vessel with the above news, he held her as security for the bills of exchange drawn on said Cravalia & Co. in favor of his Catholic majesty: this we have heard him say. On the 2d of July, the Princess Royal sailed out of the port, having, to our knowledge, been treated by the commodore and his officers with every possible attention, which Captain Hudson himself seemed conscious of and grateful for. Prior to this vessel's sailing, the commodore gave to Mr. Funter all the skins he brought in in the North-West America, which were shipped on board the sloop Princess Royal by Mr. Funter, for his own account. In the evening of the 2d, a sail was descried from the Spanish fort. We were among the first that went out to meet them. It proved to be the Argonaut, Captain Colnett, before mentioned. The transactions of this vessel were such, that we can give the sense of them in a few words, that may answer every purpose of the particulars, many of which are not immediately to the point, or tending to what we suppose you wish to know.

It seems Captain Meares, with some other Englishmen at Macao, had concluded to erect a fort and settle a colony in Nootka Sound; from what authority we cannot say. However, on the arrival of the Argonaut, we heard Captain Colnett inform the Spanish commodore he had come for that purpose, and to hoist the British flag, take formal possession, &c.:

* The account of the seizure of the North-West America in the letter is thus presented by Vancouver:—

"The North-West America is stated by these gentlemen to have arrived on the 8th of June, and that, on the following day, the Spaniards took possession of her. Ten days afterwards came the Princess Royal, commanded by Mr. Hudson, from Macao, who brought the news of the failure of the merchant at Macao, to whom the Iphigenia and other vessels belonged; that Martinez assigned this as a reason for his capturing the North-West America, (although she was seized before the arrival of the Princess Royal;) that he had detained her as an indemnification for the bills of exchange drawn on her owner in favor of his Catholic majesty."

The parenthesis is here inserted obviously with the intention of creating the impression that Gray and Ingraham had committed a falsehood or inconsistency in their evidence; although this idea is specially contradicted in the letter.

to which the commodore answered, he had taken possession already in the name of his Catholic majesty; on which Captain Colnett asked if he would be prevented from building a house in the port. The commodore, mistaking his meaning, answered him, he was at liberty to erect a tent, get wood and water, &c., after which he was at liberty to depart when he pleased; but Captain Colnett said that was not what he wanted, but to build a block house, erect a fort, and settle a colony, for the crown of Great Britain. Don Estevan José Martinez answered, *No;* that, in doing that, he should violate the orders of his king, run a risk of losing his commission, and not only that, but it would be relinquishing the Spaniards' claim to the coast: besides, Don Martinez observed, the vessels did not belong to the king, nor was he intrusted with powers to transact such public business. On which Captain Colnett answered, he was a king's officer; but Don Estevan replied, his being in the navy was of no consequence in the business. *In conversing on the subject, after the arrival of the vessel in port, it seems Captain Colnett insulted the commodore by threatening him, and drew his sword in the Princesa's cabin; on which Don Martinez ordered the vessel to be seized. We did not see him draw his sword, but were informed of the circumstance by those whose veracity we had no reason to doubt. After seizing the Argonaut, the sloop Princess Royal arrived a second time; and, as she belonged to the same company, the commodore took possession of her also. With respect to the treatment of the prisoners, although we have not perused Mr. Meares's publication, we presume none of them will be backward in confessing that Don E. J. Martinez always treated them very kindly, and all his officers, consistent with the character of gentlemen.

Having acquainted you with the principal part of the business, agreeable to request, one thing remains to answer, which is, of the captain, officers, and seamen, of the North-West America. You ask if we carried them to China. We did, and with them one hundred sea otter skins, the value of which, we judge, independent of freight, was four thousand eight hundred and seventy-five dollars; these were delivered to Mr. Meares, and were, we suppose, his property. We sincerely hope, sir, when things are represented with truth, it will rescue our friend Don Estevan J. Martinez from censure; at least, that he may not be deemed an impostor and a pirate, which many, from only hearing one part of the story, supposed he was. As to the treatment of the Americans by Don Estevan, we have ever testified it in terms due to such hospitality, and are happy again to have it in our power to do what we deem justice to his conduct. While speaking of others of your nation, we can never be unmindful of you. Your kind reception and treatment of us has made an impression that will not be easily erased; and we hope you will bear in mind how very sincerely we are, sir, your most humble servants,

ROBERT GRAY,
JOSEPH INGRAHAM.

* Vancouver here writes, — using the first person, as if copying the words of the American captains, — "In conversation afterwards on this subject, as we were informed, (say these gentlemen,) — for we were not present during this transaction, — some dispute arose in the Princesa's cabin; on which Don Martinez ordered the Argonaut to be seized. Soon after this the Princess Royal returned," &c.; the rumor that "*Colnett insulted the commodore by threatening him, and drew his sword in the Princesa's cabin,*" being omitted.

D.

Official Documents relative to the Dispute between Great Britain and Spain in 1790.*

(1.)

Message from the King of Great Britain to Parliament, May 5th, 1790.

George R.

His majesty has received information that two vessels, belonging to his majesty's subjects, and navigated under the British flag, and two others, of which the description is not hitherto sufficiently ascertained, have been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north-western coast of America, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war; that the cargoes of the British vessels have been seized, and that their officers and crews have been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port.

The capture of one of these vessels had before been notified by the ambassador of his Catholic majesty, by order of his court, who, at the same time, desired that measures might be taken for preventing his majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, which were alleged to have been previously occupied and frequented by the subjects of Spain. Complaints were also made of the fisheries carried on by his majesty's subjects in the seas adjoining to the Spanish continent, as being contrary to the rights of the crown of Spain. In consequence of this communication, a demand was immediately made, by his majesty's order, for adequate satisfaction, and for the restitution of the vessel, previous to any other discussion.

By the answer from the court of Spain, it appears that this vessel and her crew had been set at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico; but this is represented to have been done by him on the supposition that nothing but the ignorance of the rights of Spain encouraged the individuals of other nations to come to those coasts for the purpose of making establishments, or carrying on trade, and in conformity to his previous instructions, requiring him to show all possible regard to the British nation.

No satisfaction is made or offered, and a direct claim is asserted by the court of Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coasts, and seas, in that part of the world.

His majesty has now directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on this subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently requires. And, under these circumstances, his majesty, having also received information that considerable armaments are carrying on in the ports of Spain, has judged it indispensably necessary to give orders for making such preparations as may put it in his majesty's power to act with vigor and effect in support of the honor of his crown and the interests of his people. And his

* The following papers, with the exception of the last, are taken from the London Annual Register for 1790. The translations of the Spanish notes are evidently made with little care. See chap. ix. of this History.

majesty recommends it to his faithful Commons, on whose zeal and public spirit he has the most perfect reliance, to enable him to take such measures, and to make such augmentation of his forces, as may be eventually necessary for this purpose.

It is his majesty's earnest wish that the justice of his majesty's demands may insure, from the wisdom and equity of his Catholic majesty, the satisfaction which is so unquestionably due, and that this affair may be terminated in such a manner as to prevent any grounds of misunderstanding in future, and to continue and confirm that harmony and friendship which has so happily subsisted between the two courts, and which his majesty will always endeavor to maintain and improve, by all such means as are consistent with the dignity of his majesty's crown and the essential interests of his subjects.

G. R.

(2.)

Declaration of the King of Spain to all the other Courts of Europe.

ARANJUEZ, *June 4th*, 1790.

THE king, being apprized of the particulars laid before his ministers, on the 16th of May, by Mr. Merry, his Britannic majesty's minister, relative to the unexpected dispute between this court and Great Britain, as to the vessels captured in Port St. Lawrence, or Nootka Sound, on the coast of California, in the South Sea, has commanded the undersigned, his majesty's first secretary of state, to answer to the said minister of England, that he had the honor to make known personally, and in writing, to the said minister, upon the 18th of the same month, that his majesty at no time pretended to any rights in any ports, seas, or places, other than what belongs to his crown by the most solemn treaties, recognized by all nations, and more particularly with Great Britain, by a right founded on particular treaties, the uniform consent of both nations, and by an immemorial, regular, and established possession; that his majesty is ready to enter upon every examination and discussion most likely to terminate the dispute in an amicable way, and is willing to enter into immediate conference with the new ambassador, and, if justice requires it, will certainly disapprove of the conduct, and punish his subjects, if they have gone beyond their powers. This offer and satisfaction will, it is hoped, serve as an example to the court of London to do as much on its part.

As the two courts of London and Madrid have not yet received proper and authenticated accounts and proofs of all that has really passed in these distant latitudes, a contradiction in the development of facts has by this means been occasioned. Even at this moment, the papers and minutes made up by the viceroy of New Spain on this matter are not arrived. Posterior letters, indeed, say that the English vessel, the Argonaut, had not been seized and confiscated till legally condemned, and that the small vessel, called the Princess Royal, which had afterwards arrived, was not seized or confiscated, but that, on the contrary, full restitution was made by the viceroy, and an obligation only taken from the captain to pay the price of the vessel, if she was declared a lawful prize; and on the precise same terms he had liberated a Portuguese vessel belonging to Macao, and two American vessels. These particulars will be more explicitly proved and elucidated on the arrival of the necessary papers.

The first time that our ambassador made a public notification of this matter to the ministry at London, on the 10th of February last, many of the circumstances that are now certain were then doubtful. The rights and immemorial possession of Spain to that coast and ports, as well as several other titles proper to be taken into view in a pacific negotiation, were not quite certain; and, if the court of London had made an amicable return to the complaints made by his majesty relative to those merchants whom Spain regards as usurpers and the violators of treaties, and had showed any desire to terminate the affair by an amicable accommodation, a great deal of unnecessary expense might have been saved. The high and menacing tone and manner in which the answer of the British minister was couched, at a time when no certain information of the particulars had arrived, made the Spanish cabinet entertain some suspicions that it was made not so much for the purpose of the dispute in question, as a pretext to break entirely with our court; for which reason it was thought necessary to take some precautions relative to the subject.

On a late occasion, a complaint was made to the court of Russia, as to some similar points relative to the navigation of the South Sea. A candid answer being returned by that court, the affair was terminated without the least disagreement. Indeed, it may be asserted with truth, that the manner, much more than the substance, has produced the disputes that have taken place on this head with Great Britain.

Nevertheless, the king does deny — what the enemies to peace have industriously circulated — that Spain extends pretensions and rights of sovereignty over the whole of the South Sea as far as China. When the words are made use of, "In the name of the king, his sovereignty, navigation, and exclusive commerce to the continent and islands of the South Sea," it is the manner in which Spain, in speaking of the Indies, has always used these words; that is to say, to the continent, islands, and seas, which belong to his majesty, so far as discoveries have been made and secured to him by treaties and immemorial possession, and uniformly acquiesced in, notwithstanding some infringements by individuals, who have been punished upon knowledge of their offences: and the king sets up no pretensions to any possessions, the right to which he cannot prove by irrefragable titles.

Although Spain may not have establishments or colonies planted upon the coasts or in the ports in dispute, it does not follow that such coast or port does not belong to her. If this rule were to be followed, one nation might establish colonies on the coasts of another nation, in America, Asia, Africa, and Europe, by which means there would be no fixed boundaries — a circumstance evidently absurd.

But, whatever may be the issue of the question of right, upon a mature consideration of the claims of both parties, the result of the question of fact is, that the capture of the English vessels is repaired by the restitution that has been made, and the conduct of the viceroy: for, as to the qualification of such restitution, and whether the prize was lawful or not, that respects the question of right yet to be investigated; that is to say, if it has been agreeably to, or in contradiction to, the treaties relative to the rights and possessions of Spain. Lastly, the king will readily enter into any plan by which future disputes on this subject may be obviated, that no reproach may be upon him as having refused any means of reconciliation, and for the establishment of a solid and permanent peace not

only between Spain and Great Britain, but also between all nations; for the accomplishment of which object, his majesty has made the greatest efforts in all the courts of Europe, which he certainly would not have done if he had any design to involve England and the other European powers in a calamitous and destructive war.

El Conde de Florida Blanca.

(3.)

Memorial of the Court of Spain, presented by Count de Florida Blanca, the Spanish Minister of State, to Mr. Fitzherbert, the British Ambassador at Madrid.

Madrid, *June 13th*, 1790.

By every treaty upon record betwixt Spain and the other nations of Europe, for upwards of two centuries, an exclusive right of property, navigation, and commerce, to the Spanish West Indies, has been uniformly secured to Spain, England having always stood forth in a particular manner in support of such right.

By article 8th of the treaty of Utrecht, (a treaty in which all the European nations may be said to have taken a part,) Spain and England profess to establish it as a fundamental principle of agreement, that the navigation and commerce of the West Indies, under the dominion of Spain, shall remain in the precise situation in which they stood in the reign of his Catholic majesty Charles II., and that that rule shall be inviolably adhered to, and be incapable of infringement.

After this maxim, the two powers stipulated that Spain should never grant liberty or permission to any nation to trade to, or introduce their merchandises into, the Spanish American dominions, nor to sell, cede, or give up, to any other nation its lands, dominions, or territories, or any part thereof. On the contrary, and in order that its territories should be preserved whole and entire, England offers to aid and assist the Spaniards in reestablishing the limits of their American dominions, and placing them in the exact situation they stood in at the time of his said Catholic majesty Charles II., if, by accident, it shall be discovered that they have undergone any alteration to the prejudice of Spain, in whatever manner or pretext such alteration may have been brought about.

The vast extent of the Spanish territories, navigation, and dominion, on the continent of America, isles and seas contiguous to the South Sea, are clearly laid down, and authenticated by a variety of documents, laws, and formal acts of possession, in the reign of King Charles II. It is also clearly ascertained, that, notwithstanding the repeated attempts made by adventurers and pirates on the Spanish coasts of the South Sea and adjacent islands, Spain has still preserved her possessions entire, and opposed with success those usurpations, by constantly sending her ships and vessels to take possession of such settlements. By these measures and reiterated acts of possession, Spain has preserved her dominion, which she has extended to the borders of the Russian establishments, in that part of the world.

The viceroys of Peru and New Spain having been informed that these seas had been, for some years past, more frequented than formerly,

that smuggling had increased, that several usurpations prejudicial to Spain and the general tranquillity had been suffered to be made, they gave orders that the western coasts of Spanish America, and islands and seas adjacent, should be more frequently navigated and explored.

They were also informed that several Russian vessels were upon the point of making commercial establishments upon that coast. At the time that Spain demonstrated to Russia the inconveniences attendant upon such encroachments, she entered upon the negotiation with Russia, upon the supposition that the Russian navigators of the Pacific Ocean had no orders to make establishments within the limits of Spanish America, of which the Spaniards were the first possessors, (limits situated within Prince William's Strait,) purposely to avoid all dissensions, and in order to maintain the harmony and amity which Spain wished to preserve.

The court of Russia replied, it had already given orders that its subjects should make no settlements in places belonging to other powers, and that, if those orders had been violated, and any had been made in Spanish America, they desired the king would put a stop to them in a friendly manner. To this pacific language on the part of Russia, Spain observed that she could not be answerable for what her officers might do at that distance, whose general orders and instructions were, not to permit any settlements to be made by other nations on the continent of Spanish America.

Though trespasses had been made by the English on some of the islands of those coasts, which had given rise to similar complaints having been made to the court of London, Spain did not know that the English had endeavored to make any settlements on the northern part of the Southern Ocean, till the commanding officer of a Spanish ship, in the usual tour of the coasts of California, found two American vessels in St. Laurence, or Nootka Harbor, where he was going for provisions and stores. These vessels he permitted to proceed on their voyage, it appearing, from their papers, that they were driven there by distress, and only came in to refit.

He also found there the Iphigenia, from Macao, under Portuguese colors, which had a passport from the governor; and, though he came manifestly with a view to trade there, yet the Spanish admiral, when he saw his instructions, gave him leave to depart, upon his signing an engagement to pay the value of the vessel, should the government of Mexico declare it a lawful prize.

With this vessel there came a second, which the admiral detained, and, a few days after, a third, named the Argonaut, from the abovementioned place. The captain of this latter was an Englishman. He came not only to trade, but brought every thing with him proper to form a settlement there, and to fortify it. This, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish admiral, he persevered in, and was detained, together with his vessel.

After him came a fourth English vessel, named the Princess Royal, and evidently for the same purposes. She, likewise, was detained, and sent to Port St. Blas, where the pilot of the Argonaut made away with himself.

The viceroy, on being informed of these particulars, gave orders that the captain and the vessels should be released, and that they should have leave to refit, without declaring them a lawful prize; and this he did, on

account of the ignorance of the proprietors, and the friendship which subsisted between the two courts of London and Madrid.

He also gave them leave to return to Macao with their cargo, after capitulating with them in the same manner as with the Portuguese captain, and leaving the affair to be finally determined by the Count de Revillagigedo, his successor, who also gave them their liberty.

As soon as the court of Madrid had received an account of the detention of the first English vessel at Nootka Sound, and before that of the second arrived, it ordered its ambassador at London to make a report thereof to the English minister, which he did on the 10th of February last, and to require that the parties who had planned these expeditions should be punished, in order to deter others from making settlements on territories occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for a number of years.

In the ambassador's memorial, mention was only made of the Spanish admiral that commanded the present armament, having visited Nootka Sound in 1774, though that harbor had been frequently visited, both before and since, with the usual forms of taking possession. These forms were repeated more particularly in the years 1755 and 1779, all along the coasts as far as Prince William's Sound; and it was these acts that gave occasion to the memorial made by the court of Russia, as has been already noticed.

The Spanish ambassador at London did not represent in this memorial at that time, that the right of Spain to these coasts was conformable to ancient boundaries, which had been guarantied by England at the treaty of Utrecht, in the reign of Charles II., deeming it to be unnecessary; as orders had been given, and vessels had actually been seized on those coasts, so far back as 1692.

The answer that the English ministry gave, on the 26th of February, was, that they had not as yet been informed of the facts stated by the ambassador, and that the act of *violence*, mentioned in his memorial, necessarily suspended any discussion of the claims therein, till an adequate atonement had been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain.

In addition to this haughty language of the British minister, he further added, that the ship must in the first place be restored; and that, with respect to any future stipulations, it would be necessary to wait for a more full detail of all the circumstances of this affair.

The harsh and laconic style in which this answer was given, made the court of Madrid suspect that the king of Great Britain's ministers were forming other plans; and they were the more induced to think so, as there were reports that they were going to fit out two fleets, one for the Mediterranean and the other for the Baltic. This, of course, obliged Spain to increase the small squadron she was getting ready to exercise her marine.

The court of Spain then ordered her ambassador at London to present a memorial to the British ministry, setting forth that, though the crown of Spain had an indubitable right to the continent, islands, harbors, and coasts, of that part of the world, founded on treaties and immemorial possession, yet, as the viceroy of Mexico had released the vessels that were detained, the king looked upon the affair as concluded, without entering into any disputes or discussions on the undoubted rights of Spain; and, desiring to give a proof of his friendship for Great Britain, he should rest satisfied if she ordered that her subjects, in future, respected those rights.

As if Spain, in this answer, had laid claim to the empire of that ocean, though she only spoke of what belonged to her by treaties, and as if it had been so grievous an offence to terminate this affair by restitution of the only vessel which was then known to have been taken, it excited such clamor and agitation in the Parliament of England, that the most vigorous preparations for war have been commenced; and those powers disinclined to peace charge Spain with designs contrary to her known principles of honor and probity, as well as to the tranquillity of Europe, which the Spanish monarch and his ministers have always had in view.

While England was employed in making the greatest armaments and preparations, that court made answer to the Spanish ambassador, (upon the 5th of May,) that the acts of violence committed against the British flag "rendered it necessary for the sovereign to charge his minister at Madrid to renew the remonstrances, (being the answer of England already mentioned,) and to require that satisfaction which his majesty thought he had an indisputable right to demand."

To this was added a declaration not to enter formally into the matter until a satisfactory answer was obtained; "and at the same time the memorial of Spain should not include in it the question of right;" which formed a most essential part of the discussion.

The British administration offer, in the same answer, to take the most effectual and pacific measures, that the English subjects shall not act "against the just and acknowledged rights of Spain, but that they cannot at present accede to the pretensions of absolute sovereignty, commerce, and navigation, which appeared to be the principal object of the memorials of the ambassador; and that the king of England considers it as a duty incumbent upon him to protect his subjects in the enjoyment of the right of continuing their fishery in the Pacific Ocean."

If this pretension is found to trespass upon the ancient boundaries laid down in the reign of King Charles II., and guarantied by England in the treaty of Utrecht, as Spain believes, it appears that that court will have good reason for disputing and opposing this claim; and it is to be hoped that the equity of the British administration will suspend and restrict it accordingly.

In consequence of the foregoing answer, the *chargé d'affaires* from the court of London at Madrid insisted, in a memorial of the 16th of May, on restitution of the vessel detained at Nootka, and the property therein contained; on an indemnification for the losses sustained, and on a reparation proportioned to the injury done to the English subjects trading under the British flag, and that they have an indisputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce, and fishery; and to the possession of such establishments as they should form with the consent of the natives of the country, not previously occupied by any of the European nations.

An explicit and prompt answer was desired upon this head, in such terms as might tend to calm the anxieties, and to maintain the friendship, subsisting between the two courts.

The *chargé d'affaires* having observed that a suspension of the Spanish armaments would contribute to tranquillity, upon the terms to be communicated by the British administration, an answer was made by the Spanish administration, that the king was sincerely inclined to disarm upon the principles of reciprocity, and proportioned to the circumstances

of the two courts; adding that the court of Spain was actuated by the most pacific intentions, and a desire to give every satisfaction and indemnification, if justice was not on their side, provided England did as much if she was found to be in the wrong.

This answer must convince all the courts of Europe that the conduct of the king and his administration is consonant to the invariable principles of justice, truth, and peace.

El Conde de Florida Blanca.

(4.)

Letter from Count de Fernan Nuñez, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, to M. de Montmorin, the Secretary of the Foreign Department of France.

Paris, *June* 16*th*, 1790.

Sir,

I have the honor to address you, with this, a faithful extract of all the transactions which have hitherto passed between my court and that of London, on the subject of the detention of two English vessels, which were seized in the Bay of St. Lawrence, or Nootka, situated in the 50th degree to the north of California, and which were afterwards taken to the port of St. Blas.

You will observe by this relation,

1. That, by the treaties, demarkations, takings of possession, and the most decided acts of sovereignty exercised by the Spaniards in these stations, from the reign of Charles II., and authorized by that monarch in 1692, the original vouchers for which shall be brought forward in the course of the negotiation, all the coast to the north of the Western America, on the side of the South Sea, as far as beyond what is called Prince William's Sound, which is in the 61st degree, is acknowledged to belong exclusively to Spain.

2. That the court of Russia, having been informed of this extent of our boundary, assured the king, my master, without the least delay, of the purity of its intentions in this respect, and added, "That it was extremely sorry that the repeated orders issued to prevent the subjects of Russia from violating, in the smallest degree, the territory belonging to another power, should have been disobeyed."

3. That the state of the possessions and exclusive commerce on the sea-coast of the Southern Ocean, as it existed in the time of Charles II., had been acknowledged and defined anew by all the nations of Europe, and more particularly by England, in the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht.

4. That, notwithstanding the just title he has to a preservation of his ancient rights, the king, my master, has approved of the conduct of the viceroy of Mexico, who, in consequence of his general orders and instructions for the preservation of peace with every power, took upon himself to release the vessels seized in the port of Nootka, upon a supposition that the conduct of their captains was a consequence of their total ignorance with respect to the legitimacy of the rights of Spain on those coasts.

It is in consequence of the desire of his Catholic majesty to preserve peace to himself, and to establish the general tranquillity of Europe,

that he has taken the steps you will observe in the said extract, and that he has commenced an amicable and direct negotiation with England, which he will finish with Mr. Fitzherbert, the new ambassador sent from that court to the court of Madrid. We are in hopes that the consequences of this negotiation will be favorable; but, at the same time, we must employ all the necessary means to make it so.

An immediate and exact accomplishment of the treaty signed at Paris, the 15th of August, 1761, under the title of the Family Compact, becomes an indispensable preliminary to a successful negotiation. It is in consequence of the absolute necessity which Spain finds of having recourse to the succor of France, that the king, my master, orders me to demand expressly what France can do in the present circumstances to assist Spain, according to the mutual engagements stipulated by the treaties. His Catholic majesty desires that the armaments, as well as other proper measures to fulfil and realize these sacred engagements, be immediately put in execution. He charges me to add further, that the present state of this unforeseen business requires a very speedy determination, and that the measures which the court of France shall take for his assistance, shall be so active, so clear, and so positive, as to prevent even the smallest ground for suspicion. Otherwise his most Christian majesty must not be surprised that Spain should seek other friends and different allies among all the powers of Europe, without excepting any one, upon whose assistance she can rely in case of need. The ties of blood and personal friendship which unite our two sovereigns, and particularly the reciprocal interest which exists between two nations united by nature, shall be respected in all new arrangements, as far as circumstances will permit.

This, sir, is the positive demand which I am obliged to make, and in consequence of which I hope his most Christian majesty will immediately take such measures as shall seem most suitable, in the present circumstances, to satisfy my master, in an object so interesting and important to the preservation of his legal rights, and the honor of his nation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

El Conde de Fernan Nuñez.

(5.)

Letter from Mr. Fitzherbert to Count de Florida Blanca.

Madrid, [probably,] *June 16th*, 1790.

Sir,

In compliance with your excellency's desire, I have now the honor to communicate to you, in writing, what I observed to you in the conversation we had the day before yesterday.

The substance of these observations are briefly these: —

The court of London is animated with the most sincere desire of terminating the difference that at present subsists between it and the court of Madrid, relative to the port of Nootka, and the adjacent latitudes, by a friendly negotiation; but as it is evident, upon the clearest principles of justice and reason, that an equal negotiation cannot be opened till matters are put in their original state, and as certain acts have been committed in the latitudes in question by vessels belonging to the

royal marine of Spain, against several British vessels, without any reprisals having been made, of any sort, on the part of Britain, that power is perfectly in the right to insist, as a preliminary condition, upon a prompt and suitable reparation for these acts of violence; and in consequence of this principle, the practice of nations has limited such right of reparation to three articles, viz., the restitution of the vessels — a full indemnification for the losses sustained by the parties injured — and, finally, satisfaction to the sovereign for the insult offered to his flag. So that it is evident that the actual demands of my court, far from containing any thing to prejudice the rights or the dignity of his Catholic majesty, amount to no more, in fact, than what is constantly done by Great Britain herself, as well as every other maritime power, in similar circumstances. — Finally, as to the nature of the satisfaction which the court of London exacts on this occasion, and on which your excellency appears to desire some explanation, I am authorized, sir, to assure you, that if his Catholic majesty consents to make a declaration in his name, bearing in substance that he had determined to offer to his Britannic majesty a just and suitable satisfaction for the insult offered to his flag, — such offer, joined to a promise of making restitution of the vessels captured, and to indemnify the proprietors, under the conditions specified in the official letter of Mr. Merry on the 16th of May, will be regarded by his Britannic majesty as constituting in itself the satisfaction demanded; and his said majesty will accept of it as such by a counter-declaration on his part. I have to add, that as it appears uncertain if the vessels the North-West, an American vessel, and the Iphigenia, had truly a right to enjoy the protection of the British flag, the king will with pleasure consent that an examination of this question, as well as that relative to the just amount of the losses sustained by his subjects, may be left to the determination of commissioners to be named by the two courts.

Having thus recapitulated to your excellency the heads of what I observed to you in conversation, I flatter myself you will weigh the whole in your mind, with that spirit of equity and moderation which characterizes you, that I may be in a condition of sending to my court, as soon as possible, a satisfactory answer as to the point contained in the official paper sent to Mr. Merry, on the 4th of the month, and which, for the reasons I have mentioned, cannot be regarded by his Britannic majesty as fulfilling his just expectations.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

(6.)

Letter from Count de Florida Blanca to Mr. Fitzherbert.

MADRID, *June* 18*th*, 1790.

You will pardon me, sir, that I cannot give my assent to the principles laid down in your last letter; as Spain maintains, on the most solid grounds, that the detention of the vessels was made in a port, upon a coast, or in a bay, of Spanish America, the commerce and navigation of which belonged exclusively to Spain, by treaties with all nations, even England herself.

The principles laid down cannot be adapted to the case. The vessels detained attempted to make an establishment at a port where they found a nation actually settled, the Spanish commander at Nootka having, previous to their detention, made the most amicable representations to the aggressors to desist from their purpose.

Your excellency will also permit me to lay before you, that it is not at all certain that the vessels detained navigated under the British flag, although they were English vessels; there having been reason to believe that they navigated under the protection of Portuguese passports, furnished them by the governor of Macao as commercial vessels, and not belonging to the royal marine. Your excellency will add to these reasons, that, by the restitution of these vessels, their furniture and cargoes, or their value, in consequence of the resolution adopted by the viceroy of Mexico, which has been approved of by the king, for the sake of peace, every thing is placed in its original state, the object your excellency aims at — nothing remaining unsettled but the indemnification of losses, and satisfaction for the insult, which shall also be regulated when evidence shall be given what insult has been committed, which hitherto has not been sufficiently explained.

However, that a quarrel may not arise about words, and that two nations friendly to each other may not be exposed to the calamities of war, I have to inform you, sir, by order of the king, that his majesty consents to make the declaration which your excellency proposes in your letter, and will offer to his Britannic majesty a just and suitable satisfaction for the insult offered to the honor of his flag, provided that to these are added either of the following explanations:

1. That, in offering such satisfaction, the insult and the satisfaction shall be fully settled, both in form and substance, by a judgment to be pronounced by one of the kings of Europe, whom the king, my master, leaves wholly to the choice of his Britannic majesty; for it is sufficient to the Spanish monarch that a crowned head, from full information of the facts, shall decide as he thinks just.

2. That, in offering a just and suitable satisfaction, care shall be taken that, in the progress of the negotiation to be opened, no facts be admitted as true but such as can be fully established by Great Britain with regard to the insult offered to her flag.

3. That the said satisfaction shall be given on condition that no inference be drawn therefrom to affect the rights of Spain, nor of the right of exacting from Great Britain an equivalent satisfaction, if it shall be found, in the course of negotiation, that the king has a right to demand satisfaction, for the aggression and usurpation made on the Spanish territory, contrary to subsisting treaties.

Your excellency will be pleased to make choice of either of these three explanations to the declaration your excellency proposes, or all the three together, and to point out any difficulty that occurs to you, that it may be obviated; or any other mode that may tend to promote the peace which we desire to establish.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

El Conde de Florida Blanca.

(7.)

Spanish Declaration, and British Counter-Declaration, exchanged at Madrid on the 24th of July, 1790.

DECLARATION.

His Britannic majesty having complained of the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects in the port of Nootka, situated on the north-west coast of America, by an officer in the service of the king, — the undersigned counsellor and principal secretary of state to his majesty, being thereto duly authorized, declares, in the name and by the order of his said majesty, that he is willing to give satisfaction to his Britannic majesty for the injury of which he has complained, fully persuaded that his said Britannic majesty would act in the same manner towards the king, under similar circumstances; and his majesty further engages to make full restitution of all the British vessels which were captured at Nootka, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels, for the losses which they shall have sustained, as soon as the amount thereof shall have been ascertained.

It being understood that this declaration is not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which his majesty may claim to form an exclusive establishment at the port of Nootka.

In witness whereof, I have signed this declaration, and sealed it with the seal of my arms. At Madrid, the 24th of July, 1790.

(L. S.) Signed,

Le Comte de Florida Blanca.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

His Catholic majesty having declared that he was willing to give satisfaction for the injury done to the king, by the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects, in the bay of Nootka, and the Count de Florida Blanca having signed, in the name and by the order of his Catholic majesty, a declaration to this effect, and by which his said majesty likewise engages to make full restitution of the vessels so captured, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels for the losses they shall have sustained, — the undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his majesty to the Catholic king, being thereto duly and expressly authorized, accepts the said declaration in the name of the king, and declares that his majesty will consider this declaration, together with the performance of the engagements contained therein, as a full and entire satisfaction for the injury of which his majesty has complained.

The undersigned declares, at the same time, that it is to be understood, that neither the said declaration signed by Count Florida Blanca, nor the acceptance thereof by the undersigned, in the name of the king, is to preclude or prejudice, in any respect, the right which his majesty may claim to any establishment which his subjects may have formed, or should be desirous of forming in future, at the said bay of Nootka.

In witness whereof, I have signed this counter-declaration, and sealed it with the seal of my arms. At Madrid, the 24th of July, 1790.

(L. S.) Signed,

Alleyne Fitzherbert.

(8.)

Decree of the National Convention of France, on the Subject of the Application of the King of Spain for Aid in resisting the Demands of Great Britain. Paris, August 6th, 1790.

The National Assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the king, contained in the letter of the minister, dated the 1st of August,

Decree, that the king be supplicated to make known to his Catholic majesty, that the French nation, in taking all proper measures to maintain peace, will observe the defensive and commercial engagements which the French government have previously contracted with Spain.

They further decree that his majesty shall be requested immediately to charge his ambassador in Spain to negotiate with the minister of his Catholic majesty to the effect of perpetuating and renewing, by a national treaty, the ties so useful to the two nations, and to fix with precision and clearness every stipulation which shall be strictly conformable to the views of general peace, and to the principles of justice, which will be forever the policy of the French.

The National Assembly further taking into consideration the armaments of the different nations of Europe, their progressive increase, and the safety of the French colonies and commerce, decree, that the king shall be prayed to give orders that the French marine force in commission shall be increased to forty-five ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates and other vessels.

E.

Documents relative to the Discovery of the Columbia River by the Spaniards and the Americans.

(1.)

Extract from the Report of Captain Bruno Heceta, commanding the Spanish Corvette Santiago, in a Voyage along the North-West Coast of America, in 1775, *containing the Particulars of his Discovery of the Mouth of the Great River, since called the Columbia.**

ORIGINAL.

El dia diez y siete, [de agosto, 1775,] recorri la costa, hasta el grado cuarenta y seis; y vi que desde la latitud de cuarenta y siete grados y

* From the original Report, preserved in the Hydrographical Office at Madrid, copied under the supervision of Don Martin Fernandes de Navarate, the chief of that department, whose certificate in proof of its authenticity is appended to the copy. — See p. 120 of this History.

cuarenta minutos, hasta la de cuarenta y seis grados cuarenta minutos, corria al angulo de diez y ocho, en el segundo cuadrante; y desde esta graduacion, hasta la de cuarenta y seis, y cuatro, al angulo de doce del mismo cuadrante, y con la misma sonda, playa y frondosidad, y algunos islotes, que la de los dias anteriores.

La tarde de este dia, descubrí una grande bahia, que la nombré de la Asuncion; cuya figura representa el plano que va inserto en este diario; su latitud y amplitud esta sujeta á las demarcaciones mas exactas que ofrece la theorica y practica de esta carrera.

Las latitudes de los cabos mas salientes de dicha bahia, particularmente la del Norte, está calculada por la observacion de aquel dia.

Habiendola llegado á flanquear á las seis de la tarde, y cuasi situada la fragata entre los dos Cabos, sondé en veinte y cuatro brazas, y eran tan rapidos los remolinos de las corrientes, que no obstante haber esforzado de vela, fué trabajoso el salir ó seperarse del Cabo de mas al Norte, que es hacia la parte donde mas se inclinaba la corriente, que tambien tenia su direccion al este, y con el dependia del flujo de la marea.

Estas corrientes y hervidero de aguas me han hecho créer sea desembocadura de algun gran rio ó paso para algun otro mar.

Si la latitud en que se situó la bahia no tubiera la constante prueba de la observacion de aquel dia creeria sin dificultad era este el paso descubierto el ano de 1592 por Juan de Fuca, que lo situan las cartas entre los grados de cuarenta y ocho grados y cuarenta y siete de latitud, donde no me queda duda, no se halla este estrecho, por haber estado fondeado el dia catorce de Julio, en el centro de estas latitudes, y registrado varias veces todas aquellas inmediaciones.

No obstante la mucha diferencia de la situacion de esta bahia, y el paso que citá de Fuca, se mi hace poco dificultoso el dudar, si es uno mismo; porque he observado, hay igual variedad ó mayor, en las latitudes de otros cabos y puertos de esta costa, como los citaré á su tiempo; y en todos, es mayor la latitud en que los fijan, que la que tiene sus verdaderas situaciones.

El no haber entrado y fondeado en el puerto, que parece forma la que en el plano supongo isla, no obstante los vivos deseos que me asisten, fué porque, habiendo tomado parecer del segundo Capitan y practico Don Juan Perez, y piloto Don Christoval Revilla, insistieron en que no debia executar, porque, de dejar caer el ancla, no teniamos gente con que zarparla, y atender á la faena, que de esto resulta. Hecho cargo yo, de estas razones, y que para hacer rumbo al fondeadero, me era preciso hechar la lancha al agua (unica embarcacion menor que tenia) esquifarla con catorce individuos de la tripulacion, lo menos, y que sin estos no podia empeñarme, notando al mismo tiempo, era tarde, resolví virar para fuera; y hallandome á la distancia de tres ó cuatro leguas, hice capa. Experimenté esta noche vivas corrientes al S. O. que me imposibilitaron intentar recalar en esta bahia, la mañana del dia siguiente, por estar muy sotavento.

Tambien estas me hicieron consentir, en que en el reflujo, salia de aquella bahia, mucha cantidad de aguas.

Los dos Cabos que cito en el plano, de *San Roque* y del *Frondoso* corren al angulo de diez grados del tercer cuadrante; ambos son escarpados de tierra colorada con poca elevacion.

El dia dies y ocho, demarqué el *Cabo Frondoso* que cito, con otro que

le pusé por nombre de *Falcon*, situado en la latitud de cuarenta y cinco grados cuarenta y tres minutos; y corria al angulo de veinte y dos grados del tercer cuadrante; y desde este cabo sigue la costa, al angulo de cinco grados, del segundo cuadrante.

Esta es de tierra montuosa, no muy elevada, ni tan poblada de arboleda, como la que induce los grados desde la latitud de cuarenta y ocho, treinta, hasta los cuarenta y seis.

En la sonda, encontré notable diferencia; pues á distancia de siete leguas, sondé en ochenta y cuatro brazas, y acercandome á la costa, no halle algunas veces sonda; lo que me ha hecho créer, hay algunos placeres ó bancos de arena, sobre estas costas, pues tambien el color de las aguas lo denota asi. En algunas partes, acaba la costa en playa, y en otros acantilada.

Una montaña plana, que la llamé de *Mesa*, hará que qualquier navegante se haga capaz de la situacion del *Cabo Falcon*, aunque no haya tenido observacion; por que está en la latitud de cuarenta y cinco veinte y ocho minutos, y se deja ver de lejos por ser medianamente alta.

TRANSLATION.

On the 17th [of August, 1775] I sailed along the coast to the 46th degree, and observed that, from the latitude of 47 degrees 4 minutes to that of 46 degrees 40 minutes, it runs in the angle of 18 degrees of the second quadrant,* and from that latitude to 46 degrees 4 minutes, in the angle of 12 degrees of the same quadrant; the soundings, the shore, the wooded character of the country, and the little islands, being the same as on the preceding days.

In the evening of this day, I discovered a large bay, to which I gave the name of *Assumption Bay*, and of which a plan will be found in this journal. Its latitude and longitude are determined according to the most exact means afforded by theory and practice.

The latitudes of the two most prominent capes of this bay, especially of the northern one, are calculated from the observations of this day.†

Having arrived opposite this bay at six in the evening, and placed the ship nearly midway between the two capes, I sounded, and found bottom in twenty-four *brazas*;‡ the currents and eddies were so strong that, notwithstanding a press of sail, it was difficult to get out clear of the northern cape, towards which the current ran, though its direction was eastward, in consequence of the tide being at flood.

These currents and eddies of the water caused me to believe that the place is the mouth of some great river, or of some passage to another sea.

* The card of the Spanish compass was formerly divided into four quadrants, on which the points were counted by degrees.

† In the table accompanying the report, the position of the vessel is given on the 17th of August, as in latitude of 46 degrees 17 minutes, which is within one minute of the latitude of Cape Disappointment, (the *Cape San Roque* of Heceta,) the northern point, at the entrance of the Columbia; the longitude is made 15 degrees 38 minutes west of Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of California, which is about a degree and a half too far west, yet remarkably near the truth, considering that the Spanish navigator was obliged to depend entirely on the dead reckoning for his longitudes.

‡ The Spanish *braza*, or fathom, contains six Spanish feet, nearly equal to five feet nine inches English.

Had I not been certain of the latitude of this bay, from my observations of the same day, I might easily have believed it to be the passage discovered by Juan de Fuca, in 1592, which is placed on the charts between the 47th and the 48th degrees; where I am certain that no such strait exists; because I anchored on the 14th of July midway between these two latitudes, and carefully examined every thing around.

Notwithstanding the great difference between the position of this bay and the passage mentioned by De Fuca, I have little difficulty in conceiving that they may be the same, having observed equal or greater differences in the latitudes of other capes and ports on this coast, as I shall show at its proper time; and in all cases the latitudes thus assigned are higher than the real ones.

I did not enter and anchor in this port, which in my plan I suppose to be formed by an island, notwithstanding my strong desire to do so; because, having consulted the second captain, Don Juan Perez, and the pilot, Don Christoval Revilla, they insisted that I ought not to attempt it, as, if we let go the anchor, we should not have men enough to get it up, and to attend to the other operations which would be thereby rendered necessary. Considering this, and also that, in order to reach the anchorage, I should be obliged to lower my long-boat, (the only boat that I had,) and to man it with at least fourteen of the crew, as I could not manage with fewer, and also that it was then late in the day, I resolved to put out; and at the distance of three or four leagues I lay to. In the course of that night, I experienced heavy currents to the south-west, which made it impossible for me to enter the bay on the following morning, as I was far to leeward.

These currents, however, convinced me that a great quantity of water rushed from this bay on the ebb of the tide.

The two capes which I name in my plan *Cape San Roque* * and *Cape Frondoso*,† lie in the angle of ten degrees of the third quadrant. They are both faced with red earth, and are of little elevation.

On the 18th, I observed *Cape Frondoso*, with another cape, to which I gave the name of *Cape Falcon*,‡ situated in the latitude of 45 degrees 43 minutes, and they lay at the angle of 22 degrees of the third quadrant, and from the last-mentioned cape I traced the coast running in the angle of five degrees of the second quadrant.

This land is mountainous, but not very high, nor so well wooded as that lying between the latitudes of 48 degrees 30 minutes, and 46 degrees.

On sounding, I found great differences: at the distance of 7 leagues, I got bottom at 84 *brazas*; and nearer the coast, I sometimes found no bottom; from which I am inclined to believe that there are reefs or shoals on these coasts, which is also shown by the color of the water. In some places, the coast presents a beach, in others it is rocky.

A flat-topped mountain, which I named *The Table*,§ will enable any navigator to know the position of *Cape Falcon* without observing it; as it is in the latitude of 45 degrees 28 minutes, and may be seen at a great distance, being somewhat elevated.

* Cape Disappointment.
† Cape Adams.
‡ Cape Lookout.
§ Charke's Point of View.

(2.)

Extract from the Second Volume of the Log-Book of the Ship Columbia, of Boston, commanded by Robert Gray, containing the Account of her Entrance into the Columbia River, in May, 1792.*

May 7th, 1792, A. M. — Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-boat, and went in search of an anchoring-place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather current. At one, P. M., the boat returned, having found no place where the ship could anchor with safety; made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw, from our mast-head, a passage in between the sand-bars. At half past three, bore away, and ran in north-east by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At five, P. M., came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude observed this day was 46 degrees 58 minutes north.

May 10th. — Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives alongside; at noon, all the canoes left us. At one, P. M., began to unmoor, took up the best bower-anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half past four, (being high water,) hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.

May 11th. — At half past seven, we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore. At eight, P. M., the entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-south-east half east, and the northern north-north-west; sent up the main-top-gallant-yard and set all sail. At four, A. M., saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-south-east, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At eight, A. M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the Harbor, bore away, and run in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At one, P. M., came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore west-south-west, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles' distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water-casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

May 12th. — Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the

* This extract was made in 1816, by Mr. Bulfinch, of Boston, one of the owners of the Columbia, from the second volume of the log-book, which was then in the possession of Captain Gray's heirs, but has since disappeared. It has been frequently published in newspapers and reports to Congress, accompanied by the affidavit of Mr. Bulfinch to its exactness. — See p. 236 of the History.

best bower-anchor, and veered out on both cables; sent down the main-top-gallant-yard; filled up all the water-casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales, and rainy, dirty weather.

May 13*th.* — Fresh winds and rainy weather; many natives alongside; hove up the best bower-anchor; seamen and tradesmen at their various departments.

May 14*th.* — Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon, weighed and came to sail, standing up the river north-east by east; we found the channel very narrow. At four, P. M., we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom. At half past four, the ship took ground, but she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedge and hawser. The jolly-boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable any farther up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends, with rainy weather; many natives alongside.

May 15*th.* — Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from different tribes came alongside. At ten, A. M., unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring-place; smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

May 16*th.* — Light airs and cloudy. At four, A. M., hove up the anchor and towed down about three miles, with the last of the ebb-tide; came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly-boat sounding the channel. At ten, A. M., a fresh breeze came up river. With the first of the ebb-tide we got under way, and beat down river. At one, (from its being very squally,) we came to, about two miles from the village, (*Chinouk,*) which bore west-south-west; many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.

May 17*th.* — Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside; calkers calking the pinnace; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smiths and carpenters at their departments.

May 18*th.* — Pleasant weather. At four in the morning, began to heave ahead; at half past, came to sail, standing down river with the ebb-tide; at seven, (being slack water and the wind fluttering,) we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore south-west by west, distant three miles. The north point of the harbor bore north-west, distant two miles; the south bore south-east, distant three and a half miles. At nine, a breeze sprung up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again; came to with the kedge and hawser; veered out fifty fathoms. Noon, pleasant. Latitude observed, 46 degrees 17 minutes north. At one, came to sail with the first of the ebb-tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship, and stood into the river again. At four, came to in six fathoms; good holding-ground about six or seven miles up; many canoes alongside.

May 19*th.* — Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments. Captain Gray gave this river the name of *Columbia's*

River, and the north side of the entrance *Cape Hancock*, the south, *Adams's Point*.

May 20th. — Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At one, P. M., (being full sea,) took up the anchor, and made sail, standing down river. At two, the wind left us, we being on the bar with a very strong tide, which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide; so we were obliged to bring up in three and a half fathoms, the tide running five knots. At three quarters past two, a fresh wind came in from seaward; we immediately came to sail, and beat over the bar, having from five to seven fathoms water in the channel. At five, P. M., we were out, clear of all the bars, and in twenty fathoms water. A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to the best advantage. At eight, Cape Hancock bore south-east, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north by west. At nine, in steering and top-gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

May 21st. — At six, A. M., the nearest land in sight bore east-south-east, distant eight leagues. At seven, set top-gallant-sails and light stay-sails. At eleven, set steering-sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant, agreeable weather. The entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore south-east by east half east, distant five leagues.

F.

Showing that the Forty-ninth Parallel of Latitude was not selected as the Line of Separation between the French and the British Territories in North America, by Commissaries appointed agreeably to the Treaty of Utrecht.*

Mr. Monroe, minister plenipotentiary of the United States in London, in his letter of September 5th, 1804, to Lord Harrowby, the British secretary for foreign affairs,† makes the following statement with regard to the adoption of the 49th parallel of latitude as the northern boundary of Louisiana: —

"By the tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, it is agreed that 'France shall restore to Great Britain the Bay and Straits of Hudson, together with all the lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places, situate in the said bay and straits, which belong thereto; and it is also agreed, on both sides, to determine, within a year, by commissaries to be forthwith named by each party, the limits which are to be fixed between the said Bay of Hudson and the places appertaining to the French, which limits both the British and French subjects shall be wholly forbid to pass over, or thereby to go to each other, by sea or by land: the same commissioners shall also have orders to describe and settle in like manner the boundaries between the

* See p. 282 of the History.

† Communicated to Congress, and published with President Jefferson's message of March 30th, 1808.

other British and French colonies in those parts.' Commissaries were accordingly appointed by each power, who executed the stipulations of the treaty, in establishing the boundaries proposed by it. They fixed the northern boundary of Canada and Louisiana by a line beginning on the Atlantic, at a cape or promontory in 58 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, thence south-westwardly to the Lake Mistissin, thence farther south-west to the latitude of 49 degrees north from the equator, and along that line indefinitely."

Mr. Monroe does not give his authority for the assertion respecting the adoption of this line by the commissaries; he, however, most probably derived his information from the map of America attached to Postlethwayt's Dictionary of Commerce, published in 1751, to which he alludes in other parts of his correspondence, and in which a line appears nearly as described by him, with a note on the map, saying, "*The line that parts French Canada from British Canada was settled by commissaries, after the peace of Utrecht, making a curve from Davis's Inlet, in the Atlantic Sea, down to the 49th degree, through Lake Abitibis, to the North-West Ocean.*" In the Dictionary to which this map is attached, the limits of these territories are expressly declared *to be undetermined.* The map of North America, by Palairet and Delaroche, published at London in 1765, also gives the same line, without any note as to the manner in which it was adopted. In the map of the British Possessions in America, published by Bowen and Gibson in 1775, and in one or two other inferior maps, the 49th parallel is given as the southern limit of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, from the vicinity of Lake Superior, westward to Red River, down which the boundary is continued to Lake Winnipeg. These are the only authorities, as yet discovered, for the belief that the 49th parallel was adopted as a boundary by commissaries appointed according to the treaty of Utrecht.

On the other hand, Mitchell's great map of America, published in 1755 at London, under the patronage of the colonial department, presents a line drawn around Hudson's Bay, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty miles from its shore, as "*the bounds of Hudson's Bay by the treaty of Utrecht;*" and the same line appears on the map of America accompanying Smollett's History of England, published in 1760, on that of Bennet, published in 1770, on that of Faden, in 1777, and on some other maps of that period.

No line of separation whatsoever, between the Hudson's Bay territories and the French possessions in America, is to be found on the large and beautiful map of America by Henry Popple, published in 1738, also under the patronage of the colonial department, and bearing the stamp of the approbation of Dr. Halley, which is particularly minute in all that relates to the territories in question; or on any of the maps in the atlas of Maxwell and Senex, published in 1721, or in any of those attached to the volume of Boyer's Political State for 1721 — to the History of Hudson's Bay, by Dobbs — to the American Traveller, by Cluny — to the History of the British Empire in America, by Wynne — to Alcedo's Dictionary of America, or on many other maps, of inferior merit, which might be named.

These discrepancies should not excite surprise; for maps, and books of geography, which are most frequently consulted in relation to boundaries, are, or rather have been, the very worst authorities on such subjects;

as they are ordinarily made by persons wholly unacquainted with political affairs. Of this, numerous examples may be cited from works of authors the most highly esteemed as geographers, even at the present day.*

No allusion whatsoever to the settlement of any boundary line between the Hudson's Bay territories and the French dominions, by commissaries appointed agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht, is to be found in any of the following works, which have been carefully examined with reference to this question: viz. — Actes, Mémoires, &c., concernant la Paix d'Utrecht, a voluminous work, published in 1716 — Actes, Negotiations, &c., depuis la Paix d'Utrecht, 1745 — the collections of treaties and state papers by Dumont, Boyer, Martens, Jenkinson, and Herstlet — Collection des Edits, Ordonnances, &c., concernant le Canada — the histories of, and memoirs on, Louisiana, by Dumont, Le Page Dupratz, Vergennes, Marbois, and others — Mémoires des Commissaires Francais et Anglais, sur les Possessions, &c., des deux Couronnes en Amérique, 1754 — the works of Swift and of Bolingbroke — the Parliamentary History of England — and the Histories of England by Tindal, Smollet, Belsham, Mahon, or Wade.

This is strong negative evidence. Anderson, in his elaborate History of Commerce, (vol. iii. p. 267,) thus pointedly denies that any such settlement of limits was effected agreeably to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht: "Though the French king yielded to the queen of Great Britain, to be possessed by her, in full right, forever, the Bay and Straits of Hudson, and all parts thereof, and within the same then possessed by France, yet leaving the boundaries between Hudson's Bay and the north parts of Canada belonging to France to be determined by commissaries within a year, was, in effect, the same thing as giving up the point altogether; it being well known, to all Europe, that France never permits her commissaries to determine matters referred to such, unless it can be done with great advantage to her. Those boundaries, therefore, have never yet been settled, though the British and French subjects are, by that article, expressly debarred from passing over the same, or thereby to go to each other, by sea or land. These commissaries were likewise to settle the boundaries between the other British and French colonies on

* In a large and beautifully-engraved map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, in 1821, "*from the most undoubted authorities*, by ——, *geographer and draughtsman*," the northern boundary of the United States west of the Mississippi is represented by a line drawn westward from the sources of that river, nearly under the latitude of 47 degrees and 40 minutes; the country north of this line being stated to be "*in dispute between Spain and Great Britain.*" Now, three years before this map appeared, the boundary between the United States and the British possessions in that part of America had been fixed by treaty, according to which, the dividing line followed the course of the 49th parallel; and, two years before the date of the map, Spain had also, by treaty, ceded to the United States her rights to all territories in America north of the 42d parallel. These treaties had been published; and it is scarcely credible that they should have been unknown to an American geographer engaged in preparing a map of the United States. Mistakes of the same kind, equally great, are, however, committed in Europe. In the Encyclopædia of Geography, published at Edinburgh, in 1834, by Hugh Murray, and other scientific persons, we find it stated, (p. 1374,) that "the whole region west of the Rocky Mountains, extending between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, *has, by discovery and treaty, been assigned to the United States*;" and a statement to the same effect may be found in the London Quarterly Review for January, 1822. These mistakes evidently arose from ignorance: but the same defence cannot be pleaded in all cases; for maps have been drawn, and engraved, and colored, with a full knowledge of their falsehood, in order to forward the ends of governments or of individuals.

that continent, which, likewise, was never done." The same denial is transferred by Macpherson to his Annals of Commerce.

The only evidence of the appointment of commissaries for the settlement of limits according to the treaty of Utrecht which has been discovered, is contained in a passage in Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, of which the following is a translation: "France took no part in this dispute, [between the British and the Indians of Nova Scotia, in 1722,] in order to avoid giving the slightest pretext for interrupting the good understanding between the two nations, which had been restored with so much difficulty; *even the negotiations between the two courts for the settlement of boundaries ceased, although commissaries had been appointed, on both sides, for that object since* 1719."

G.

Papers relative to the American Establishment of Astoria, on the Columbia River.*

(1.)

Letter from J. J. Astor, of New York, to the Honorable John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States.†

New York, *January 4th*, 1823.

Sir,

I had the honor to receive your letter of the 24th ultimo. Indisposition has prevented my acknowledging the receipt thereof at an earlier period.

You request information of arrangements made, at or about 1814, by the North-West Company and citizens of the United States, by which that company became possessed of a settlement made at the mouth of Columbia River by citizens of the United States. The settlement to which you allude, I presume, is "Astoria," as I know of no other having been made at or near the mouth of that river. Several circumstances are alleged, as having contributed to the arrangement by which the North-West Company became in possession of that settlement, but chiefly to the misuse of the confidence which had been placed in Mr. McDougal, who, at the time the arrangement was made, and at the time my agent, Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, was absent, acted as sub-agent.

I beg leave briefly to state, that, contemplating to make an establishment, at the mouth of Columbia River, which should serve as a place of depot, and give further facilities for conducting a trade across this continent to that river, and from thence, on the range of north-west coast, &c., to Canton, in China, and from thence to the United States, arrangements were accordingly made, in 1810, for a party of men to cross the

* See chap. xiv. of the History.

† Documents accompanying President Monroe's message to Congress of January 27th, 1823.

continent for the Columbia River. At the same time, I fitted out the ship Tonquin, carrying twenty guns and sixty men, commanded by the late Captain Thorn, lieutenant in the United States navy. The ship sailed in September, 1810, having on board the means for making an establishment at Columbia, where she arrived on the 22d of March, 1811. They landed, found the natives friendly, and built a fort, erected a house, store, &c. This being accomplished, Captain Thorn left thirty men in possession of the place, to await the party who were to make the voyage over land; these, also, happily arrived, though not till several months after. On or about the 1st of June, Captain Thorn left Columbia River, with a view to make some trade on the coast, and then to return to the river; but, unfortunately, Thorn never returned. At about two hundred miles north of Columbia, he put in a bay to trade with the natives. Not attending to the precautions necessary, as he had been instructed to do, to guard against an attack, he suffered a whole tribe of Indians to come on board and about his ship. An attack was made; he was overpowered: fire was communicated to the magazine, the ship was blown up, and every soul on board or near her perished.

In 1811, I fitted out another ship, the Beaver, carrying twenty guns, with a duplicate cargo to the ship Tonquin, and sixty or seventy men. The Captain [Sowles] was instructed to sail for the Columbia River, and in search of the men who were sent across the continent, as also of the Tonquin. The Beaver sailed from this in October, 1811, arrived at Columbia in May following, found the establishment, and landed such men, goods, provisions, &c., as the establishment was in need of. My instructions to the captain were, that, after supplying the establishment, he should proceed to Chatka,* a Russian settlement, for the purpose of trade, and then return to Columbia, take what furs we had, and proceed to Canton, and thence to New York. He accordingly left Columbia, (and, most unfortunately, Mr. Hunt, of Trenton, New Jersey, my chief agent, left the river with him,) sailed, as directed, for the Russian settlement, and effected their object; but, instead of following instructions to return to Columbia, he sailed direct for Canton, leaving Mr. Hunt at one of the Sandwich Islands, to await the arrival of another ship, which I had promised to send from this in 1812. The ship Beaver arrived at Canton, and received there the news of the war. I had sent orders to the captain to return to Astoria; but he was fearful of being captured, and remained safely at Canton till the war was over, when he came home. In consequence of the war, I found it inconvenient to send a ship in 1812, but I did send one, the Lark, early in 1813, with directions to the captain to sail for Columbia River, and to stop at the Sandwich Islands for information. Being within a few days' sail of those islands, the ship, in a squall of wind, was upset, and finally drifted on the beach of one of those islands, a wreck, — ship and cargo totally lost. Here was met Mr. Hunt, who, after all the information he received, and my great desire to protect the establishment at Columbia River, procured an American vessel, took some provisions, sailed, and arrived in Columbia River. He there learned that Mr. McDougal had transferred all my property to the North-West Company, who were in possession of it by a sale, as he called it, for the sum of about fifty-eight thousand dollars, of which he retained fourteen

* Sitka, or New Archangel, the chief establishment in Russian America.

thousand dollars, for wages said to be due to some of the men. From the price obtained for the goods, &c., and he having himself become interested in the purchase, and made a partner of the North-West Company, some idea may be formed as to this man's correctness of dealings. It will be seen, by the agreement (that of which I transmit a copy) and the inventory, that he sold to the North-West Company eighteen thousand one hundred and seventy and a quarter pounds of beaver at two dollars, which was at that time selling in Canton at five and six dollars; nine hundred and seven otter skins at fifty cents, or half a dollar, which were selling at Canton at five to six dollars per skin.

I estimated the whole property to be worth nearer two hundred thousand dollars than forty thousand dollars, about the sum I received in bills on Montreal. Previous to the transaction of McDougal, we had already established trading posts in the interior, and were in contact with the North-West Company. It is now to be seen what means have been used by them to counteract my plan. It is well known that, as soon as the North-West Company had information of my intention and plan for conducting my commercial operations, they despatched a party of men from the interior, with a view to arrive before my people at Columbia. These men were obliged to return without effecting their object. In the mean time, representation was made to their government as to the probable effect of my operations on their interest, and requesting to interfere in their behalf. This being in time of peace, the government did not deem it advisable so to do. So soon, however, as war was declared, these representations were renewed, aid was asked from the government, and it was granted. The Phœbe frigate, and sloops of war Raccoon and Porcupine, were sent from England, with orders to proceed to Columbia River, and destroy my property. They sailed from England early in January, 1813. Arriving at Rio Janeiro, Admiral Dickson ordered the Phœbe frigate, with one of the sloops, to pursue Captain Porter in the frigate Essex, and the sloop of war Raccoon, to the Columbia. She arrived there, took possession in the name of the king, and changed the name of the place from Astoria to Fort George. Previous to this, the North-West Company had despatched another or second party of men to the Columbia. They arrived there in the absence of Mr. Hunt; McDougal gave them support and protection, and they commenced, after some time, to negotiate with this gentleman.

The reasons assigned by him for his conduct will be seen by an extract of a letter said to have been sent by a Mr. Shaw, of the North-West Company, and of which I send you a copy. The plan by me adopted was such as must materially have affected the interest of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies, and it was easy to be foreseen that they would employ every means to counteract my operations, and which, as my impression, I stated to the executive of your department as early as February, 1813, as will be seen by a copy of the sketch of a letter which I wrote to the secretary of state, and to which no reply was given. On repeated application, some time after, aid was promised me; but I believe the situation of our country rendered it inconvenient to give it. You will observe that the name of the Pacific Fur Company is made use of at the commencement of the arrangements for this undertaking. I preferred to have it appear as the business of a company, rather than that of an individual; and several of the gentlemen engaged — Mr. Hunt, Mr. Crooks,

Mr. McKay, McDougal, Stuart, &c. — were, in effect, to be interested as partners in the undertaking, so far as respected the profit which might arise: but the means were furnished by me, and the property was solely mine, and I sustained the loss, which, though considerable, I do not regret, because, had it not been for the unfortunate occurrence just stated, I should have been, as I believe, most richly rewarded; as it will be seen that the difference of price in the beaver and otter skins alone, say what I received, and the value of them at Canton at that time, is about sixty thousand dollars. The copy of the agreement, inventory, and extract of Shaw's letter, you will please return to me.

I am, sir, &c.,
JOHN JACOB ASTOR

(2.)

Agreement between the Agents of the Pacific Fur Company and the North-West Company, for the Transfer of the Establishments of the Former, on the Columbia River, to the Latter; concluded on the 16*th of October*, 1813.

THE association heretofore carrying on the fur trade to the Columbia River and its dependencies, under the firm and denomination of the Pacific Fur Company, being dissolved, on the 1st of July last, by Duncan McDougal, Donald McKenzie, David Stuart, and John Clarke, with the intention to abandon the trade in that quarter, it is hereby agreed, concluded, and settled upon, of their own free will and consent, by Duncan McDougal, acting for himself and in behalf of his associates, namely, Donald McKenzie, David Stuart, and John Clarke, on the one part, and John George McTavish and John Stuart, acting for themselves and in behalf of the North-West Company, on the other part, that the following agreement and settlement take place between them, and be binding and obligatory in the manner, and subject to the terms and agreements, hereinafter specified and contained. Now, therefore, it is hereby mutually agreed and concluded, by and between the said parties to these presents, and they do hereby mutually covenant and agree, to and with each other, in manner following, that is to say: —

ARTICLE 1. The party of the former part hereby covenants and agrees to deliver, or cause to be delivered, the whole of the establishments, furs, and present stock in hand, on the Columbia and Thompson's Rivers, as soon as the necessary inventories can be taken, unto the said party of the latter part, or any other person or persons appointed by them to represent the North-West Company, to receive the same at the prices and rates concluded and agreed upon as hereinafter specified, in article fourth.

ART. 2. In consideration of article first being duly and faithfully performed by the party of the former part, they, the said John George McTavish and John Stuart, for themselves and on behalf of the North-West Company, do bind and oblige themselves and the said North-West Company, or their agents, to pay or cause to be paid, unto the said Duncan McDougal, acting for himself and in behalf of his associates, as before mentioned, his attorneys, assigns, or order, the amount of the sums arising from the sale, according to article first, and the rates hereinafter

specified in article fourth, at three several instalments; the first one third on or before the 25th of October, 1814, the second one third on or before the 25th of November, and the remaining one third on or before the 25th of December. And, further, it is hereby understood that, should the party of the former part find it convenient to leave the amount of the several drafts, after becoming payable, as already specified, in the hands of the party of the latter part, or their agents, they, the said party of the latter part, or their agents, will allow interest at six per cent. until paid on demand; and, as there are several moneys, the produce of their wages, due unto the people employed in the service of the late Pacific Fur Company, carrying on trade on the Columbia and Thompson's Rivers, the said party of the latter part, namely, John George McTavish and John Stuart, acting for themselves and the North-West Company, as their agents, do hereby bind and oblige themselves to pay, or cause to be paid, unto the several individuals employed by the party of the former part, the amount of the balances due to them, according to the statement that shall be delivered by the said Duncan McDougal, acting for himself and his associates, as before mentioned, within one month after their arrival at Montreal, in the province of Lower Canada; the amount of which several sums, so paid, is to be considered as part of, and deducted from, the first instalment, to be paid unto the said Duncan McDougal, acting for himself and his associates, as before mentioned, his attorneys, assigns, or order, on or before the 25th of October, 1814.

ART. 3. And, further, the said John George McTavish and John Stuart, acting for themselves and the North-West Company, will be at liberty to make a selection, and take into their service such of the people in the employment of the party of the former part as they may think proper; in consideration of which, the said party of the latter part bind and oblige themselves to pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said party of the former part, the several sums due to them by such as may enter into the service of the party of the latter part: and the said party of the latter part further bind and oblige themselves to provide and insure a safe passage to the said party of the former part, and the remaining part, that will not be taken into their service, to their respective homes.

ART. 4. And, further, it is hereby agreed and concluded upon, by the said parties, that the following are the rates at which the establishments, furs, and stock on hand, be valued at, as follows: dry goods, stationery, gunpowder, and leaf tobacco, fifty per cent. on the prime cost; ship chandlery, sixty per cent.; shot, ball, lead, iron, and steel, one hundred per cent.; deduction on made-up iron works at Columbia River, thirty-three and one third per cent.; new boats, each, ten pounds Halifax currency; boats in use, each, five pounds Halifax currency; shallop, with rigging complete, one hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings; two blacksmith's forges complete, twenty-five pounds; plug tobacco, one shilling and six pence per pound; plug tobacco manufactured at Columbia, one shilling and three pence per pound; beads assorted, five shillings per pound; arms, cannon, &c., prime cost; provisions at fixed prices; articles in use, half inventory prices; horses, thirty shillings each; buildings, two hundred pounds; John Reid's adventure, and Freeman's, in the vicinity of Snake country and Spanish River, to deduct one hundred per cent.; beaver furs, ten shillings per pound; beaver coating, eight shillings and four pence per pound; muskrats, seven pence half-penny each; land

otters, two shillings and six pence each; sea otters, large, sixty shillings each.

And for the faithful performance of all and singular the said covenants and agreements, to be by them respectively kept and performed, all and every of the parties to these presents bind themselves, separately and jointly, for their several associates, firmly by these presents. In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals, this 16th day of October, 1813, at the entrance of Columbia River, north-west coast of America.

DUNCAN MCDOUGAL,
J. G. MCTAVISH,
J. STUART.

Witnesses.

JOHN C. HASLEY, ANGUS BETHUNE,
GABRIEL FRANCHERE, JAMES MCMILLAN,
ALFRED SEATON, JOSEPH MCGILLIVRAY.
WILLIAM WALLACE,

(3.)

Account of the Capture of Astoria by the British Sloop of War Raccoon, Captain Black, in December, 1813. Extracted from "Adventures on the Columbia River, by John Ross Cox."

THE Isaac Todd sailed from London in March, 1813, in company with the Phœbe frigate, and the Cherub and Raccoon sloops of war. They arrived safe at Rio Janeiro, and thence proceeded around Cape Horn to the Pacific, having previously made arrangements to meet at Juan Fernandez. The three men-of-war reached the latter island, after encountering dreadful gales about the cape: they waited there some time for the Isaac Todd; but, as she did not make her appearance, Commodore Hillyer did not deem it prudent to remain any longer inactive. He therefore, in company with the Cherub, proceeded in search of Commodore Porter, who, in the American frigate Essex, was clearing the South Sea of English whalers, and inflicting other injuries of a serious nature on our commerce; he shortly after met the Essex at Valparaiso, and, after a severe contest, captured her.

At the same time, he ordered Captain Black, in the Raccoon, to proceed direct to the Columbia, for the purpose of destroying the American establishments at Astoria. The Raccoon arrived at the Columbia on the 1st of December, 1813. The surprise and disappointment of Captain Black and his officers were extreme, on learning the arrangement that had taken place between the two companies, by which the establishment had become British property. They had calculated on obtaining a splendid prize by the capture of Astoria, the strength and importance of which had been much magnified; and the contracting parties were therefore fortunate in having closed their bargain previous to the arrival of the Raccoon. On looking at the wooden fortifications, Captain Black exclaimed, "*Is this the fort about which I have heard so much? D—n me but I'd batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder.*" Captain Black, however, took possession of Astoria in the name of his Britannic majesty,

and rebaptized it by the name of "*Fort George*." He also insisted on having an inventory taken of the valuable stock of furs, and all other property purchased from the American company, with a view to the adoption of ultèrior proceedings in England for the recovery of the value from the North-West Company; but he subsequently relinquished this idea, and we heard no more about his claims.

The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia knew well that Great Britain and America were distinct nations, and that they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougal and McTavish, the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the Raccoon, which they quickly discovered to be one of "*King George's fighting ships*," they repaired, armed, to the fort, and requested an audience of Mr. McDougal. He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance, and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Comcomly, the principal chief of the Chinooks, (whose daughter McDougal had married,) thereupon addressed him in a long speech, in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors, and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves, and that, as they (the Americans) were the first white men who settled in their country, and treated the Indians like good relations, they had resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods close to the wharf, from whence they would be able, with their guns and arrows, to shoot all the men that should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and rifles. This proposition was uttered with an earnestness of manner that admitted no doubt of its sincerity. Two armed boats from the Raccoon were approaching; and, had the people in the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man in them would have been destroyed by an invisible enemy. Mr. McDougal thanked them for their friendly offer, but added, that, notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him or any of his people, and therefore requested them to throw by their war shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They at first seemed astonished at this answer; but, on assuring them, in the most positive manner, that he was under no apprehensions, they consented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterwards declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. McDougal's wishes; for when they observed Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bottle of Port on the flag-staff, and hoist the British ensign, after changing the name of the fort, they remarked that, however we might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves; and they were not convinced of their mistake until the sloop of war had departed without taking any prisoners.

H.

British Statement annexed to the Protocol of the sixth Conference, held at London, December 16th, 1826, between Messrs. Huskisson and Addington, the British Commissioners, and Mr. Gallatin, the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.*

The government of Great Britain, in proposing to renew, for a further term of years, the third article of the convention of 1818, respecting the territory on the north-west coast of America, west of the Rocky Mountains, regrets that it has been found impossible, in the present negotiation, to agree upon a line of boundary which should separate those parts of that territory, which might henceforward be occupied or settled by the subjects of Great Britain, from the parts which would remain open to occupancy and settlement by the United States.

To establish such a boundary must be the ultimate object of both countries. With this object in contemplation, and from a persuasion that a part of the difficulties which have hitherto prevented its attainment is to be attributed to a misconception, on the part of the United States, of the claims and views of Great Britain in regard to the territory in question, the British plenipotentiaries deem it advisable to bring under the notice of the American plenipotentiary a full and explicit exposition of those claims and views.

As preliminary to this discussion, it is highly desirable to mark distinctly the broad difference between the nature of the rights claimed by Great Britain and those asserted by the United States, in respect to the territory in question.

Over a large portion of that territory, namely, from the 42d degree to the 49th degree of north latitude, the United States claim full and exclusive sovereignty.

Great Britain *claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of that territory*. Her present claim, not in respect to any part, but to the whole, is limited to a right of joint occupancy, in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive dominion in abeyance.

In other words, the pretensions of the United States tend to the ejection of all other nations, and, among the rest, of Great Britain, from all right of settlement in the district claimed by the United States.

The pretensions of Great Britain, on the contrary, tend to the mere maintenance of her own rights, in resistance to the exclusive character of the pretensions of the United States.

Having thus stated the nature of the respective claims of the two parties, the British plenipotentiaries will now examine the grounds on which those claims are founded.

* This statement, published with the documents accompanying President Adams's message to Congress of December 12th, 1827, is here inserted in full, chiefly because reference is frequently made to it in the preceding History, in which its numerous *misstatements* are exposed and refuted. See page 347 of the History, and other pages to which reference is made by note.

The claims of the United States are urged upon three grounds:

1st. As resulting from their own *proper* right.

2dly. As resulting from a right derived to them from Spain; that power having, by the treaty of Florida, concluded with the United States in 1819, ceded to the latter all their rights and claims on the western coast of America north of the 42d degree.

3dly. As resulting from a right derived to them from France, to whom the United States succeeded, by treaty, in possession of the province of Louisiana.

The first right, or right *proper*, of the United States, is founded on the alleged discovery of the Columbia River by Mr. Gray, of Boston, who, in 1792, entered that river, and explored it to some distance from its mouth.

To this are added the first exploration, by Lewis and Clarke, of a main branch of the same river, from its source downwards, and also the alleged priority of settlement, by citizens of the United States, of the country in the vicinity of the same river.

The second right, or right derived from Spain, is founded on the alleged prior discovery of the region in dispute by Spanish navigators, of whom the chief were, 1st, Cabrillo, who, in 1543, visited that coast as far as 44 degrees north latitude; 2d, De Fuca, who, as it is affirmed, in 1598, entered the straits known by his name, in latitude 49 degrees; 3d, Guelli, who, in 1582, is said to have pushed his researches as high as 57 degrees north latitude; 4th, Perez, and others, who, between the years 1774 and 1792, visited Nootka Sound and the adjacent coasts.

The third right, derived from the cession of Louisiana to the United States, is founded on the assumption that that province, its boundaries never having been exactly defined *longitudinally*, may fairly be asserted to extend westward across the Rocky Mountains, to the shore of the Pacific.

Before the merits of these respective claims are considered, it is necessary to observe that one only out of the three can be valid.

They are, in fact, claims obviously incompatible the one with the other. If, for example, the title of Spain by first discovery, or the title of France as the original possessor of Louisiana, be valid, then must one or the other of those kingdoms have been the lawful possessor of that territory, at the moment when the United States claim to have discovered it. If, on the other hand, the Americans were the first discoverers, there is necessarily an end of the Spanish claim; and if priority of discovery constitutes the title, that of France falls equally to the ground.

Upon the question, how far prior discovery constitutes a legal claim to sovereignty, the law of nations is somewhat vague and undefined. It is, however, admitted by the most approved writers that mere accidental discovery, unattended by exploration — by formally taking possession in the name of the discoverer's sovereign — by occupation and settlement, more or less permanent — by purchase of the territory — or receiving the sovereignty from the natives — constitutes the lowest degree of title, and that it is only in proportion as first discovery is followed by any or all of these acts, that such title is strengthened and confirmed.

The rights conferred by discovery, therefore, must be discussed on their own merits.

But before the British plenipotentiaries proceed to compare the relative

claims of Great Britain and the United States, in this respect, it will be advisable to dispose of the two other grounds of right, put forward by the United States.

The second ground of claim, advanced by the United States, is the cession made by Spain to the United States, by the treaty of Florida, in 1819.

If the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Spain, in respect to all that part of the coast of North America, had not been finally adjusted by the convention of Nootka, in the year 1790, and if all the arguments and pretensions, whether resting on priority of discovery, or derived from any other consideration, had not been definitively set at rest by the signature of that convention, nothing would be more easy than to demonstrate that the claims of Great Britain to that country, as opposed to those of Spain, were so far from visionary, or arbitrarily assumed, that they established more than a parity of title to the possession of the country in question, either as against Spain, or any other nation.

Whatever that title may have been, however, either on the part of Great Britain or on the part of Spain, prior to the convention of 1790, it was from thenceforward no longer to be traced in vague narratives of discoveries, several of them admitted to be apocryphal, but in the text and stipulations of that convention itself.

By that convention it was agreed that all parts of the north-western coast of America, not already occupied at that time by either of the contracting parties, should thenceforward be equally open to the subjects of both, for all purposes of commerce and settlement; the sovereignty remaining in abeyance.

In this stipulation, as it has been already stated, all tracts of country claimed by Spain and Great Britain, or accruing to either, in whatever manner, were included.

The rights of Spain on that coast were, by the treaty of Florida, in 1819, conveyed by Spain to the United States. With those rights the United States necessarily succeeded to the limitations by which they were defined, and the obligations under which they were to be exercised. From those obligations and limitations, as contracted towards Great Britain, Great Britain cannot be expected gratuitously to release those countries, merely because the rights of the party originally bound have been transferred to a third power.

The third ground of claim of the United States rests on the right supposed to be derived from the cession to them of Louisiana by France.

In arguing this branch of the question, it will not be necessary to examine in detail the very dubious point of the assumed extent of that province, since, by the treaty between France and Spain of 1763, the whole of that territory, defined or undefined, real or ideal, was ceded by France to Spain, and, consequently, belonged to Spain, not only in 1790, when the convention of Nootka was signed between Great Britain and Spain, but also subsequently, in 1792, the period of Gray's discovery of the mouth of the Columbia. If, then, Louisiana embraced the country west of the Rocky Mountains, to the south of the 49th parallel of latitude, it must have embraced the Columbia itself, which that parallel intersects; and, consequently, Gray's discovery must have been made in a country avowedly already appropriated to Spain, and, if so appropriated, neces-

sarily included, with all other Spanish possessions and claims in that quarter, in the stipulations of the Nootka convention.

Even if it could be shown, therefore, that the district west of the Rocky Mountains was within the boundaries of Louisiana, that circumstance would in no way assist the claim of the United States.

It may, nevertheless, be worth while to expose, in a few words, the futility of the attempt to include that district within those boundaries.

For this purpose, it is only necessary to refer to the original grant of Louisiana made to De Crozat by Louis XIV., shortly after its discovery by La Salle. That province is therein expressly described as "the country drained by the waters entering, directly or indirectly, into the Mississippi." Now, unless it can be shown that any of the tributaries of the Mississippi cross the Rocky Mountains from west to east, it is difficult to conceive how any part of Louisiana can be found to the west of that ridge.

There remains to be considered the first ground of claim advanced by the United States to the territory in question, namely, that founded on their own proper right as first discoverers and occupiers of that territory.

If the discovery of the country in question, or rather the mere entrance into the mouth of the Columbia by a private American citizen, be, as the United States assert, (although Great Britain is far from admitting the correctness of the assertion,) a valid ground of national and exclusive claim to all the country situated between the 42d and 49th parallels of latitude, then must any preceding discovery of the same country, by an individual of any other nation, invest such nation with a more valid, because a prior, claim to that country.

Now, to set aside, for the present, Drake, Cook, and Vancouver, who all of them either took possession of, or touched at, various points of the coast in question, Great Britain can show that in 1788 — that is, four years before Gray entered the mouth of the Columbia River — Mr. Meares,* a lieutenant of the royal navy, who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the north-west coast of America, had already minutely explored that coast, from the 49th degree to the 45th degree north latitude; had taken formal possession of the Straits of De Fuca, in the name of his sovereign; had *purchased land*, trafficked and *formed treaties* with the natives; and had *actually entered the bay of the Columbia*, to the northern headland of which he gave the name of *Cape Disappointment* — a name which it bears to this day.

Dixon, Scott, Duncan, Strange, and other private British traders, had also visited these shores and countries several years before Gray; but the single example of Meares suffices to quash Gray's claim to prior discovery. To the other navigators above mentioned, therefore, it is unnecessary to refer more particularly.

It may be worth while, however, to observe, with regard to Meares, that his account of his voyages was *published in London in August*, 1790; that is, two years before Gray is even pretended to have entered the Columbia.

To that account are appended, first, extracts from his log-book; secondly, maps of the coasts and harbors which he visited, in which every

* See p. 177.

part of the coast in question, *including the bay of the Columbia, (into which the log expressly states that Meares entered,)* is minutely laid down, its delineation tallying, in almost every particular, with Vancouver's subsequent survey, and with the description found in all the best maps of that part of the world, adopted at this moment; thirdly, the account in question actually contains an engraving, dated in August, 1790, of the entrance of De Fuca's Straits, executed after a design taken *in June*, 1788, by Meares himself.

With these physical evidences of authenticity, it is as needless to contend for, as it is impossible to controvert, the truth of Meares's statement.

It was only on the 17*th of September*, 1788, that the Washington, commanded by Mr. Gray, first made her appearance at Nootka.

If, therefore, any claim to these countries, as between Great Britain and the United States, is to be deduced from priority of the discovery, the above exposition of dates and facts suffices to establish that claim in favor of Great Britain, on a basis too firm to be shaken.

It must, indeed, be admitted that Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river — a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares, when, in 1788, four years before, he entered the same bay.

But can it be seriously urged that this single step in the progress of discovery not only wholly supersedes the prior discoveries, both of the bay and the coast, by Lieutenant Meares, but equally absorbs the subsequent exploration of the river by Captain Vancouver, for near a hundred miles above the point to which Mr. Gray's ship had proceeded, the formal taking possession of it by that British navigator,* in the name of his sovereign, and also all the other discoveries, explorations, and temporary possession and occupation of the ports and harbors on the coast, as well of the Pacific as within the Straits of De Fuca, up to the 49th parallel of latitude?

This pretension, however, extraordinary as it is, does not embrace the whole of the claim which the United States build upon the limited discovery of Mr. Gray, namely, that the bay of which Cape Disappointment is the northernmost headland, is, in fact, the embouchure of a river. That mere ascertainment, it is asserted, confers on the United States a title, in exclusive sovereignty, to the whole extent of country drained by such river, and by all its tributary streams.

In support of this very extraordinary pretension, the United States allege the precedent of grants and charters accorded in former times to companies and individuals, by various European sovereigns, over several parts of the American continent. Amongst other instances are adduced the charters granted by Elizabeth, James I., Charles II., and George II., to sundry British subjects and associations, as also the grant made by Louis XIV. to De Crozat over the tract of country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

But can such charters be considered an acknowledged part of the law of nations? Were they any thing more, in fact, than a cession to the grantee or grantees of whatever rights the grantor might suppose

* See p. 248.

himself to possess, to the exclusion of other subjects of the same sovereign? — charters binding and restraining those only who were within the jurisdiction of the grantor, and of no force or validity against the subjects of other states, until recognized by treaty, and thereby becoming a part of international law.*

Had the United States thought proper to issue, in 1790, by virtue of their national authority, a charter granting to Mr. Gray the whole extent of country watered, directly or indirectly, by the River Columbia, such a charter would, no doubt, have been valid in Mr. Gray's favor, as against all other citizens of the United States. But can it be supposed that it would have been acquiesced in by either of the powers, Great Britain and Spain, which, in that same year, were preparing to contest by arms the possession of the very country which would have been the subject of such a grant?

If the right of sovereignty over the territory in question accrues to the United States by Mr. Gray's discovery, how happens it that they never protested against the violence done to that right by the two powers, who, by the convention of 1790, regulated their respective rights in and over a district so belonging, as it is now asserted, to the United States?

This claim of the United States to the territory drained by the Columbia and its tributary streams, on the ground of one of their citizens having been the first to discover the entrance of that river, has been here so far entered into, not because it is considered to be necessarily entitled to notice, since the whole country watered by the Columbia falls within the provisions of the convention of 1790, but because the doctrine above alluded to has been put forward so broadly, and with such confidence, by the United States, that Great Britain considered it equally due to herself and to other powers to enter her protest against it.

The United States further pretend that their claim to the country in question is strengthened and confirmed by the discovery of the sources of the Columbia, and by the exploration of its course to the sea by Lewis and Clarke, in 1805–6.

In reply to this allegation, Great Britain affirms, and can distinctly prove, that, if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years, her North-Western Trading Company had, by means of their agent, Mr. Thomson, already established their posts among the Flat-head and Kootanie tribes, on the head-waters of the northern or main branch of the Columbia, and were gradually extending them down the principal stream of that river; thus giving to Great Britain, in this particular, again, as in the discovery of the mouth of the river, a title to parity at least, if not priority, of discovery, as opposed to the United States. It was from those posts, that, having heard of the American establishment forming in 1811, at the mouth of the river, Mr. Thomson hastened thither, descending the river, to ascertain the nature of that establishment.†

Some stress having been laid by the United States on the restitution to them of Fort George by the British, after the termination of the last war, which restitution they represent as conveying a virtual acknowledgment by Great Britain of the title of the United States to the country in which that post was situated, — it is desirable to state, somewhat in detail, the circumstances attending that restitution.

* See p. 350. † See p. 291, 297.

In the year 1815, a demand for the restoration of Fort George was first made to Great Britain, by the American government, on the plea that the first article of the treaty of Ghent stipulated the restitution to the United States of all posts and places whatsoever, taken from them by the British during the war, in which description Fort George (Astoria) was included.

For some time the British government demurred to comply with the demand of the United States, because they entertained doubts how far it could be sustained by the construction of the treaty.

In the first place, the trading post called Fort Astoria (or Fort George) was not a national possession; in the second place, it was not a military post; and, thirdly, it was never captured from the Americans by the British.

It was, in fact, conveyed in regular commercial transfer, and accompanied by a bill of sale, for a sum of money, to the British company, who purchased it, by the American company, who sold it of *their own free will.*

It is true that a British sloop of war had, about that time, been sent to take possession of that post, but she arrived subsequently to the transaction above mentioned, between the two companies, and found the British company *already in legal occupation of their self-acquired property.*

In consequence, however, of that ship having been sent out with hostile views, although those views were not carried into effect, and in order that not even the shadow of a reflection might be cast upon the good faith of the British government, the latter determined to give the most liberal extension to the terms of the treaty of Ghent, and, in 1818, the purchase which the British company had made in 1813 was restored to the United States.*

Particular care, however, was taken, on this occasion, to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain.

Viscount Castlereagh, in directing the British minister at Washington to intimate the intention of the British government to Mr. Adams, then secretary of state, uses these expressions, in a despatch dated 4th of February, 1818: —

"You will observe, that, whilst this government is not disposed to contest with the American government the point of possession as it stood in the Columbia River at the moment of the rupture, *they are not prepared to admit the validity of the title of the government of the United States to this settlement.*

"In signifying, therefore, to Mr. Adams the full acquiescence of your government in the reoccupation *of the limited position* which the United States held in that river at the breaking out of the war, *you will at the same time assert, in suitable terms, the claim* of Great Britain to that territory, upon which the American settlement must be considered as an encroachment."

This instruction was executed verbally by the person to whom it was addressed.

The following is a transcript of the act by which the fort was delivered up, by the British, into the hands of Mr. Prevost, the American agent: —

* See p. 309.

"In obedience to the command of H. R. H. the prince regent, *signified in a despatch from the right honorable the Earl Bathurst*, addressed to the partners or agents of the North-West Company, bearing date the 27th of January, 1818, and in obedience to a subsequent order, dated the 26th July, from W. H. Sheriff, Esq., captain of H. M. ship Andromache, We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the government of the United States, through its agent, J. P. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River.

"Given under our hands, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th day of October, 1818.

"F. Hickey, *Captain H. M. ship Blossom.*
"J. Keith, *of the N. W. Co.*"

The following is the despatch from Earl Bathurst to the partners of the North-West Company, referred to in the above act of cession:—

"Downing Street, 27*th January*, 1818.

"Intelligence having been received that the United States sloop of war *Ontario* has been sent by the American government to establish a settlement on the Columbia River, which was held by that state, on the breaking out of the last war, I am to acquaint you, that it is the prince regent's pleasure (*without, however, admitting the right of that government to the possession in question*) that, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, due facility should be given to the reoccupation of the said settlement by the officers of the United States; and I am to desire that you would contribute as much as lies in your power to the execution of his royal highness's commands.

"I have, &c. &c.,
"Bathurst.

"*To the Partners or Agents of the North-West Company, residing on the Columbia River.*"

The above documents put the case of the restoration of Fort Astoria in too clear a light to require further observation.

The case, then, of Great Britain, in respect to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, is shortly this:—

Admitting that the United States have acquired all the rights which Spain possessed, up to the treaty of Florida, either in virtue of discovery, or, as is pretended, in right of Louisiana, Great Britain maintains that the nature and extent of those rights, as well as of the rights of Great Britain, are fixed and defined by the convention of Nootka; that these rights are equal for both parties; and that, in succeeding to the rights of Spain, under that convention, the United States must also have succeeded to the obligations which it imposed.

Admitting, further, the discovery of Mr. Gray, to the extent already stated, Great Britain, taking the whole line of the coast in question, with its straits, harbors, and bays, has stronger claims, on the ground of prior discovery, attended with acts of occupancy and settlement, than the United States.

Whether, therefore, the United States rest their claims upon the title

of Spain, or upon that of prior discovery, or upon both, Great Britain is entitled to place her claims at least upon a parity with those of the United States.

It is a fact, admitted by the United States, that, with the exception of the Columbia River, there is no river which opens far into the *interior*, on the whole western coast of the Pacific Ocean.

In the *interior* of the territory in question, the subjects of Great Britain have had, for many years, numerous settlements and trading posts — several of these posts on the tributary streams of the Columbia, several upon the Columbia itself, some to the northward, and others to the southward, of that river; and they navigate the Columbia as the sole channel for the conveyance of their produce to the British stations nearest the sea, and for the shipment of it from thence to Great Britain. It is also by the Columbia and its tributary streams that these posts and settlements receive their annual supplies from Great Britain.

In the whole of the territory in question, the citizens of the United States have not a single settlement or trading post. They do not use that river, either for the purpose of transmitting or receiving any produce of their own, to or from other parts of the world.

In this state of the relative rights of the two countries, and of the relative exercise of those rights, the United States claim the exclusive possession of both banks of the Columbia, and, consequently, that of the river itself; offering, it is true, to concede to British subjects a conditional participation in that navigation, but subject, in any case, to the exclusive jurisdiction and sovereignty of the United States.

Great Britain, on her part, offers to make the river the boundary; each country retaining the bank of the river contiguous to its own territories, and the navigation of it remaining forever free, and upon a footing of perfect equality to both nations.

To carry into effect this proposal, on our part, Great Britain would have to give up posts and settlements south of the Columbia. On the part of the United States, there could be no reciprocal withdrawing from actual occupation, as there is not, and never has been, a single American citizen settled north of the Columbia.

The United States decline to accede to this proposal, even when Great Britain has added to it the further offer of a most excellent harbor, and an extensive tract of country on the Straits of De Fuca — a sacrifice tendered in the spirit of accommodation, and for the sake of a final adjustment of all differences, but which, having been made in this spirit, is not to be considered as in any degree recognizing a claim on the part of the United States, or as at all impairing the existing right of Great Britain over the post and territory in question.

Such being the result of the recent negotiation, it only remains for Great Britain to maintain and uphold the qualified rights which she now possesses over the whole of the territory in question. These rights are recorded and defined in the convention of Nootka.* They embrace the right to navigate the waters of those countries, the right to settle in and over any part of them, and the right freely to trade with the inhabitants and occupiers of the same.

These rights have been peaceably exercised ever since the date of

* See considerations on the Nootka convention, at p. 213.

that convention; that is, for a period of near forty years. Under that convention, valuable British interests have grown up in those countries. It is fully admitted that the United States possess the same rights, although they have been exercised by them only in a single instance, and have not, since the year 1813, been exercised at all. But beyond these rights they possess none.

To the interests and establishments which British industry and enterprise have created, Great Britain owes protection. That protection will be given, both as regards settlement and freedom of trade and navigation, with every attention not to infringe the coördinate rights of the United States; it being the earnest desire of the British government, so long as the joint occupancy continues, to regulate its own obligations by the same rule which governs the obligations of any other occupying party.

Fully sensible, at the same time, of the desirableness of a more definite settlement, as between Great Britain and the United States, the British government will be ready, at any time, to terminate the present state of joint occupancy by an agreement of delimitation; but such arrangement only can be admitted as shall not derogate from the rights of Great Britain, as acknowledged by treaty, nor prejudice the advantages which British subjects, under the same sanction, now enjoy in that part of the world.

I.

Documents relating to the Hudson's Bay Company.

This company was incorporated by a charter from King Charles II. of England, issued on the 16th of May, 1669; a few extracts from which will be sufficient to show the powers of the company and the extent of its territories under that grant.

(1.)

His Majesty's Royal Charter to the Governor and Company of Hudson's Bay.

"Charles the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, &c., to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting: Whereas our dearly beloved cousin, Prince Rupert [and seventeen others, whose names and titles follow] have, at their own great cost and charges, undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay, in the north-west parts of America, for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities; and by such their undertaking have already made such discoveries as do encourage them to proceed farther in performance of their said design, by means whereof there may probably arise great advantage to us and our kingdoms; and

whereas the said undertakers, for their further encouragement in the said design, have humbly besought us to incorporate them, and to grant unto them and their successors the whole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits and bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called *Hudson's Straits*, together with all the lands, countries, and territories, upon the coasts and confines of the seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds, aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state; —

"Now, know ye, that we, being desirous to promote all endeavors that may tend to the public good of our people, and to encourage the said undertaking, have, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, given, granted, ratified, and confirmed, and by these presents, for us and our successors, do give, grant, ratify, and confirm, unto our said cousin, Prince Rupert, &c., that they and such others as shall be admitted into the said society, as is hereafter expressed, shall be one body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, by the name of *The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay*, * * * and at all times hereafter, shall be personable, and capable in law, to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, and retain lands, rents, privileges, liberties, jurisdiction, franchises, and hereditaments, of what kind, nature, or quality soever they be, to them and their successors."

By succeeding sections of the charter, provisions are made — for the election of a *governor*, a *deputy governor*, and a *committee* of seven members, who are to have the direction of all voyages, sales, and other business of the company — for the election of new members — and for holding, at particular periods, a general court of the company. The first company and their successors are made *lords proprietors* of the territories above mentioned, holding the lands "in free and common socage, and not *in capite*, or by knights' service;" and they are empowered to make all laws and regulations for the government of their possessions, which may "be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable, to the laws, statutes, and customs," of England. The whole trade, fishery, navigation, minerals, &c., of the countries, is granted to the company exclusively; all others of the king's subjects being forbidden to "visit, haunt, frequent, trade, traffic, or adventure," therein, under heavy penalties; and the company is moreover empowered "to send ships, and to build fortifications, for the defence of its possessions, as well as to make war or peace with all nations or people, not Christian, inhabiting those territories, which are declared to be thenceforth "reckoned and reputed as one of his majesty's plantations or colonies, in America, called *Rupert's Land*."

Thus it will be seen, that the Hudson's Bay Company possessed by its charter almost sovereign powers over the vast portion of America drained by streams entering Hudson's Bay. With regard to the other countries in British America, north and west of Canada, not included in the Hudson's Bay Company's possessions, and which were termed, generally, *the Indian countries*, an act was passed on the 11th of August, 1803, in the 43d year of the reign of King George III., entitled,

(2.)

"An Act for extending the Jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice in the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada to the Trial and Punishment of Persons guilty of Crimes and Offences within certain Parts of North America, adjoining to the said Provinces."

By this act, offences committed within the Indian territories were to be tried in the same manner as if committed within the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada; the governor of Lower Canada may empower persons to act as justices of the peace for the Indian territories, for committing offenders until they are conveyed to Canada for trial, &c. This act remained in force until July 2d, 1821 when was passed,

(3.)

*"An Act for regulating the Fur Trade, and establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction, within certain Parts of North America."**

"Whereas the competition in the fur trade between the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and certain associations of persons trading under the name of 'The North-West Company of Montreal,' has been found, for some years past, to be productive of great inconvenience and loss, not only to the said company and associations, but to the said trade in general, and also of great injury to the native Indians, and of other persons, subjects of his majesty: And whereas the animosities and feuds arising from such competition have also, for some years past, kept the interior of America, to the northward and westward of the provinces of *Upper* and *Lower Canada*, and of the territories of the *United States* of America, in a state of continued disturbance: And whereas many breaches of the peace, and violence, extending to the loss of lives, and considerable destruction of property have continually occurred therein: And whereas, for remedy of such evils, it is expedient and necessary that some more effectual regulations should be established for the apprehending, securing, and bringing to justice, all persons committing such offences, and that his majesty should be empowered to regulate the said trade: And whereas doubts have been entertained, whether the provisions of an act passed in the forty-third year of the reign of his late majesty, King George the Third, intituled 'An Act for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of justice in the provinces of *Lower* and *Upper Canada* to the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences within certain parts of North America, adjoining to the said provinces,' extended to the territories granted by charter to the said governor and company; and it is expedient that such doubts should be removed, and that the said act should be further extended: Be it therefore enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That, from and

* See p. 325.

after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs or successors, to make grants or give his royal license, under the hand and seal of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, to any body corporate or company, or person or persons, of or for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of *North America* as shall be specified in any such grants or licenses respectively, not being part of the lands or territories heretofore granted to the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England* trading to *Hudson's Bay*, and not being part of any of his majesty's provinces in *North America*, or of any lands or territories belonging to the United States of *America;* and all such grants and licenses shall be good, valid, and effectual, for the purpose of securing to all such bodies corporate, or companies, or persons, the sole and exclusive privilege of trading with the *Indians* in all such parts of *North America*, (except as hereinafter excepted,) as shall be specified in such grants or licenses, any thing contained in any act or acts of Parliament, or any law, to the contrary notwithstanding.

"II. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That no such grant or license, made or given by his majesty, his heirs or successors, of any such exclusive privileges of trading with the *Indians* in such parts of *North America* as aforesaid, shall be made or given for any longer period than twenty-one years; and no rent shall be required or demanded for or in respect of any such grant or license, or any privileges given thereby under the provisions of this act, for the first period of twenty-one years; and from and after the expiration of such first period of twenty-one years, it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs or successors, to reserve such rents in any future grants or licenses to be made to the same or any other parties, as shall be deemed just and reasonable, with security for the payment thereof; and such rents shall be deemed part of the land revenues of his majesty, his heirs and successors, and be applied and accounted for as the other land revenues of his majesty, his heirs or successors, shall, at the time of payment of any such rent being made, be applied and accounted for.

"III. And be it further enacted, That, from and after the passing of this act, the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to *Hudson's Bay*, and every body corporate, and company, and person, to whom every such grant or license shall be made or given, as aforesaid, shall respectively keep accurate registers of all persons in their employ in any parts of *North America*, and shall, once in each year, return to his majesty's secretaries of state accurate duplicates of such registers, and shall also enter into such security as shall be required by his majesty for the due execution of all processes, criminal and civil, as well within the territories included in any such grant, as within those granted by charter to the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to *Hudson's Bay*, and for the producing or delivering into safe custody, for purpose of trial, of all persons in their employ or acting under their authority, who shall be charged with any criminal offence, and also for the due and faithful observance of all such rules, regulations, and stipulations, as shall be contained in any such grant or license, either for diminishing or preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the *Indians*, or for promoting their moral and religious improvement, or for any other object which his majesty may deem necessary for the remedy or prevention of the other evils which have hitherto been found to exist.

"IV. And whereas, by a convention entered into between his majesty and the United States of *America*, it was stipulated and agreed that any country on the north-west coast of *America* to the westward of the *Stony Mountains*, should be free and open to the citizens and subjects of the two powers, for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of that convention; Be it therefore enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be deemed or construed to authorize any body corporate, company, or person, to whom his majesty may have, under the provisions of this act, made a grant or given a license of exclusive trade with the *Indians* in such parts of *North America* as aforesaid, to claim or exercise any such exclusive trade within the limits specified in the said article, to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizens of the said United States of *America*, who may be engaged in the said trade: Provided always, that no *British* subject shall trade with the *Indians* within such limits without such grant or license as is by this act required.

"V. And be it declared and enacted, That the said act, passed in the forty-third year of the reign of his late majesty, intituled *An Act for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of justice in the provinces of* Lower *and* Upper Canada, *to the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences within certain parts of* North America *adjoining to the said provinces*, and all the clauses and provisoes therein contained, shall be deemed and construed, and it is and are hereby respectively declared, to extend to and over, and to be in full force in and through, all the territories heretofore granted to the Company of Adventurers of *England* trading to *Hudson's Bay;* any thing in any act or acts of Parliament, or this act, or in any grant or charter to the company, to the contrary notwithstanding.

"VI. And be it further enacted, That, from and after the passing of this act, the courts of judicature now existing, or which may be hereafter established in the province of *Upper Canada*, shall have the same civil jurisdiction, power, and authority, as well in the cognizance of suits as in the issuing process, mesne and final, and in all other respects whatsoever, within the said *Indian* territories, and other parts of *America* not within the limits of either of the provinces of *Lower* or *Upper Canada*, or *of any civil government of the United States*, as the said courts have or are invested with within the limits of the said provinces of *Lower* or *Upper Canada* respectively; and that all and every contract, agreement, debt, liability, and demand whatsoever, made, entered into, incurred, or arising within the said *Indian* territories and other parts of *America*, and all and every wrong and injury to the *person*, or to *property*, *real* or *personal*, committed or done within the same, shall be, and be deemed to be, of the same nature, and be cognizable by the same courts, magistrates, or justices of the peace, and be tried in the same manner, and subject to the same consequences, in all respects, as if the same had been made, entered into, incurred, arisen, committed, or done, within the said province of *Upper Canada;* any thing in any act or acts of Parliament, or grant, or charter, to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided always, that all such suits and actions relating to *lands*, or to any claims in respect of *land*, not being within the province of *Upper Canada*, shall be decided according to the laws of that part of the United Kingdom called *England*, and shall not be subject to or affected by any local acts, statutes, or laws, of the legislature of *Upper Canada*.

"VII. And be it further enacted, That all process, writs, orders, judgments, decrees, and acts whatsoever, to be issued, made, delivered, given, and done, by or under the authority of the said courts, or either of them,

shall have the same force, authority, and effect, within the said *Indian* territory and other parts of *America* as aforesaid, as the same now have within the said province of *Upper Canada*.

"VIII. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the governor, or lieutenant-governor, or person administering the government for the time being, of *Lower Canada*, by commission under his hand and seal, to authorize all persons who shall be appointed justices of the peace under the provisions of this act, within the said *Indian* territories, or other parts of *America* as aforesaid, or any other person who shall be specially named in any such commission, to act as a commissioner within the same, for the purpose of executing, enforcing, and carrying into effect, all such process, writs, orders, judgments, decrees, and acts, which shall be issued, made, delivered, given, or done, by the said courts of judicature, and which may require to be enforced and executed within the said *Indian* territories, or such other parts of *North America* as aforesaid; and in case any *person* or *persons whatsoever*, residing or being within the said *Indian* territories, or such other parts of *America* as aforesaid, shall refuse to obey or perform any such process, writ, order, judgment, decree, or act, of the said courts, or shall resist or oppose the execution thereof, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices of the peace or commissioners, and they, or any of them, are, and is, hereby required, on the same being proved before him, by the oath or affidavit of one credible witness, to commit the said person or persons so offending as aforesaid to custody, in order to his or their being conveyed to *Upper Canada;* and that it shall be lawful for any such justice of the peace or commissioner, or any person or persons acting under his authority, to convey, or cause to be conveyed, such person or persons so offending as aforesaid to *Upper Canada*, in pursuance of such process, writ, order, decree, judgment, or act; and such person and persons shall be committed to jail by the said court, on his, her, or their being so brought into the said province of *Upper Canada*, by which such process, writ, order, decree, judgment, or act, was issued, made, delivered, given, or done, until a final judgment or decree shall have been pronounced in such suit, and shall have been duly performed, and all costs paid, in case such person or persons shall be a party or parties in such suit, or until the trial of such suit shall have been concluded, in case such person or persons shall be a witness or witnesses therein: Provided always, that, if any person or persons, so apprehended as aforesaid, shall enter into a bond recognizance to any such justice of the peace or commissioner, with two sufficient sureties, to the satisfaction of such justice of the peace or commissioner, or the said courts, conditioned to obey and perform such process, writ, order, judgment, decree, or act, as aforesaid, then and in such case it shall and may be lawful for the said justice of the peace or commissioner, or the said courts, to discharge such person or persons out of custody.

"IX. And be it further enacted, That, in case such person or persons shall not perform and fulfil the condition or conditions of such recognizance, then and in such case it shall and may be lawful for any such justice or commissioner, and he is hereby required, to assign such recognizance to the plaintiff or plaintiffs, in any suit in which such process, writ, order, decree, judgment, or act, shall have been issued, made, delivered, given, or done, who may maintain an action in the said courts in his own name against the said sureties, and recover against such sureties the full amount of such loss or damage as such plaintiff shall prove to have

been sustained by him, by reason of the original cause of action in respect of which such process, writ, order, decree, judgment, or act, of the said courts were issued, made, delivered, given, or done, as aforesaid, notwithstanding any thing contained in any charter granted to the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England* trading to *Hudson's Bay*.

"X. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for his majesty, if he shall deem it convenient so to do, to issue a commission or commissions to any person or persons to be and act as justices of the peace within such parts of *America* as aforesaid, as well within any territories heretofore granted to the Company of Adventurers of *England* trading to *Hudson's Bay*, as within the *Indian* territories of such other parts of *America* as aforesaid; and it shall be lawful for the court in the province of *Upper Canada*, in any case in which it shall appear expedient to have any evidence taken by commission, or any facts or issue, or any cause or suit, ascertained, to issue a commission to any three or more of such justices to take such evidence, and return the same, or try such issue, and for that purpose to hold courts, and to issue subpœnas or other processes to compel attendance of plaintiffs, defendants, jurors, witnesses, and all other persons requisite and essential to the execution of the several purposes for which such commission or commissions had issued, and with the like power and authority as are vested in the courts of the said province of *Upper Canada;* and any order, verdict, judgment, or decree, that shall be made, found, declared, or published, by or before any court or courts held under and by virtue of such commission or commissions, shall be considered to be of as full effect, and enforced in like manner, as if the same had been made, found, declared, or published, within the jurisdiction of the court of the said province; and at the time of issuing such commission or commissions shall be declared the place or places where such commission is to be opened, and the courts and proceedings thereunder held; and it shall be at the same time provided how and by what means the expenses of such commission, and the execution thereof, shall be raised and provided for.

"XI. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for his majesty, notwithstanding any thing contained in this act, or in any charter granted to the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England* trading to *Hudson's Bay*, from time to time, by any commission under the great seal, to authorize and empower any such persons so appointed justices of the peace as aforesaid, to sit and hold courts of record for the trial of criminal offences and misdemeanors, and also of civil causes; and it shall be lawful for his majesty to order, direct, and authorize, the appointment of proper officers to act in aid of such courts and justices within the jurisdiction assigned to such courts and justices, in any such commission; any thing in this act, or in any charter of the Governor and Company of Merchant Adventurers of *England* trading to *Hudson's Bay*, to the contrary notwithstanding.

"XII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That such courts shall be constituted, as to the number of justices to preside therein, and as to such places within the said territories of the said company, or any *Indian* territories, or other parts of *North America* as aforesaid, and the times and manner of holding the same, as his majesty shall from time to time order and direct; but shall not try any offender upon any charge or indictment for any felony made the subject of capital punishment, or

for any offence, or passing sentence affecting the life of any offender, or adjudge or cause any offender to suffer capital punishment or transportation, or take cognizance of or try any civil action or suit, in which the cause of such suit or action shall exceed in value the amount or sum of two hundred pounds; and in every case of any offence subjecting the person committing the same to capital punishment or transportation, the court or any judge of any such court, or any justice or justices of the peace, before whom any such offender shall be brought, shall commit such offender to safe custody, and cause such offender to be sent in such custody for trial in the court of the province of *Upper Canada*.

"XIII. And be it further enacted, That all judgments given in any civil suit shall be subject to appeal to his majesty in council, in like manner as in other cases in his majesty's province of *Upper Canada*, and also in any case in which the right or title to any land shall be in question.

"XIV. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be taken or construed to affect any right, privilege, authority, or jurisdiction, which the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading to *Hudson's Bay* are by law entitled to claim and exercise under their charter; but that all such rights, privileges, authorities, and jurisdictions, shall remain in as full force, virtue, and effect, as if this act had never been made; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

Shortly before the passage of this act, the Hudson's Bay Company was united with the North-West Company, or rather the latter was merged in the former; and on the 21st of December, 1821, the king made a

(4.)

"*Grant of the exclusive Trade with the Indians of North America to the Hudson's Bay Company*,"

of which the following are the terms:—

"And whereas the said Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, and certain associations of persons trading under the name of the North-West Company of Montreal, have respectively extended the fur trade over many parts of North America, which had not been before explored: And whereas the competition in the said trade has been found, for some years past, to be productive of great inconvenience and loss, not only to the said company and associations, but to the said trade in general, and also of great injury to the native Indians, and of other persons our subjects: And whereas the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay, and William McGillivray, of Montreal, in the province of Lower Canada, Esquire, Simon McGillivray, of Suffolk Lane, in the city of London, merchant, and Edward Ellice, of Spring Gardens, in the county of Middlesex, Esquire, have represented to us, that they have entered into an agreement on the 26th day of March last, for putting an end to the said competition, and carry-

ing on the said trade for twenty-one years, commencing with the outfit of 1821, and ending with the returns of 1841, to be carried on in the name of the said Governor and Company exclusively: And whereas the said Governor and Company, and W. McGillivray, S. McGillivray, and E. Ellice, have humbly besought us to make a grant, and give our royal license to them jointly, of and for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in North America, under the restrictions and upon the terms and conditions specified in the said recited act: —

"*Now, know ye*, that we, being desirous of encouraging the said trade, and remedying the evils which have arisen from the competition which has heretofore existed therein, do grant and give our royal license, under the hand and seal of one of our principal secretaries of state, to the said Governor and Company, and W. McGillivray, S. McGillivray, and E. Ellice, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians, in all such parts of North America, to the northward and westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America, as shall not form part of any of our provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the said United States of America, or to any European government, state, or power; and we do by these presents give, grant, and secure, to the said Governor and Company, and W. McGillivray, S. McGillivray, and E. Ellice, jointly, the sole and exclusive privilege, for the full period of twenty-one years from the date of this our grant, of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as aforesaid, (except as thereinafter excepted:) And we do hereby declare that no rent shall be required or demanded for or in respect of this our grant and license, or any privileges given thereby, for the said period of twenty-one years, but that the said Governor and Company, and W. McGillivray, S. McGillivray, and E. Ellice, shall, during the period of this our grant and license, keep accurate registers of all persons in their employ, in any parts of North America, and shall once in each year return to our secretary of state accurate duplicates of all such registers, and shall also enter into and give security to us, our heirs and successors, in the penal sum of five thousand pounds, for insuring, as far as in them may lie, the due execution of all the criminal processes, and of any civil process, in any suit, where the matter in dispute shall exceed two hundred pounds, by the officers and persons legally empowered to execute such processes, within all the territories included in this our grant, and for the producing and delivering into safe custody, for purposes of trial, any persons in their employ or acting under their authority, within the said territories, who may be charged with any criminal offence.

"And we do hereby require that the said Governor and Company, and W. McGillivray, S. McGillivray, and E. Ellice, shall, as soon as the same can be conveniently done, make and submit, for our consideration and approval, such rules and regulations for the management and carrying on the said fur trade with the Indians, and the conduct of the persons employed by them therein, as may appear to us to be effectual, for gradually diminishing or ultimately preventing the sale and distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and for promoting their moral and religious improvement. — And we do hereby declare that nothing in this our grant contained shall be deemed or construed to authorize the said Governor and Company, or W. McGillivray, S. McGillivray, and E. Ellice, or any person in their employ, to claim or exercise any trade with

the Indians on the north-west coast of America, to the westward of the Stony Mountains, to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizen of the United States of America, who may be engaged in the said trade: Provided always, that no British subjects other than and except the said Governor and Company, and the said W. McGillivray, S. McGillivray, and E. Ellice, and the persons authorized to carry on exclusive trade by them on grant, shall trade with the Indians within such limits, during the period of this our grant."

Under this license, the parties to whom it was granted continued their operations until 1824, when the claims of the North-West Company were extinguished by mutual consent; the Hudson's Bay Company then became the sole possessor of the privileges conceded, which were enjoyed by that body until the expiration of the grant. Previous to that period, however, a new grant was made to the company, entitled,

(5.)

"*Crown Grant to the Hudson's Bay Company of the exclusive Trade with the Indians in certain Parts of North America, for a Term of twenty-one Years, and upon Surrender of a former Grant,*"

which, after recapitulating the terms of the first grant, continues thus:

"And whereas the said Governor and Company have acquired to themselves all the rights and interests of the said W. McGillivray, S. McGillivray, and E. Ellice, under the said recited grant, and the said Governor and Company have humbly besought us to accept a surrender of the said grant, and in consideration thereof to make a grant to them, and give to them our royal license and authority of and for the like exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in North America, for the like period, and upon similar terms and conditions to those specified and referred to in the said recited grant: Now, know ye, that, in consideration of the surrender made to us of the said recited grant, and being desirous of encouraging the said trade, and of preventing as much as possible a recurrence of the evils mentioned or referred to in the said recited grant, as also in consideration of the yearly rent hereinafter reserved to us, we do hereby grant and give our license, under the hand and seal of one of our principal secretaries of state, to the said Governor and Company, and their successors, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America, to the northward and to the westward of the lands and territories belonging to the United States of America, as shall not form part of any of our provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the said United States of America, or to any European government, state, or power, but subject, nevertheless, as hereinafter mentioned: And we do, by these presents, give, grant, and secure, to the said Governor and Company, and their successors, the sole and exclusive privilege, for the full period of twenty-one years from the date of this our grant, of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as aforesaid, (except as hereinafter mentioned:) And we

do hereby declare that no rent shall be required or demanded for or in respect of this our grant and license, or any privileges given thereby for the first four years of the said term of twenty-one years; and we do hereby reserve to ourselves, our heirs and successors, for the remainder of the said term of twenty-one years, the yearly rent or sum of five shillings, to be paid by the said Governor and Company, or their successors, on the 1st day of June, in every year, into our exchequer, on the account of us, our heirs and successors: And we do hereby declare that the said Governor and Company, and their successors, shall, during the period of this our grant and license, keep accurate registers of all persons in their employ in any parts of North America, and shall, once in each year, return to our secretary of state accurate duplicates of such registers; and shall also enter into and give security to us, our heirs and successors, in the penal sum of five thousand pounds, for insuring, as far as in them may lie, or as they can by their authority over the servants and persons in their employ, the due execution of all criminal and civil processes by the officers and persons legally empowered to execute such processes within all the territories included in this our grant, and for the producing or delivering into custody, for the purposes of trial, all persons in their employ or acting under their authority, within the said territories, who shall be charged with any criminal offence: And we do also hereby require that the said Governor and Company, and their successors, shall, as soon as the same can conveniently be done, make and submit for our consideration and approval, such rules and regulations for the management and carrying on the said fur trade with the Indians, and the conduct of the persons employed by them therein, as may appear to us to be effectual for diminishing or preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and for promoting their moral and religious improvement: But we do hereby declare that nothing in this our grant contained shall be deemed or construed to authorize the said Governor and Company, or their successors, or any persons in their employ, to claim or exercise any trade with the Indians on the north-west coast of America, to the westward of the Stony Mountains, to the prejudice or exclusion of any of the subjects of any foreign states, who, under or by force of any convention for the time being, between us and such foreign states respectively, may be entitled to, and shall be engaged in, the said trade: Provided, nevertheless, and we do hereby declare our pleasure to be, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to prevent the establishment by us, our heirs, or successors, within the territories aforesaid, or any of them, of any colony or colonies, province or provinces, or for annexing any part of the aforesaid territories to any existing colony or colonies to us in right of our imperial crown belonging, or for constituting any such form of civil government, as to us may seem meet, within any such colony or colonies, or provinces:

"And we do hereby reserve to us, our heirs and successors, full power and authority to revoke these presents, or any part thereof, in so far as the same may embrace or extend to any of the territories aforesaid, which may hereafter be comprised within any colony or colonies, province or provinces, as aforesaid:

"It being, nevertheless, hereby declared that no British subjects, other than and except the said Governor and Company, and their successors, and the persons authorized to carry on exclusive trade by them, shall

trade with the Indians during the period of this our grant, within the limits aforesaid, or within that part thereof which shall not be comprised within any such colony or province as aforesaid."

K.

TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS RELATIVE TO THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

(1.)

Convention between Great Britain and Spain, (*commonly called the* NOOTKA TREATY,) *signed at the Escurial, October 28th,* 1790.

ARTICLE 1. The buildings and tracts of land situated on the north-west coast of the continent of North America, or on the islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of his Britannic majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

ART. 2. A just reparation shall be made, according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence or hostility which may have been committed subsequent to the month of April, 1789, by the subjects of either of the contracting parties against the subjects of the other; and, in case any of the said respective subjects shall, since the same period, have been forcibly dispossessed of their lands, buildings, vessels, merchandise, and other property, whatever, on the said continent, or on the seas and islands adjacent, they shall be reestablished in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for the losses which they have sustained.

ART. 3. In order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve in future a perfect harmony and good understanding, between the two contracting parties, it is agreed that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating, or carrying on their fisheries, in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of those seas in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions specified in the three following articles.

ART. 4. His Britannic majesty engages to take the most effectual measures to prevent the navigation and the fishery of his subjects in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and, with this view, it is moreover expressly stipulated that British subjects shall not navigate, or carry on their fishery, in the said seas, within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

ART. 5. As well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, by virtue of the first article, as in all other parts of the north-

western coasts of North America, or of the islands adjacent, situate to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation.

ART. 6. With respect to the eastern and western coasts of South America, and to the islands adjacent, no settlement shall be formed hereafter by the respective subjects in such part of those coasts as are situated to the south of those parts of the same coasts, and of the islands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain: provided, that the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated for the purpose of their fishery, and of erecting thereon huts and other temporary buildings serving only for those purposes.

ART. 7. In all cases of complaint or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves to commit any violence or act of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair and of its circumstances to their respective courts, who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner.

(2.)

Convention between the United States of America and Great Britain, signed at London, October 20th, 1818.

ARTICLE 2. It is agreed that a line drawn from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic majesty; and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of his Britannic majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.

ART. 3. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the north-west coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other power or state to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves.

(3.)

Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits, between the United States and Spain, (commonly called the FLORIDA TREATY,) *signed at Washington, February 22d,* 1819.

ARTICLE 3. The boundary line between the two countries west of the Mississippi shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then, following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the River Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas, to its source in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea; the whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the 1st of January, 1818. But, if the source of the Arkansas River shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42, and thence, along the said parallel, to the South Sea; all the islands in the Sabine, and the said Red and Arkansas Rivers, throughout the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said Rivers Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of the said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.

The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories described by the said line; that is to say, the United States hereby cede to his Catholic majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above-described line; and, in like manner, his Catholic majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions, to any territories east and north of the said line; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever.

(4.)

Convention between the United States and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, on the $\frac{5}{17}$ *of April,* 1824.

ARTICLE 1. It is agreed that, in any part of the great ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, the respective citizens or subjects of the high contracting powers shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing, or in the power of resorting to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives; saving always the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles.

ART. 2. With the view of preventing the rights of navigation and of fishing, exercised upon the great ocean by the citizens and subjects of the high contracting powers, from becoming the pretext for an illicit trade, it is agreed that the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commander; and that, reciprocally, the subjects of Russia shall not resort, without permission, to any establishment of the United States upon the north-west coast.

ART. 3. It is, moreover, agreed that hereafter there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of the said States, any establishment upon the north-west coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, *to the north* of 54 degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, *south* of the same parallel.

ART. 4. It is, nevertheless, understood that, during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects, respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hinderance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives of the country.

ART. 5. All spirituous liquors, fire-arms, other arms, powder, and munitions of war of every kind, are always excepted from this same commerce permitted by the preceding article; and the two powers engage, reciprocally, neither to sell, nor suffer them to be sold, to the natives, by their respective citizens and subjects, nor by any person who may be under their authority. It is likewise stipulated, that this restriction shall never afford a pretext, nor be advanced, in any case, to authorize either search or detention of the vessels, seizure of the merchandise, or, in fine, any measures of constraint whatever, towards the merchants or the crews who may carry on this commerce; the high contracting powers reciprocally reserving to themselves to determine upon the penalties to be incurred, and to inflict the punishments in case of the contravention of this article by their respective citizens or subjects.

(5.)

Convention between Great Britain and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, February $\frac{16}{28}$, 1825.

ARTICLE 1. It is agreed that the respective subjects of the high contracting parties shall not be troubled or molested in any part of the ocean commonly called the Pacific Ocean, either in navigating the same, in fishing therein, or in landing at such parts of the coast as shall not have been already occupied, in order to trade with the natives, under the restrictions and conditions specified in the following articles.

ART. 2. In order to prevent the right of navigating and fishing, exercised upon the ocean by the subjects of the high contracting parties, from becoming the pretext for an illicit commerce, it is agreed that the subjects

of his Britannic majesty shall not land at any place where there may be a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commandant; and, on the other hand, that Russian subjects shall not land, without permission, at any British establishment on the north-west coast.

ART. 3. The line of demarkation between the possessions of the high contracting parties, upon the coast of the continent, and the islands of America to the north-west, shall be drawn in the manner following: Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales's Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and the 133d degree of west longitude, (meridian of Greenwich,) the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude. From this last-mentioned point, the line of demarkation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, (of the same meridian.) And, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the north-west.

ART. 4. With reference to the line of demarkation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood—

1st. That the island called Prince of Wales's Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

2d. That whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom.

ART. 5. It is, moreover, agreed that no establishment shall be formed by either of the two parties within the limits assigned by the two preceding articles to the possessions of the other; consequently, British subjects shall not form any establishment either upon the coast, or upon the border of the continent comprised within the limits of the Russian possessions, as designated in the two preceding articles; and, in like manner, no establishment shall be formed by Russian subjects beyond the said limits.

ART. 6. It is understood that the subjects of his Britannic majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean or from the interior of the continent, shall forever enjoy the right of navigating freely, and without any hinderance whatever, all the rivers and streams which, in their course towards the Pacific Ocean, may cross the line of demarkation upon the line of coast described in article 3 of the present convention.

ART. 7. It is also understood that, for the space of ten years from the signature of the present convention, the vessels of the two powers, or those belonging to their respective subjects, shall mutually be at liberty to frequent, without any hinderance whatever, all the inland seas, the gulfs, havens, and creeks, on the coast, mentioned in article 3, for the purposes of fishing and of trading with the natives.

ART. 8. The port of Sitka, or Novo Archangelsk, shall be open to the commerce and vessels of British subjects for the space of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention. In the event of an extension of this term of ten years being granted to any other power, the like extension shall be granted also to Great Britain.

ART. 9. The above-mentioned liberty of commerce shall not apply to the trade in spirituous liquors, in fire-arms, or other arms, gunpowder, or other warlike stores; the high contracting parties reciprocally engaging not to permit the above-mentioned articles to be sold or delivered, in any manner whatever, to the natives of the country.

ART. 10. Every British or Russian vessel navigating the Pacific Ocean, which may be compelled by storms or by accident to take shelter in the ports of the respective parties, shall be at liberty to refit therein, to provide itself with all necessary stores, and to put to sea again, without paying any other than port and lighthouse dues, which shall be the same as those paid by national vessels. In case, however, the master of such vessel should be under the necessity of disposing of a part of his merchandise in order to defray his expenses, he shall conform himself to the regulations and tariffs of the place where he may have landed.

ART. 11. In every case of complaint on account of an infraction of the articles of the present convention, the civil and military authorities of the high contracting parties, without previously acting, or taking any forcible measure, shall make an exact and circumstantial report of the matter to their respective courts, who engage to settle the same in a friendly manner, and according to the principles of justice.

(6.)

Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed at London, August 6th, 1827.

ARTICLE 1. All the provisions of the third article of the convention concluded between the United States of America and his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1818, shall be, and they are hereby, further indefinitely extended and continued in force, in the same manner as if all the provisions of the said article were herein specifically recited.

ART. 2. It shall be competent, however, to either of the contracting parties, in case either should think fit, at any time after the 20th of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annul and abrogate this convention; and it shall, in such case, be accordingly entirely annulled and abrogated, after the expiration of the said term of notice.

ART. 3. Nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of the 20th October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be construed to impair, or in any manner affect, the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains.

100
AIT
60
St. Petersburg
C. Jane Franklin
C. Louis Philippe
Matty I.
Great Bay
Esquima
Bathurst Inlet
Edinburg
55
Clear Water L.
L. Beechy
Gt. Fish or
HUDSON'S
Richmond or Hazard B.
Gt. Whale R.
Whale Riv. Ho.
L. Aylmer
Clinton Colden L.
Artillery L.
C. Jones
JAMES'S BAY
Ft. Reliance
Liverpool
Berlin
Wholdaiduck L.
Equan R.
Albany Ft.
Moose Ft.
London
Fond du Lac
Athabasca
Lake of the Hills
Albany R.
Moose R.
S. Branch
50
Pierre au Calumet
Gt. Cockinaggany L.
Paris
Long L.
Pike Riv. L.
Buffalo L.
La Crosse Ft. & L.
Quebec
Ile St. Marie
Elk R.

MAP OF THE

WESTERN & MIDDLE PORTIONS OF

NORTH AMERICA,

TO ILLUSTRATE

the History of California, Oregon & other Countries

on the

NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA

By

ROBERT GREENHOW.

Compiled from the best Authorities by Robert Greenhow.

Drawn by George H. Ringgold, Engraved by E.F. Woodward. Philad.a

Note.— The places of which the names appear in the border of the Map, are in the Latitudes indicated by their positions

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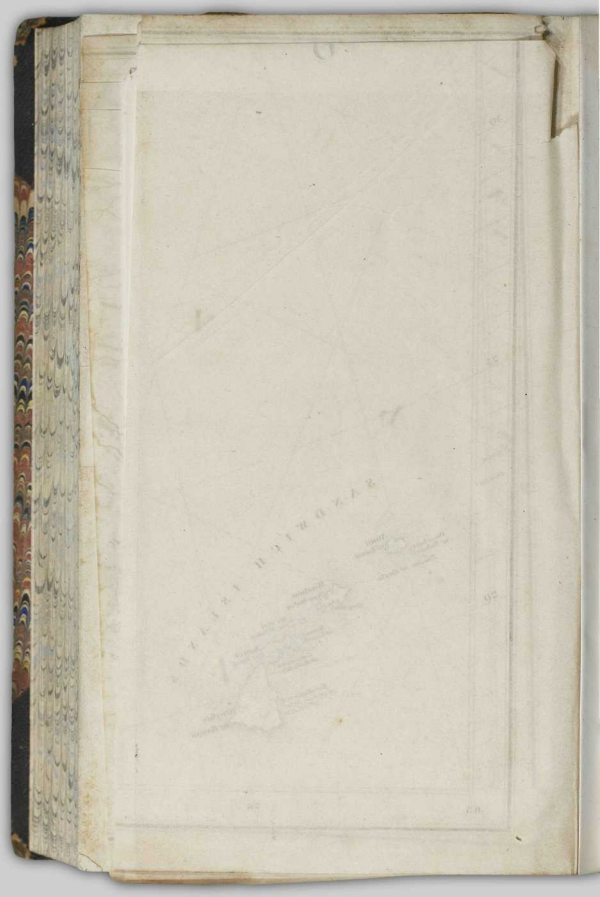

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