THE
CANADIAN HISTORICAL STUDIES

The Dixon-Meares Controversy

Edited by

F. W. HOWAY

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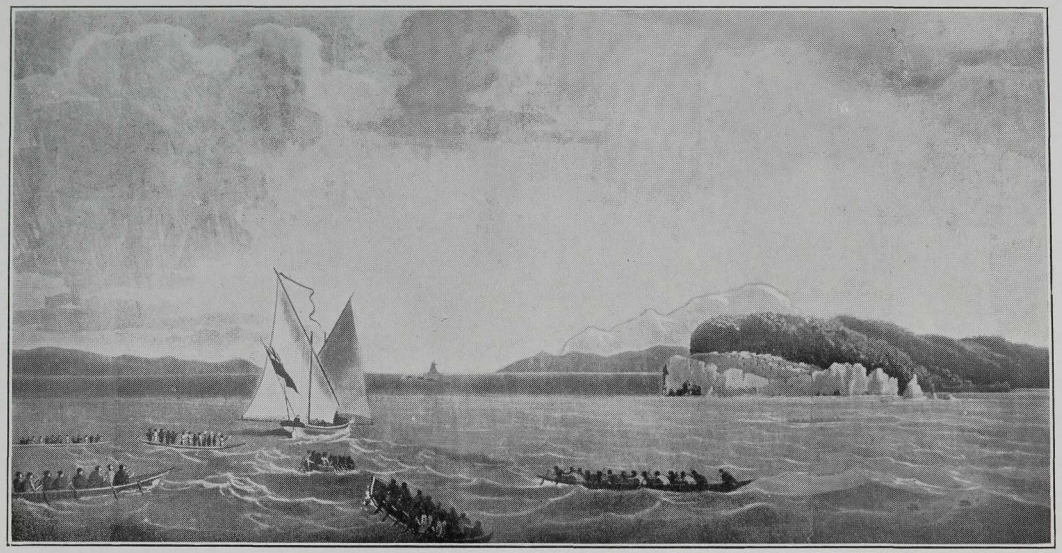
Of this edition of THE DIXON-MEARES CONTROVERSY, edited by His Honour Judge F. W. Howay, five hundred copies only have been printed, of which four hundred and fifty are supplied to subscribers.

This is number 209



THE LONG BOAT OF THE *FELICE*

The long boat of the *Felice,* one of Meares's vessels, at the entrance of the strait of Juan de Fuca, in June, 1788, from an illustration drawn by T. Stothard and engraved by J. Wells. Published in *Meares's Voyages,* London, 1790. On the right is Cape Flattery; on the left, the Vancouver Island shore; in the background the Olympic Mountains. The high rock in the centre is intended for Tatoosh Island. Though the British flag is shown, all contemporary accounts agree that the flag actually flown was that of Portugal.

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Containing, *Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares* by George Dixon, *An Answer to Mr. George Dixon*, by John Meares, and *Further Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares*, by George Dixon

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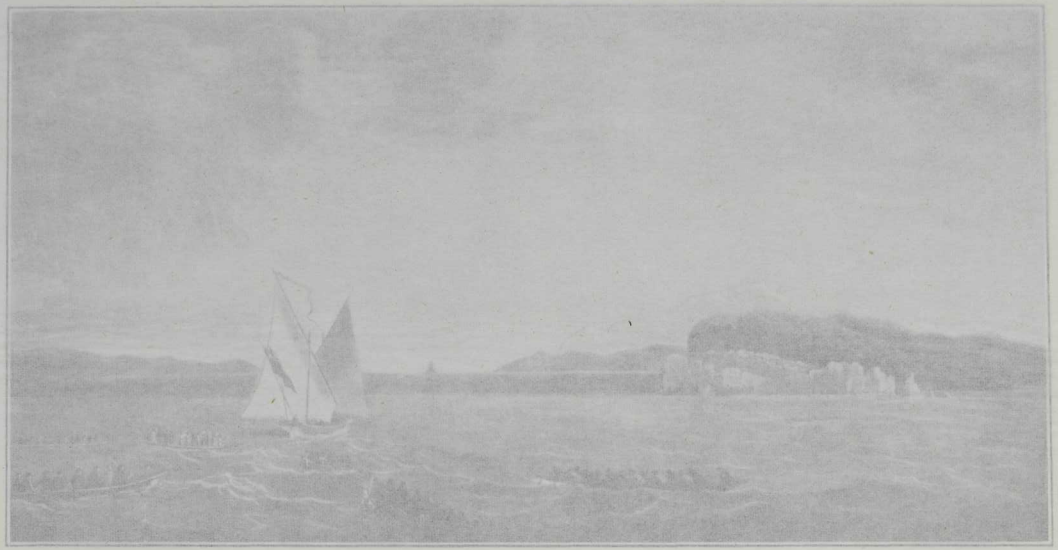

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TORONTO

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MONTREAL — NEW YORK — LONDON

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PRINTED IN CANADA

GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD

THIS volume initiates a historical series of unusual interest and importance. Possibly at no other period in Canadian history has so much attention been given to painstaking research. The wealth of our national and provincial archives is being realized and explored. Documents and original studies of international value are coming to light, but with no adequate medium available for their publication. Our historical journals are not suited to works of an extended nature, while publishers are chary of assuming unnecessary risks. Learned societies are likewise restricted in the materials which they can advantageously include in their transactions and monographs. The fringe of our historical treasures has scarcely been touched. An increasing amount of worth-while material will be produced, to the credit of students in Canadian history, and much of it will be worthy of publication.

The Canadian Historical Studies, therefore, meet a real need. Original documents, not easily accessible, and authoritative studies of outstanding importance, by scholars of recognised ability, will be included in this Series from time to time. No sectional interest will be served, but rather the interests of Canadian history as a whole, east and west, and from the earliest times to the present. There is scarcely a national character or event upon which more light is not needed. Until this candid inquiry is made, no appreciable advance can be recorded in any general history of the Dominion.

His Honour F. W. Howay, LL.B., F.R.S.C., F.R. HIST. S., the editor of this volume, is one of the best known historians of

Canada. In his chosen field of North-West Coast history he is unrivalled. For many years he has contributed to the transactions and journals of the learned societies of Canada and the United States. Both the Oregon and Massachusetts Historical Societies have elected him to honorary membership. His published works include, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present,* four volumes (with E. O. S. Scholefield), *Early History of the Fraser River Mines,* and *British Columbia: The Making of a Province.*

In the following work the side pagination reproduces that of the original brochures, and the references in the notes are invariably to it. The notes indicated by asterisks appear in the original pamphlets. As they were originally printed the long "s" was used throughout, but it has been considered advisable to conform to the modern practice, except in *Further Remarks,* which closely follows the old style. The title pages preceding each pamphlet are facsimile reproductions of the originals. The italicization also follows that in the originals.

LORNE PIERCE

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INTRODUCTION

"Varius Sucronensis ait; Aemilius Scaurus negat. Utri creditis Quirites?"

THERE is always something alluring in stories of the genesis and development of quarrels, especially where the disputants are well known. Some may see in this attraction the remains of man's inherent love of contest; others may ascribe it merely to the common interest in gossip. All music lovers know of the rivalry, developing into intense and heated controversy, that arose between Handel and Bononcini. The veriest tyro in English Literature has heard of the disputes that chequered the life of Pope, "The wicked wasp of Twickenham;" his quarrels with Addison, with Curll the publisher, with Colley Cibber, and all the rest. The wordy contest between Bentley and Boyle enriched our literature with "A Dissertation on the Epistles of the Ancients" from the pen of the greatest classical scholar that England has ever produced, and in reply a work almost as famous: Boyle's Examination of Bentley's Dissertation. Usually these inky conflicts arose from a difference of opinion between author and critic as to the real merit of some literary composition with, in Pope's case, the added factor of constitutional crankiness.

I

In the by-ways of the history of British Columbia lies the quarrel between Captain Dixon and Captain Meares. But, differing from the disputes amongst literary men, this does not arise from a variance of opinion. It is a plain case of disagreement on the facts; those stated by one are denied by the other.

Both of these men had been in command of trading vessels in the early days of the maritime trade when sea-otter skins

were, as Falstaff said of reasons, "as plenty as blackberries." But Dixon had been on the Northwest Coast before the sea-otter trade had even been dreamed of; at that time (1778), he was armourer on the *Discovery,* one of Captain Cook's ships.

Dixon and Meares were contemporaries in the maritime fur-trade. Dixon arrived on the coast in July, 1786 and Meares in August, 1786. On that visit (1786-1787) Meares was in command of the *Nootka,* an ill-starred venture, flying the British flag. In 1788 he commanded the expedition of the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia* which, though in reality British ships, were masquerading under the colours of Portugal. In the following year two of his vessels flying the British flag and two others that of Portugal, yet all four actually British, were seized by Spain for illegal trading in Nootka Sound, which she claimed to be a portion of her territorial waters. Dixon sailed from England in 1785 in charge of the *Queen Charlotte,* the consort of the *King George* under Portlock who was the commander of the expedition. These ships, both British and flying the British flag, were on the Northwest Coast in 1786 and 1787. At that time two great monopolies closed the Pacific ocean to British commerce. The South Sea Company had the sole British trade of the western coast of America and within three hundred leagues thereof; while the East India Company had a similar privilege of exclusive trade east of the Cape of Good Hope. The *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* were operating under licenses from the two monopolizing companies. Both Portlock and Dixon published accounts of their voyage, but Dixon only became embroiled in the subsequent acrimonious discussion.

Out of the seizure of Meares's ships came the international dispute known as the Nootka trouble which, at one time, threatened to precipitate an European war. It may be explained that, though the vessels are always called "Meares's," they

were in fact owned by the "Associated Merchants trading to the North West Coast of America," who were: John Meares, John Henry Cox, Richard Cadman Etches, John Etches, William Etches, William Fitzhugh, Henry Lane, and Daniel Beale. Meares, however, was throughout the spokesman for the association. The dispute involved two questions: Was the Pacific ocean a closed sea, whose commerce, fishery, and navigation belonged exclusively to Spain? Could the sovereignty of waste lands be obtanied by mere discovery and formal taking of possession without actual occupation and use?

These main points of the international complication were amicably settled in favour of Britain, October 28, 1790, by the Nootka convention. Thereafter there remained, amongst other matters, the ascertainment of the amount of damages that Spain should pay to Meares and his associates for the seizure of their vessels and the destruction of their trade. Soon after the convention was signed Meares published his *Voyages,* a pretentious quarto volume.

On its appearance Dixon attacked him furiously in his *Remarks on the Voyage of John Meares,* charging him with half statements, false statements, and false pretences in claiming for himself the credit that belonged to others. Meares in *An Answer to Mr. George Dixon* endeavoured to free himself from these imputations, while admitting that Dixon's accusation of the appropriation of others' work was, in part, true. To aid him in drawing the proverbial red herring across the track he introduced some quibbling, many personalities, and a few counter charges, as, for instance, that Dixon had failed to obey his owners' instructions, was an incompetent seaman, and other irrelevant topics. To support some of his assertions he announced his willingness to abide by the testimony of Captain Duncan, who had been on the coast in command of the *Princess Royal.* Dixon re-entered the contest in *Further Remarks on*

the Voyages of John Meares, Esq., in which he condescended to notice many trifling inaccuracies in Meares's volume and finally routed his opponent by publishing a lengthy letter from Duncan completely sustaining him and categorically denying many of Meares's statements.

These three pamphlets, now amongst the rarest in Northwest Americana, form an interesting episode in the history of the Pacific coast. They cast grave doubts not only upon the veracity of Meares as regards the disputed facts, but also upon the whole of his statements. Incidentally they are of great value for the numerous important items which they contribute to our knowledge of the early days of the maritime fur-trade.

The person who casually reads Meares's huge quarto and these pamphlets may well say with Omar that he has

"heard great Argument
About it and about; but evermore
Came out by the same Door as in I went."

It may therefore be well in considering this quarrel, since the two men are constantly at issue on the facts, to show the opinions that their contemporaries held of them respectively as well as their agreement or dis-agreement with the disputants upon other matters, and thus to obtain some assistance in determining which of them is, probably, stating the truth.

II

First, then, as to Meares's conduct and his reputation for veracity.

The American vessels, *Columbia* and *Washington,* met Meares, in 1788, at Nootka sound, and Haswell in his Log of their voyage under the date of September 16, 1788, writes:

"Capt. Mears protested that both vessels (*Felice* and *Iphigenia*) ever since they had been on the coast had

> not collected fifty skins; on our smiling (for we had been differently informed) he said it was a fact upon his sacred word of honour. So intent was this gentleman on deceiving us that he hesitated not to forfeit his word and honour to what we were convinced was a notorious falsity."

A little later Haswell has another complaint against Meares. He says that Meares, when about to sail to China in September 1788, offered to carry there any letters that the Americans wished to send; but as soon as his ship was clear of the sound Meares returned the packet, saying that he did not know to what port he might sail. In this conduct Haswell sees a deep diplomatic scheme to prevent the Americans from communicating with China: for had Meares refused to take the letters he knew full well that they would have been sent through some member of his crew.

> "Therefore," says Haswell, "(for I take him to be a man of deep penetration) he seemed obliging on that score that he might make sure of no letters going by any other conveyance."

Meares in his Memorial states that his vessels, the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia,* had permission "to navigate under, or claim any Advantages granted to, the Portuguese Flag." Nowhere does he openly say that, for Portuguese purposes, they were the property of Juan Cavalho; though this appears to have been set out in the passport issued by the Governor of Macao. According to Meares the Portuguese flag was merely used "to evade the excessive high Port Charges demanded by the Chinese from all other European Nations, excepting the Portuguese." But when the American vessels arrived at Nootka, in September, 1788, Haswell says:

> "We found riding here the Felice Adventurer, John Meares, and the Iphigenia Nubiana, William Douglas,

> commanders, fitted from Macao in China and under Portuguese colours."

A letter from Captain Gray of the *Washington,* dated July 13, 1789, says:

> "I arrived on the 16th of September and found two English snows and one schooner under Portuguese colours."

And Captain Duncan tells that when he met Meares in the *Felice* off Nootka she was "under Portuguese colours" and that

> "On my first hailing him whence he came, I was answered, from Lisbon, and that she was commanded by Don Antonio Pedro Mannella, or some such stuff, which I knew to be false."

This use of the Portuguese flag on the American coast could only have been, as Dixon claims, to evade the South Sea Company's monopoly. It certainly could not, there, have had anything to do with the alleged purpose of deceiving the wily Oriental.

In his *Voyages* Meares shows the launching of the *North West America* with a British flag on the schooner and another on the fort; in his Memorial he states:

> "He built a House for his occasional Residence, as well as for the more convenient Pursuit of his Trade with the Natives, and hoisted the British Colours thereon."

But Captain Duncan asserts in his letter that Meares informed him he had

> "At that time a small vessel on the stocks at Nootka; where he told me he had a fort, guns mounted, and Portuguese colours flying."

According to Beresford, the author of Dixon's *Voyage,* Meares could not even tell the same story as his mate: "At one time they had purchased two thousand sea-otter skins; at another, not more than seven hundred."

In his journal Duffin records that Meares's longboat reached Port Hawkesbury (port San Juan) eleven leagues up the strait of Fuca - - - even that distance was greatly over-estimated; but when Meares tells the story in his *Voyages* he expands this to "near thirty leagues."

Meares in his *Voyages* and in his *Memorial* alleges that he purchased land at Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, from Maquinna, the chief of the region; and in his amended claim, dated September 7, 1790, he includes a sum of £1,000 as the value of the goods given to the Indians in exchange. On the other hand Ingraham's manuscript journal asserts that, in September 1792, Maquinna made

> "a declaration that he had never sold any lands whatever to Mr. Mears or any other person except Captain Kendrick ,whom he acknowledged to be the proprietor of lands around Mawhinna. Captain Magee and Mr. Howell witnessed this .. .. ..declaration. If Mr. Mears did purchase the land he mentions no doubt a man of his penetration knowing the laws of his country had a deed drawn at the time . . ."

In this connection the evidence of Ingraham and Gray, to be found in the appendix to Greenhow's *History of Oregon,* is to the same effect, even after allowing for its manifest bias. Roquefeuil, in his *Voyage,* declares that Maquinna told him, in regard to the alleged purchase by Meares, that "there had not been any act of cession or treaty between them."

Meares in his *Voyages* says that Duncan complained to him of scurvy treatment by Dixon; Duncan comes forward and in his letter denies this categorically, and supports that denial by reference to the surrounding circumstances.

In his "Observations on the Probable Existence of a North West Passage" Meares refers to Juan de Fuca's alleged voyage and actually cites as a proof of its having been made, that de

Fuca mentions the custom amongst certain Indian tribes of flattening the head. This is a pure invention by Meares; no such statement, or anything like it, is to be found in de Fuca's account.

To crown all, Meares is not even consistent with himself. In pages 151 to 156 of his Voyages, he claims to have discovered, or re-discovered, the strait of Juan de Fuca; but on page 1v he had written the truth: that Captain Barkley discovered that strait. Mrs. Barkley, in her manuscript "Reminiscences," had evidently this in mind when she wrote:

> "Captain Meares, however, with the greatest effrontery, published and claimed the merit of my husband's discoveries therein contained, besides inventing lies of the most revolting nature tending to vilify the person he thus pilfered."

The evidence of the Spaniard, Martinez, is not introduced here as further contradiction of Meares, because there may be question whether either of them is telling the truth.

These instances, which are not by any means all that could be adduced, are deemed sufficient to establish, as Manning says, "this gentleman's tendency to distort the truth," and to justify the student in doubting any important and uncorroborated statement made by Meares. They support the Indian chief, Maquinna, who, according to Mozino, dubbed him "Aita-aita Meares," which being interpreted, means "the lying Meares."

As regards Dixon on the other hand his ability as a navigator has never been challenged by any one except Meares. Of him Mozino wrote in his *Noticias de Nutka* that he has "always been accredited with genius in navigation." The whole of the records of that period, both printed and written, save only those that came from the pen of Meares, will be searched in vain for the slightest contradiction of any of Dixon's state-

ments, or the least suggestion that he was not a man of honour and of scrupulous accuracy of expression. Milet-Mureau, the editor of *La Perouse's Voyage,* says in a note in volume II, page 288, (edition of 1799) that he has "embraced every occasion of proving with impartiality the confidence which is due to Dixon."

Before passing from this subject it may be well to glance at the conduct of these men in their respective publications. Meares places on his chart the words: "Chart of the N. W. Coast of America and N. E. Coast of Asia, explored in the years 1778 and 1779 by Captn. Cook, and further explored in 1788 and 1789 by John Meares." The natural inference therefrom is that after Captain Cook's departure, Meares in 1788 was the first person to explore on the coast. The fact is that in the interval some ten vessels had been trading there to his knowledge. All of their charts and the sketches that were available had been used by Meares in the compilation of his chart, but he failed to acknowledge his indebtedness. Dixon, on the contrary, in the introduction to his *Voyage* takes responsibility for the chart therein, and then proceeds to indicate in detail the sources from which it had been compiled, and to give credit to the different persons whose work he had used in its construction.

It is probable that not one of these three pamphlets was written by its nominal author. The following quotations from Meares's *Answer,* and from Dixon's *Further Remarks,* afford a certain support to that belief. In his *Answer,* on page 20, Meares says: "At the moment you were writing that curious piece of information or instructing others to write it . . ." And in his *Further Remarks,* page 11, Dixon retorts: "And here let me entreat you if hereafter you should publish any-

thing of the kind first to get some person to write your account." At the end of the pamphlet, page 80, Dixon returns to this phase:

> "Let me recommend to you in future to employ a person who is master of his subject. Men can easily be found who can write in easy language and with flow of words on every subject without being master of any subject or science whatever."

The internal evidence gives some colour to the view that the three pamphlets are the composition of hack writers. There is a felicity of expression, a skilful use of sarcasm and invective, together with a bountiful dispersion of biting adjectives and epithets, that indicate the practised dialectitian. They show the hands of people who, as Mr. Tulliver puts it in *The Mill on the Floss,* "know how to wrap things up in words as aren't actionable."

III

Next, as to the genesis of the trouble. Why did Dixon, of all the people in England who had been on the Northwest Coast, interest himself in exposing the falsity of many of the statements contained in Meares's *Voyages*?

Even the most cursory reading of the pamphlets discloses a strong mutual personal animus. This had its origin in the meeting of Meares and Portlock and Dixon. Meares left Bengal in March, 1786, and, sailing by way of Japan, reached the Northwest Coast so late in the season that he determined to winter in Prince William's Sound on the Alaskan coast. Scurvy attacked his crew, and before the arrival of spring twenty-three of his ship's company had died. While the *Nootka,* Meares's vessel, lay ice-fast, Portlock and Dixon arrived from their wintering in the "Paradise of the Pacific." They appear to have rendered such assistance as humanity dictated and their means permitted. The versions left us by

Portlock and Dixon on the one hand and by Meares on the other scarcely agree on any point of conduct; and the tones do not harmonize at all. Meares was a British subject in command of a British vessel, trading without a license in the monopoly territory of the South Sea Company — in plain English, a poacher. Portlock and Dixon were British; their ships also were British; but they had a license from the Company permitting them to trade in the region. They were lawfully, while he was unlawfully, on the coast. It may be said that they "chid his wanderings, but relieved his pain." They required from Meares a bond that he would sail for China without further trading. Meares complains of the exaction of this bond as harshness. He leaves the impression that Portlock and Dixon adopted this method, taking advantage of his forlorn situation, to rid themselves of a competitor. Nowhere does Meares refer to the fact that, being without a license, he was illegally in the trade. Nicol, who was a seaman on the *King George,* says in his *Adventures,* page 89:

> "Captain Portlock could have made a fair prize of him (Meares) as he had no charter and was trading in our limits; but he was satisfied with his bond not to trade on our coast."

In telling the story of the dire distress of the *Nootka* Beresford, the author of *Dixon's Vogaye,* asserted that the scurvy had been aggravated by the free and unrestrained use of spirits which Meares had permitted. *Hinc illae lacrimae.* Meares took umbrage at this statement, which according to Nicol's *Adventures* was true, and in his *Voyages* gave his version of the occurrences at Prince William's Sound; but always concealing the basic fact that he had been caught poaching and, instead of having his ship seized, had been allowed freely to depart on promising to poach no further. Whether he kept his bond or not cannot be ascertained, for, in his account of his

subsequent movements, he gives no data whereby his course and conduct can be exactly followed. That, however, is not unusual: it is always difficult, if not impossible, to identify the places he mentions. In his immense volume Meares lost no opportunity to belittle both Portlock and Dixon, but especially the latter, because, presumably, of the above remark. He even went so far as to remove the name of Dixon's Straits, which had been given by Sir Joseph Banks, and to substitute that of Douglas's Entrance.

Meares was not only lacking in veracity; he was also addicted to the bad, and closely-allied, habit of stating as facts things of which he had no knowledge. Vancouver, in his *Voyage* (1801 ed., Vol. V, page 339), complains of him in this respect. In disagreeing with Meares's statements regarding the native habitations and population near Prince William's Sound, Vancouver mildly remarks that "in this respect he was certainly not well informed." His volume was, probably, as he says, hurriedly prepared — if that be a justification for either failing. It was, moreover, a brief to support his exorbitant claims for damages against Spain. Some figures touching those damages may throw further light upon Meares's character. In his *Memorial,* April, 1790, he claimed $653,433; six months later, September, 1790, he increased it to £469,865, 12s; and yet he accepted $210,000 in full. In his computations he was like the "milkmaid who poised a full pail on her head." For example, he estimated that the *Argonaut* would have obtained 2,000 skins saleable at $100 each, though no vessel had collected any such number or sold at any such price. By the time that the damages were being adjusted the British Government had formed an opinion upon the value of Meares's unsupported statements. Lord St. Helens shows this feeling when he writes:

"Nor can I persuade myself that the claimants themselves would wish to carry matters to that extremity (an arbitration) notwithstanding the language which they now affect to hold."

Meares indulged in some "Observations on the Probable Existence of a North West Passage," in which he argued in favour of such a waterway, either by Cook's river or the strait of Fuca and the northern archipelago. Meares himself had never seen Cook's river, but Dixon had been there in 1778 with Captain Cook, and again in 1786 in command of the *Queen Charlotte*. He left himself open to attack on this subject by his manipulation of the maps and charts. As part of his bases of belief Meares introduced the alleged voyage of the *Washington* in the circumnavigation of Vancouver Island. It is difficult to understand how a real navigator — and whatever else Meares might have been, he was a navigator — could have accepted such a statement without the observed latitudes and longitudes, or the charts, or some other support. Meares not only accepted it; he embroidered it. This is on the basis of giving faith to his assertion that he had received the story from Mr. Neville; and Meares's word, as has been shown, is an unsafe foundation. A strong case can be made out in support of the view that Meares had invented the whole story.

His informant, Mr. Neville, he says, in one version returned to England on the *Chesterfield*, and in another on the *Duke of Buccleugh*. The first form of the story is in a "Memorandum by Lieutenant Meares" dated July 4, 1790, and in the *Foreign Office Miscellaneous Papers*. It is printed on page 26 of *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island*, by the late C. F. Newcombe. It states:

"Mr. Neville an Officer in the Et India Company's service came home from China in the *Duke of Buccleugh*. He was some weeks at Macao, and frequently in com-

> pany with Capt. Kendrick of the Washington, from whom he learnt — That the Washington left Nootka in the latter end of September, that she afterwards went up de Fonti's Strait (Dixon entrance or Hecate strait) and passing thro' a Sea came out at the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Kendrick named the Island formed by these Straits, *Washington.*"

This farrago may be regarded as a confused and greatly distorted account of Kendrick's voyage in the *Washington* in the autumn of 1789; but in June of that year Gray in the *Washington* had named Washington Island, i.e. Queen Charlotte Islands.

The story is next met in Meares's *Memorial* of July 30, 1790. It is now quite transformed; much has been added to it, and the route of the voyage has been reversed. It is reproduced as an appendix to *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island.* It now reads:

> "That the above mentioned Sloop Washington did enter those Straits to the Southward of Nootka Sound, which your Memorialist distinguished by the Name of John de Fuca, and having sailed therein a considerable distance, did arrive in an open channel or Sea, and having Coasted that part of the land which forms Nootka Sound, did re-enter the Pacific Ocean between the Latitudes of 54° and 55° North, and having completely ascertained that Nootka Sound, and all the land adjacent, to be an Archipelago of Islands, and not the Continent of America ,she did arrive in China as above mentioned."

Emboldened, as it would seem, by his success, the next form of the story contains further details and considerable embellishment. It will be found in his *Voyages,* page lvi. And finally he places the track of the *Washington* upon his chart, indicating that there was open sea to the eastward with land to be seen at one point on the horizon. Kendrick never made any

such claim. He had circumnavigated Nootka Island in March, 1789; he had visited and traded at Queen Charlotte Islands in the autumn of 1789; and the *Washington* under Gray had, in the spring of 1789, entered the strait of Juan de Fuca for a distance of twenty-five miles. These are the simple facts, of which the first and last were known in China before Meares sailed to England. The story has grown like the number of Falstaff's men in buckram.

These matters afforded Dixon the opportunity of attack. He assembled the evidence to show that Meares, in the preparation of his map, had used the charts of Barkley, Lowrie, and Guise who had preceded him, as well as those of Duncan, Portlock and himself; and that Meares had taken to himself the credit for the discoveries of all. In his *Answer,* Meares admitted the use of these charts as he wished to give the public the best and latest information; but he missed entirely, or at any rate avoided, any mention of the gravamen of the charge, which was that in his *Voyages* he had endeavoured to pose as the only discoverer on the Northwest Coast since the days of Captain Cook.

IV

The main point of Dixon's attack was upon the damages, the price of sea-otter skins. Meares had claimed $100 each for the hypothetical skins, then still on the backs of their original occupants, that his ships would, or might, have obtained had the haughty Spaniard not seized them. He estimated that in the season of 1789 the four captured vessels would have gathered 5,000 sea-otter skins, though in 1788 his two ships, the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia,* had only collected 750. One hundred dollars was a very high price for a single prime skin; of the 750 obtained in 1788 only 100 were prime; yet the hypothetical 5,000 that were to have been got in 1789 were *all* to be prime.

On this matter of price many interesting facts are brought out. Dixon by his figures strove to show that about $30 would be an average price in cargo lots; Meares endeavoured to prove that the price should be about the $100 that he was claiming. When Meares was operating in 1788 under the Portugese flag, he was, as he says, a free agent to sell his skins as he saw fit; he carefully refrains from mentioning the deception involved. But Dixon, to obtain the license of the East India Company, had entered into a bond of £5,000 to allow that Company either to buy his skins at a fair price, or to handle their sale on commission. And Meares conveniently forgets that in the venture of 1789 (being that for which the damages are claimed) he was operating under a license granted by the East India Company to the King George's Sound Company, of which the Messrs. Etches were the leading spirits; and that in consequence, had no seizures occurred, he would have been compelled to sell his skins through the Company in exactly the same way as Portlock and Dixon and Colnett and Duncan had done.

Bishop, in his manuscript "Log of the *Ruby*" epitomises the terms under which, in 1794, the East India Company issued a license to his vessel. They show the handicap which that monopoly placed upon the British trader. It is presumed that in the main these terms would correspond with those exacted in 1786, except with regard to the sale of the sea-otter skins.

> "They give us license for three years under the following restrictions commencing from the seventeenth September 1794.
>
> That the business of our voyage shall in no instance interfere to the prejudice of their trade.
>
> That on a ship's arrival at Canton or any other place within the Empire of China we are to obey all orders and instructions we may receive from the East India Company's supercargo or agents with respect to our behaviour to the Natives.

That we must give a faithful manifest of our cargo before we attempt to dispose of it, to the supercargo; any stores, provisions, &c not contained in the manifest to be liable to seizure.

We are not to obstruct their searching the ship when they please; none of the crew are to be left behind without permission of the Supercargo.

We are not permitted to sell anything but the produce of the North West coast of America.

All gold or silver we receive from the Natives is to be paid into the Company's treasury taking their Bills at the usual rate of exchange.

We must not go to the South'd and West'd of Canton nor to the West'd of New Holland.

We are not to ship any goods or merchandise without the express license of the Supercargo.

We are answerable for any ill behaviour towards the Natives to the supercargo, and must submit to his decision.

We must return direct to Great Britain at the expiration of the license.

We must within 14 days after our return to England deliver to the East India Company the original Log Book and Journal of the voyage which are not to be made public without our permission except to Government.

For the true and faithful performance of these we give bonds of twenty-five thousand pounds."

Meares's tale, in his *Answer*, of selling sea-otter skins to the Hoppo, an official whom he describes as having autocratic powers of expropriation, at $250 each must be regarded as pure fiction. He produces nothing except his own word, which is quite worthless where his interest is concerned. There is no record of any one else having received any such price. In 1779 Captain King, after much haggling, sold 20 sea-otter skins for

$800. "A few prime skins, which were clean and had been well preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty (dollars) each." (Cook's *Third Voyage,* Book vi, cap. ix.) That was the pioneer shipment and the market was hungry. In February, 1790, the cargo of the *Columbia,* consisting of "700 indifferent skins and 300 pieces," sold for $21,400 (12 *Washington Historical Quarterly* pages 260 and 264). In the autumn of 1791 John Bartlett sold 17, presumably prime, skins for $600 (*The Sea, The Ship, and The Sailor,* page 319). Both of these sales were free from any control of the East India Company, and occurred about the time that Meares's skins would have been sold. In December, 1791, Ingraham was glad to get $25 for his prime skins. The price, it thus appears, fluctuated at this time between $25 and $45; but it never soared to anything near $100.

V

Meares's theory of a North West Passage by way of Cook's river, or the northern archipelago, comes in for severe handling. Dixon points out that to make the way easier Meares has altered the longitude of the northern archipelago and the latitude of Hearne's sea. Meares defends the former by saying that he preferred the observations of his employé, Douglas, to those of Duncan; and to justify the latter he relies upon the statements of the "Canadian Traders" — a cryptic expression that appears to mean only poor, ignorant Peter Pond. Dixon then attacks the possibility of Cook's river being the mouth of a passage to Hudson Bay, and joins issue with Meares upon its depth. He then passes on to jeer at the track of the *Washington,* as shewn on Meares's chart, entering the strait of Juan de Fuca and emerging to the northward of Queen Charlotte islands, and showing open sea to the eastward. Of it Dixon sneeringly remarks that it reminds him of nothing so much as the mould of

a good old housewife's butter pat. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in a note on page 351 of his *Voyages* could not refrain from expressing "surprise at his assertion that there was an inland sea or archipelago of great extent between the islands of Nootka and the main." From these the criticism descends to insignificant matters.

The title page of Meares's *Answer* asserts that therein Dixon's Remarks are considered and refuted; but, despite this large claim, the reader will find it a poor performance and not at all equal to the advance notice. Some of Meares's answers have been already considered, in connection with the price of sea-otter skins, the alleged voyage of the *Washington,* and the possibility of a North West Passage. Dixon had denied Meares's assertions in the *Voyages* that he had not contributed suitable aid to Duncan who commanded a vessel belonging to the same owners, and that Duncan had complained bitterly of his parsimony. Meares, in his *Answer,* said: "I most willingly rest my credit with the public on his (Duncan's) testimony." Duncan unexpectedly returned from Hudson Bay and, being called upon for his version of his conversation with Meares, denied ever having made the statements attributed to him, and ended his letter with the following:

> "How far Captain Mears may have misled the public I have taken no further notice of than relates to myself."

Meares is on better ground in his defence of his "Observations on the Probable Existence of a North West Passage"; for though he cannot escape from his mis-statements — "not to call them by a stronger name," as Dixon says — yet there were many who shared his opinion that the passage really existed, clinging tenaciously to the last fragments of that badly-shattered belief. Captain Cook, it is true, had expressed the view that Cook's river was not the North West Passage; but that, after all, was an inference — merely his opinion, and Meares, too, was

titled to have an opinion. No one knew the truth until, in 1794, Vancouver explored that so-called river to its head and proved it to be a mere inlet.

It is doubtful how much reliance is to be placed on the documents that Meares flaunts so bravely in the discussion of the prices of sea-otter skins. Dixon claims that on two occasions Meares tampered with them by inserting words and making changes. It is not difficult to believe this charge when he is found to have altered a printed document, to wit: the story of de Fuca. Professor Manning, who made a scholarly study of the Nootka question, has no hesitation in suspecting Meares of tampering with any document, if thereby he might strengthen his case. (Manning's *Nootka Sound Controversy,* page 322).

VI

Besides these relevant matters Meares enters, as has been mentioned, into a series of counter charges. They are of no avail, however, for the question in which we are, and the public of his own day were, interested is his veracity and the amount of reliance to be placed in his *Voyages.* Dixon's failure, if such be the case, to obey his owner's orders or his ability as a seaman do not touch the discussion. On the first charge Dixon shows in reply that Meares has omitted an essential portion of the instructions. On the second: that Dixon spent a fortnight in a simulated effort to enter Nootka Sound and acted like a craven; we must, first of all, remember that Meares was not within thousands of miles of Nootka at the time, so that the charge is either pure invention or mere gossip. Dixon's log book, quoted in *Further Remarks,* shows that, after five days' fruitless effort, the attempt was abandoned. Nicol, in his *Adventures,* says:

> "We now stood for Nootka Sound, but encountered a dreadful gale and were blown off the coast and suffered

> much damage in our sails and rigging which caused us to stand for the Sandwich Islands to refit."

Meares himself had a somewhat similar experience; he was abreast of the entrance to Nootka Sound on May 11, 1788; but owing to tempestuous weather, it was the 13th before he cast anchor in Friendly Cove.

Then came Dixon's *Further Remarks;* but Meares's *Answer* had been so feeble on the main points of the controversy that Dixon, in response to his challenge, went afield and introduced a considerable number of mis-statements culled from the *Voyages*. These were of no importance except to show what was already rather patent; that Meares wrote carelessly, or mendaciously, or perhaps both. The great value of *Further Remarks* lies in the letter from Captain Duncan, which gives the only account, so far as is known, of the movements of the *Princess Royal* in the season of 1788.

The three pamphlets disclose a curious situation as the result of the business amalgamation that had taken place. The vessels commanded by Dixon and Duncan, in 1787 and 1788, were owned by the Messrs. Etches trading as the King George's Sound Company. In 1789 the Etches interests and the Meares interests were united as the "Associated Merchants Trading to the North West Coast of America;" and it was their vessels that were seized by Spain. Meares, in his endeavour to singe the Don's beard by making a strong case for large damages for himself and his associates, was trying to prove that sea-otter skins were worth much more than his partner's ventures had realized. This forced him almost to sneer at their ill success and to cast aspersions upon the business ability of those to whom the ventures were entrusted. When in the dispute he blandly offers to appeal to Dixon's former employer, Richard Cadman Etches, he is at the same time offering to appeal to his own co-adventurer.

The conclusion of the whole matter so far as Meares is concerned is that he endeavoured to magnify his own explorations at the expense of his predecessors; that he made many statements, important and unimportant, without any knowledge of the facts, with a reckless disregard of the truth, or with knowledge of their untruth; that in the discussion of the price of sea-otter skins (which was to him the subject of importance) he has omitted material factors, falsified documents, and made knowingly untrue statements; and that, in consequence, he is not entitled to have credence placed in his unsupported testimony. This opinion has been shown to be in accord with that of his contemporaries.

F. W. HOWAY

New Westminster, B. C.
December 31, 1928.

REMARKS ON THE VOYAGES

OF

JOHN MEARES, Esq.

IN A LETTER TO THAT GENTLEMAN,

BY

GEORGE DIXON,

LATE COMMANDER OF THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE,
IN A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, AND SOLD BY JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.
AND GEORGE GOULDING, JAMES STREET, COVENT GARDEN
M.DCC.XC.

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.

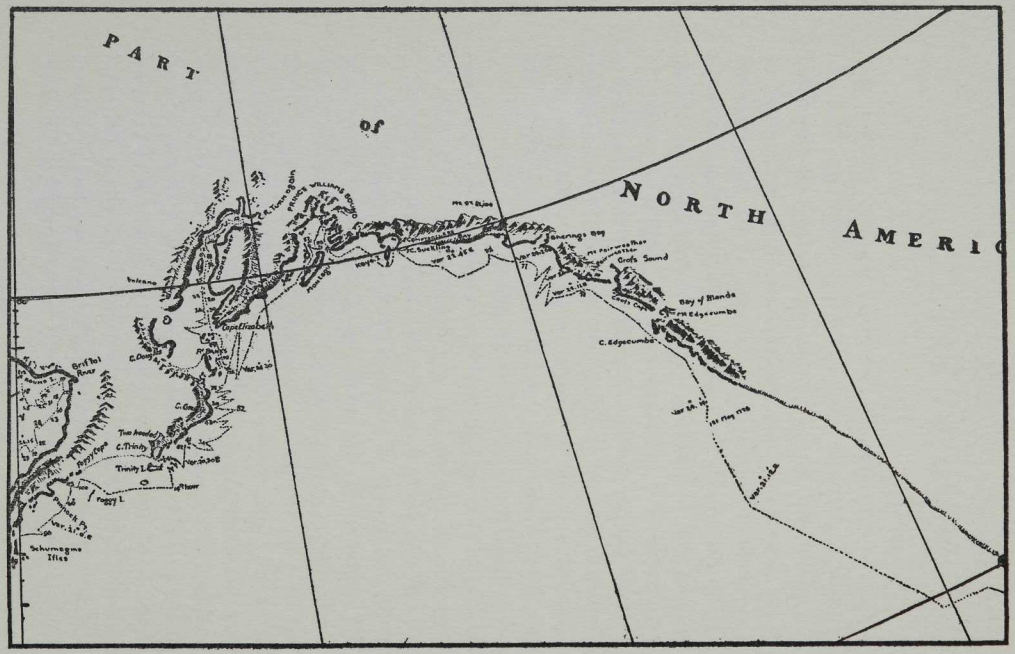
TO

JOHN MEARES, Esq.

SIR:

WHEN voyages, of whatever nature, whether for the purposes of exploring countries hitherto unknown, or of promoting useful and important branches of commerce, are undertaken, and the result of them is deemed of sufficient importance to be publicly communicated to the world, we naturally expect to meet both with entertainment and instruction. It has indeed been the custom perhaps formerly, for travellers both by land and water, to indulge their ideas in describing countries which perhaps never existed but in their own imagination, and this from a supposition that no one would be hardy enough to contradict them
p. 6. by actual observation; and consequently when mankind were agreeably entertained, their end was answered.

However, in this enlightened age, we naturally expect, not only agreeable entertainment, but information which may be depended on; and more especially in works where to discovery, is added the elucidation of a branch of commerce, which, though yet in its infancy, may hereafter be of the utmost importance to this country. Of this nature I conceived the work lately published by you, entitled, "Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North-west coast of America. To which are prefixed, An Introductory Narrative of a Voyage performed in 1786, from Bengal, in the Ship Nootka; Observations on the probable Existence of a North-west Passage; and some Account of the Trade between the North-west coast of America and China, and the latter country and Great Britain," to be, and accordingly perused it with eagerness and attention; and more especially, as having myself been engaged in the same



SECTION OF CAPTAIN COOK'S CHART

A part of Captain Cook's chart of the North West Coast of America, drawn by Lieutenant Henry Roberts, and published in the Atlas accompanying his *Third Voyage,* 1784. Captain Cook saw no land between Nootka Sound and Cape Edgecombe, Alaska, as is evident from the coast line, and the dotted line indicating the course of his vessels, in 1778.

employment,[1] I naturally expected to find my knowledge of the geography of the North-west coast of America increased, and that your labours had been properly devoted to encourage
p. 7. discovery, navigation, and commerce. Guess, then, Sir, my surprise, when I found your pompous publication scarcely anything more than a confused heap of contradictions and misrepresentations.

To point out half your absurdities, would fill a volume large as your own, and require much more time than I at present can spare; however, the duty I owe the public and myself, obliges me not to pass them over in silence: I shall, therefore, without further preface, point out *some* of your numerous errors, as they occurred to me on perusing them.

In page 38 of your Introductory Voyage, you say, "Before I conclude this note, I shall remark on the declaration of Captain Dixon, in the account of his voyage, that the disorder which so severely afflicted my crew, arose from their uncontrouled application to spirituous liquors.[2]

"In the first place, the assertion is not founded in fact; and secondly, Captain Dixon's crew and himself being visited by a similar affliction, I have an equal right to retaliate the same accusation upon him."[3]

p. 8. As I am not the author of the above declaration, whether true or false, I have nothing to do with it. I remember, on reading that part in the book alluded to, that I enquired of Mr. Beresford, on what authority the passage was inserted; his answer was, From Captain Meares's own people. Mr. Beresford is at present in London, and can, I doubt not, give

1 Both Meares and Dixon were on the Northwest Coast in the maritime fur trade from 1786 to 1787.

2 See Dixon's *Voyage*, p. 157; also, note 4 to Meares's *Answer*, post.

3 He refers probably to the outbreak of the scurvy on Dixon's vessel, *Queen Charlotte*, during her voyage from England; see Dixon's *Voyage*, p. 49. A ship on such a lengthy voyage never escaped the disease until Captain Cook's remedies became general.

a satisfactory answer to any question that may be asked him on this head.[4]

In page 201, Voyages to the North-west coast of America, you have the following note: "On enquiring of Captain Duncan, concerning his distressed condition, he told me that he had met Captain Dixon, in the Queen Charlotte; and, though that ship was on her return to China, and abundantly stocked with every thing; and though she belonged to the same owners with the Princess Royal,[5] the provident commander thought it much better to carry all his stores back to China, than to spare any of them to the latter vessel, though they would have been so great an alleviation to the hardships of the voyage."

Any person, on reading the above note, would naturally conclude, that, at the time I met with Captain Duncan, I had lately come from China with plenty of stores of every kind p. 9.
on board, and yet so inhumane as to refuse any of them to a fellow-creature and countryman in distress; especially as you say in the note, "carry them back to China."

The fact, however, was directly to the contrary. I fell in with Captains Duncan and Colnett near the place where you met them,[6] after having been from England twenty-three months, and never near China during that period. They had been from England only eleven months. I supplied them with a puncheon of molasses, a hogshead and a harness-cask of Sandwich Island pork, what trade they wanted, and a copy of my charts.

4 Dixon's *Voyage* is in the form of a series of letters, signed W.B.: William Beresford, the supercargo. Dixon only takes responsibility for the preface, introduction, and chart.

5 The King George's Sound Company, a partnership in which the Messrs. Etches were largely interested .

6 Meares met the *Princess Royal*, Captain Duncan, off Nootka, August 8, 1788; according to Duncan the date was August 7, 1788. The difference arises, doubtless, from the fact that one had come from India and the other from England. Dixon had met the *Princess Royal* and her consort off Nootka exactly a year before, August 8, 1787.

Captain Duncan had also a copy of whatever part of my log-book he chose; for which purpose, he was on board the Queen Charlotte, together with Mr. John Etches,[7] all one night.

Wine, tobacco, and portable soup, they had procured from Captain Barclay, when in King George's Sound[8] (which place they had left only two or three days), and for which I afterwards paid him near 400 Spanish dollars in China, agreeable
p. 10. to the request of Mr. John Etches. My sour krout was all expended, and I had neither porter nor cheese: Indeed I never had much of either; the greatest part of that I had on leaving England was sent me as a present by my late worthy commander, John Gore, Esq. of Greenwich Hospital,[9] and Captain Stephenson of Wapping.

In page 54 of your "Observations of the probable existence of a North-west passage, &c." speaking of the King George and Queen Charlotte, after giving a pompous account of their outfits, &c. you observe, that "their voyage was tedious and dilatory; and their success, both with respect to commerce or discovery, by no means adequate to their superior equipment."

In order to ascertain what additions I made to the geography of the North-west coast, be so kind, Sir, as take the trouble of comparing my chart with any former one; a copy of which, extending from lat. 51° N. to 55° 30′ was given to you I believe by John Henry Cox, Esq. of Canton, some time

7 A brother of Richard Cadman Etches, managing owner of *King George* and *Queen Charlotte*. See on this subject: Meares's *Answer*, p. 8, and Dixon's *Further Remarks*, p. 17.

8 Captain Charles William Barkley, of the *Imperial Eagle*. King George's sound was the name first given by Captain Cook to Nootka sound. See on this matter: Meares's *Answer*, p. 9.

9 Gore sailed with Captain Cook on his third voyage as first lieutenant of the *Resolution*. On the death of Cook he became captain of her consort, the *Discovery*, on which Dixon was armourer. A son of Captain Gore was one of the boys on the *King George*.

before you sailed for the coast of America;[10] at the same time, he gave you a copy of Captain Barclay's chart from Nootka Sound to the Southward, along the coast as far, or nearly so, as you went;[11] together with a chart of the coast, or at least that part of it, which Don Francisco Maurelle[12] had touched at, and all the information that could be obtained from Captains Hanna, Lowrie, and Guise.[13] A short statement of what I did respecting commerce, will easily settle that point. p. 11.

I collected on the North-west coast, 2000 sea-otter skins, 100 fur-seal, several land-beaver, land-otter, martin, fox, bear, marmott, and other skins; besides a large quantity of inferior pieces of sea-otter skins. Now, Sir, these, according to your *probable arithmetic,* should have been sold in China for considerably more than 200,000 Spanish dollars; but, strange to tell, even with the addition of Captain Portlock's, which made the number of sea-otter skins 2552, and considerably added to the number of other sorts of inferior value, they only fetched 54,857 Spanish dollars at the Chinese market; yet believe me, Sir, *I neither divided any of them amongst my people,* nor sold

10 This is admitted by Meares in his *Answer*, p. 13. John Henry Cox was a prominent figure in the early maritime fur trade. In 1789 he was a member of the "United Company of Merchants trading to the North West Coast of America," the owners of the ships commonly called Meares's vessels, which were seized by Spain.

11 In his *Answer*, p. 13, Meares meets this charge by saying that Barkley's chart ended at 47° north latitude while he went to 45° 30′.

12 The pilot of the Spanish vessel, *Sonora*, in her voyage in 1775 under Bodega y Quadra. His journal was published in Barrington's *Miscellanies*, pp. 471 ff.

13 James Hanna, the pioneer in the maritime fur trade, was on the coast in 1785 in the *Harmon*, a brig of sixty tons. In 1786 he was again on the coast in command of the *Sea Otter*. Lowrie and Guise, commanding the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment* were trading on the Northwest Coast in 1786. Meares's *Voyages*, pp. lii and liii, contains short accounts of their operations.

any on my own account.[14] If you would wish to be informed why they sold for so small a sum, please to enquire of Mr. Richard Cadman Etches, as you seem to be well acquainted
p. 12. with him; he, I doubt not, can give you every satisfaction on that subject. As a further proof of our *"success in commerce,"* I shall here present you with a comparative statement of the quantity of sea-otter skins brought to China by different ships, which Mr. Cox very obligingly favoured me with.

	Sea-otter skins
Captain Hanna, first voyage	560
Ditto second ditto	100
And of slips and pieces 300 sold as 60 skins.	
Captains Lowrie and Guise	604
Captain Meares, first voyage	357
Captain Barclay	800
	2481
Captains Portlock and Dixon	2552
	5033

Total number of sea-otter skins 5033; all which, including 434 cub, and 34 fox (belonging to King George and Queen
p. 13. Charlotte), sold for 146,842 Spanish dollars in China; and, taken at a mean, makes nearly 29 1/6 dollars per skin.

I should have been happy to have included in the above statement, the furs brought to the Chinese market by yourself your second voyage, and also those belonging to the Prince of

14 In his *Answer*, p. 29, Meares acknowledges the two italicized charges, and says that it was merely an effort to compensate them for the horrors and sufferings of his voyage of 1786-87, when he lost so many men by scurvy. Captain Portlock states: "We were not at liberty to dispose of one material article; the sole management of it being vested in the hands of the East India Company's supercargoes."

Wales and Princess Royal.[15] These accounts you had it in your power to have laid before the public; but, for reasons best known to yourself, you have thought proper to keep them secret. However, from what I have already done, the world will be able to judge whether your statement of *real* and *probable* losses is accurate, or fallacious.[16]

In the paragraph just quoted, you say, "They (the King George and Queen Charlotte) were authorized to make settlements, and form factories." I should be glad to be informed by you, Sir, how it was possible for this to be done, when all my people, to a man, had signed articles to return with the ship?[17]

You proceed in the same page, "After these ships had separated, the Queen Charlotte proceeded to the southward of Prince William's Sound; and continuing her course to that p. 14. part of the coast named by Captain Cook, Behring's Bay, she entered a port which then received the name of Port Mulgrave. Captain Dixon then proceeds to the Cape Edgecumbe of Cook, and from thence traces the coast till he arrived in a port which was honoured with the appellation of Port Banks;[18] and finally discovered the northern part of those islands, whose southern

15 Meares in his *Answer*, pp. 23 ff, says that the *Felice* in 1788 returned with 750 skins which sold for $38,000 and that the *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal* had 1959 skins and 65 cloaks, which brought $56,000.

16 Meares's Memorial places the losses from the seizure of the vessels at $653,433 Spanish; but in a memorandum of 7th September 1790 the claim is expanded to £469,865. In the end Meares and his associates accepted 210,000 hard dollars.

17 In his *Answer*, pp. 10 f, Meares quotes (in garbled fashion) paragraphs of the instructions to Portlock and Dixon on this subject; and Dixon in his *Further Remarks*, pp. 36 ff, shows the garbling.

18 Behring's bay is in reality no bay; though from a distance, as Captain Cook saw it, it has the appearance of a bay with an island therein. It is now called Dry bay — a mere shallow lagoon. Port Mulgrave is a snug and easily accessible harbour, near the entrance of Yukatat bay, Alaska. Cape Edgecumbe at the northern entrance to Sitka sound (Dixon's Norfolk sound), Alaska. Port Banks, the most important anchorage in Whale bay, Baranoff Island, Alaska; see a sketch of this port in Dixon's *Voyage*, p. 192.

extremity was first discovered, as has been already mentioned, by Captains Lowrie and Guise. The ship then takes her course down the western side of these islands, and, rounding the southern extremity of them, proceeds partly between them, and what was at that time supposed to be the Continent of America; but, apprehensive of being entangled among these islands, she quitted them at once, and proceeded on her voyage to China."[19]

For what I did, after parting company with Captain Portlock, I refer to the Account of my Voyage; and shall only remark, that, after being on the coast of Queen Charlotte's Islands for a month, the time drew near (Aug. 15, 1787) when I was, by my instructions, to expect Captain Portlock in King George's Sound. This circumstance, and not the "apprehension
p. 15. of being entangled among those islands," induced me to leave them, and steer for that place; off which I fell in with Captains Colnet and Duncan, as has already been related. They informed me, that Captain Portlock was not in the Sound, neither were there any furs to be procured; as a Captain Barclay had lately left it, and sailed to the Southward; in consequence of which, I determined to steer for the Sandwich Islands.

That Captains Lowrie and Guise saw the Southern parts of Queen Charlotte's Islands in 1786 I do not dispute; and I hope you will admit, that both Captain Portlock and myself fell in with these islands in company the same year, near Hippah Island; but if this is to be called a *discovery,* I am inclined to think the Spaniards may claim a right to it; for it appears by the general chart of Captain Cook's last voyage, that they must have seen this land in the year 1775,[20] and I dare venture to

19 The quotation is from Observations on the Probable Existence of a North West Passage in Meares's *Voyages,* p. liv. The islands mentioned are Queen Charlotte islands.

20 Hippa island on the western coast of Queen Charlotte islands, discovered and named by Dixon July 7, 1787. The Spaniards in 1774 had discovered the northern part of Queen Charlotte islands; see the journals of Crespi and Peña in Publications of Historical Society of Southern California, 1891, pp. 83 ff. In 1775 Maurelle saw land in about that latitude: Barrington's *Miscellanies,* p. 510, p. 513

say knew as much of it then as either Captains Lowrie, Guise, Portlock, or myself did in 1786. What I observed of them the ensuing year is fairly stated, both on my chart, and in the voyage to which it is annexed.

In the voyages to the North-west coast of America, p. 16.
speaking of Owhyhee, p. 343, you observe, that "Though several European vessels have been off the island, yet the Iphigenia alone had anchored in Karakakooa Bay, &c."

As it appears by a note in p. 38 of your Introductory Voyage, that you have read the voyage performed in the Queen Charlotte, and consequently an account of her transactions at Owhyhee, it appears strange that you should so roundly assert, that no vessel, the Iphigenia excepted, had anchored there since the death of Captain Cook.[21] This, however, is but of a piece with the rest of your misrepresentations; and to refute it, I shall only refer to the account of my voyage, page 50, &c.

A little further (page 354) you tell us of Captain Douglas being informed by a chief at Owhyhee, "That Taheo had been furnished by the Captains Portlock, Dixon, &c. with a quantity of arms and ammunition, on the express condition that he would not afford any supplies whatever to Captain Meares or his associates."

Pray what could induce you to insert so pretty a story? p. 17.
It certainly must be from a firm belief of its being a fact; but you ought first to have considered the corroborating circumstances; which as you seem not to have done, I will endeavour to do for you.

When I was last at the Sandwich Islands, you must have been at, or near China, and, as I thought, had taken leave of

21 The *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* were at Kealakekua (Karakakooa) bay on May 26, 1786; the *Iphigenia* did not arrive there until December 1788. On p. 31 of his *Answer* Meares admits this error, charging it to lapse of memory.

them for ever; neither at that time had I the most distant idea of seeing them again.[22]

Admitting this to be the case, is it probable that I should give arms and ammunition to Indians, on the "express conditions" of not affording support to a person whom I had every reason to think would never come near the place? The supposition is ridiculous, and scarcely deserves a serious refutation: But I declare, that I never gave or traded away at the Sandwich Islands, or any other place, to an Indian, either musquet, pistol, or a grain of powder; and I defy you to prove the contrary. Yourself and your associates,[23] however, seem not to have been very delicate in this respect; for it appears by
p. 18. your own account,* that you have furnished the Indians with dangerous and destructive weapons, and the consequence was "a most shocking scene of blood and massacre." Pray how do you reconcile actions like this with that "milk of human kindness" which you endeavour to make the public believe you are possessed of?[24]

In your "Observations on the probable Existence of a North-West Passage," speaking of Captain Barclay, you observe, that "he performed the whole of the voyage in twelve months, which employed the King George and Queen Charlotte upwards of two years."

* Voyages to the North-west Coast of America, page 196, &c.

22 Taheo (Kaeo) was a chief or King of Atooi (Kauai), one of the western isles of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) group. The *Queen Charlotte* was at Atooi in December 1786 and September 1787. Meares in his *Answer*, p. 30, claims that this is from Captain Douglas's journal. The trade in fire-arms was always a sore spot in the maritime trade.

23 Those associates in 1789 were John Henry Cox, William Etches, John Etches, Richard Cadman Etches, William Fitzhugh, Henry Lane, and Daniel Beale; and before that probably the same with the exception of the Messrs. Etches.

24 See Meares's *Answer*, p. 30. In Mortimer's *Voyage of the Mercury*, John Henry Cox, commander, p. 85, mention is made of some of these guns: Two two-pounders and two swivels, properly mounted on a stone platform, before the residence of Kamehameha, the king of Hawaii.

Have you forgot, Sir, that Captain Barclay went no farther to the Northward than King George's Sound, and was only three months on the coast, and that the King George and Queen Charlotte were there two season?[25] Pray, good Sir, recollect yourself, and I trust I shall hear no more of such invidious comparisons.

Your misrepresentations are not, however, confined to me alone. Captain Duncan next comes in for his share. You observe, that "He occupies almost a whole summer in this station, (Queen Charlotte's Isles), and yet, strange as it p. 19. may appear, quits the coast of America without knowing that Captain Douglas had already taken the same course." — Vide Observations on the probable Existence, &c. page 54.

I acknowledge myself entirely at a loss to know what you mean by this assertion; for, if you wish it to be understood that Captain Douglas was gone to China, that certainly was not the case; and if you mean to insinuate that he was in the Archipelago before Captain Duncan, there again you must be wrong; for at the time you saw Captain Duncan off King George's Sound, in his way to China, we find Captain Douglas at Cross Cape by your own account.*[26]

In your Introductory Voyage, page 10, speaking of skin-canoes, are these words: "The canoes of this make, extend from the straits of the two continents along the coast as far as Cape Edgecumbe."

**Voyages to the North-west Coast*, page 353 [323].

25 Captain Barkley in the *Imperial Eagle* left Ostend November 23, 1786; arrived at Nootka sound June 1787; traded during three months; and reached China in December, 1787. The *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* left England in August 1785; spent two seasons trading on the Northwest Coast; reached China in November 1787; and returned to England in September 1788.

26 To meet this insinuation of incompetence Duncan gives an account of his movements in the *Princess Royal* from March to August, 1788. See his letter in Dixon's *Further Remarks*, pp. 26 ff.

Here you ought to have added, "for anything you knew to the contrary;" for I assert it as a positive fact, that the wood
p. 20. canoe brought to England by me, and which I presented to Sir Joseph Banks, came from Port Mulgrave, which is situated in 59° 33′ North latitude, and 140° West longitude; and that during the whole of my stay there, I never saw one *skin*-canoe.[27]

But your knowledge is certainly unbounded, and such as I believe no mortal before yourself ever possessed; for I find in your Introductory Voyage, page 4, the following remarkable passage: "It had, indeed, been one continued fog ever since we crossed the latitude 35°; and from that time we had not been able to make more than two observations. We very fortunately had a time-piece on board, which proved of the greatest utility." It would be of the utmost service to the world, and more particularly those who are any way interested in navigation, if you would inform them what became of your *invaluable* time-piece. Pray, what were her principles, and who was the maker? For she certainly must have been wonderfully constructed. I had a pocket time-piece, made by Mr. John Arnold of London, who I have hitherto thought to be one of the first makers in that line in this kingdom, if not in the world;[28] but I now find myself mistaken; for I am free to confess, that mine was not of the least utility to me at sea, unless I could see both the sun and the horizon.

p. 21. In your Introductory Voyage, page 38, you take notice of a very extraordinary race of people, and add, "They had never

27 Meares made an egregious blunder in stating that the skin canoe or baidarka was used as far south as Norfolk sound (Sitka) Alaska. In his *Answer*, p. 31, he practically admits it. Sir Joseph Banks was then the President of the Royal Society.

28 Vancouver's vessel the *Discovery* carried a Kendall chronometer that had been used by Captain Cook, while the *Chatham* had a chronometer "lately made by Mr. Arnold." In his *Answer*, p. 31, Meares tones down his "one continued fog" to one in which "momentary gleams of the sun appear and transient views of the horizon are obtained."

been before seen by any navigator; and had not a favourable wind sprung up in the night, we intended to have passed a few days among them. The latitude of this part of the coast is in 56° 38′ North, and the longitude 223° 0′ 25″ East of Greenwich."

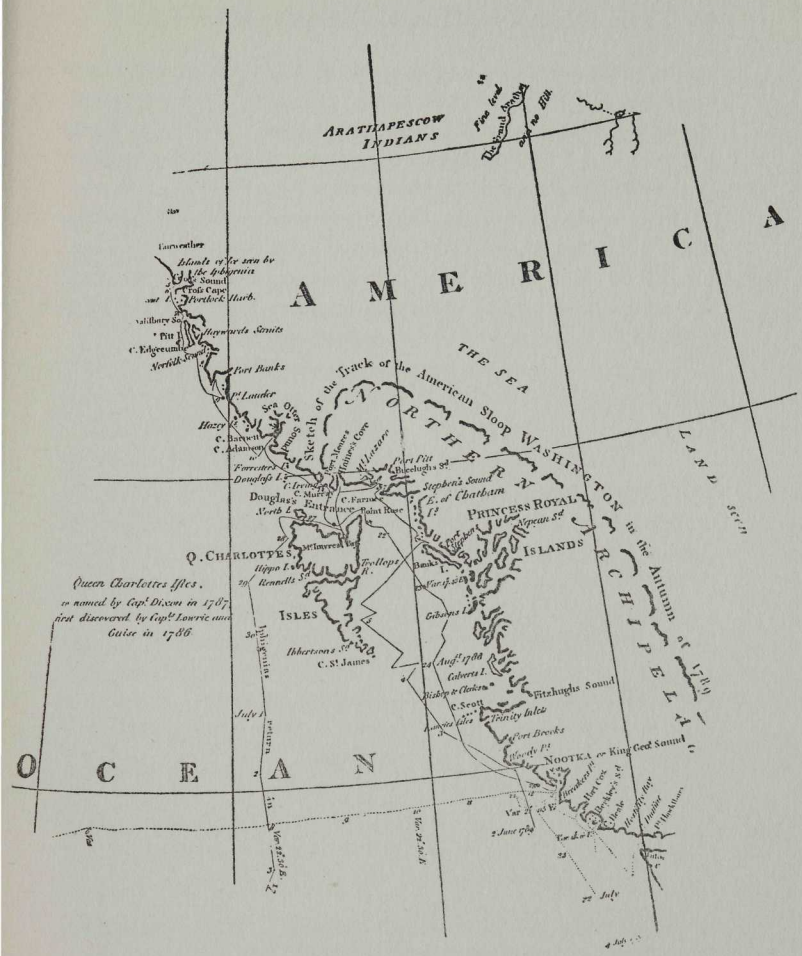
According to the latitude just quoted, this should be near the North side of the entrance into Port Banks; but the land, as laid down both in your chart, and mine, must err 1° 30′ in longitude, as we differ that distance from your own observation, which I make no doubt must be very accurate, as you have set is down *to the greatest minutiae,* viz. *seconds*: But as to your being the first navigator that ever saw these *extraordinary people,* is to me by no means equally clear; for I had been for some time at anchor in Norfolk Sound, trading with the natives there; had left that place, and even Port Banks, by the 26th of June, and you did not arrive there before the 1st or 2d of July. I also saw the same kind of people at Port Mulgrave in May:* *besides* all this, the Spaniards must certainly have seen them so early as 1775.[29]

We are told in page 56 of the "Observations on the probable Existence, &c." that "The Washington entered the straits of John de Fuca, the knowledge of which she had received from us." You also observe, that "The track of this vessel is of great moment." Be so good, Mr. Meares, as to inform the public from what authority you introduce this track in your chart? p. 22.

I have read your amusing and *instructive* book again and

*Vide Dixon's *Voyage,* page 172.

29 These "extraordinary people" are those Indians who use the labret — i.e. all the coast Indians from Yukatat bay to Milbank sound. The Spaniards under Perez in 1774 had seen this hideous ornament; Crespi and Peña's descriptions will be found in Publications of Historical Society of Southern California, 1891, p. 123, p. 192. See Meares's *Answer,* p. 31.



SECTION OF JOHN MEARES'S CHART

A portion of John Meares's "Chart of the N. W. Coast of AMERICA . . . . . explored in the Years 1778, and 1779, by CAPTN. COOK; and further explored in 1788, and 1789." Drawn by J. Heywood, No. 3 St. Martin's Church Yard, and published, in 1790, in *Meares's Voyages*. This is the chart which Dixon attacks, as having been prepared by Meares in part from the charts of earlier explorers without giving credit therefor. The track of the *Washington* is purely imaginary.

again, and cannot find any account of it; I therefor strongly suspect it never was taken from any actual survey, but has been introduced into your chart merely as a pretty variety to fill up a blank; and I cannot think of anything it resembles so much as the mould of a good old housewife's butter pat.[30]

In your Account of the Trade between North-west America and China, (page 68), you observe, that "Two, of the small number of ships which have sailed hither, have been wrecked, and others have proved unfortunate, either from the bad management or ignorance of their conductors."[31]

I beseech you, in the next edition of your valuable book, to p. 23. alter this passage; for, as it stands at present, I am afraid it is rather too pointed at your *own conduct.*

The reception you met with at the Sandwich Islands, on your return from the Western coast of America to China, was very flattering; your account of it* says, "We remained here a month, during which time the islanders appeared to have no other pleasure, but what arose from shewing kindness, and exercising hospitality to us." And what return, I would wish to ask, did you make for all this kindness and hospitality? If your answer is not at hand, I can furnish you with a true one; you fired four-pound shot amongst them on shore. Should you wish to know from what authority I make this assertion, I answer, from Mr. Ross your chief mate. The last time I was at Onehow,[32] the natives gave me to understand something about the matter, though I could not rightly comprehend what ship had done it; but on my mentioning the circumstances to Mr. Ross, he frankly owned it was Captain Meares's, and that

*Introductory *Voyage,* page 39.

30 This voyage was one of Meares's inventions or, at any rate, exaggerations. See the subject discussed in the introduction hereto.

31 The two vessels are the *Lark,* which was lost on Copper island in 1786, and the *Sea Otter,* which was never heard of after sailing from Prince William's sound in the autumn of 1786. Hanna's second voyage in 1786, when only one hundred skins were obtained, is doubtless the unfortunate one.

32 Niihau, one of the western isles of the Hawaiian (Sandwich) group.

it was in consequence of a quarrel which originated on some
p. 24. of the Indians stealing either the cat-block or fish-hook, I do not at present recollect which: Mr. Ross added, that he and several of your people were on shore the day after this affray happened, when the inhabitants produced some of the shot you had ordered to be fired amongst them, and wanted much to know for what reason you had done it;[33] at the same time they used him and the people with him exceedingly well. I should have imagined that a person of Mr. Meares's *feeling* and *humanity,* might have settled a business of that kind amicably, or at least without adopting such rigorous measures: your conduct, however, on this occasion, clearly points out the reason for their cool behaviour to you the last time you visited them, and which has already been noticed.

In your "Observations on the Probability of a North-west Passage, &c." speaking of Captain Cook, you say, "The weather in this important part of the voyage was so unfavourable, that the ships were prevented from approaching the coast; for, though the Felice and Iphigenia did explore these latitudes, (56° to 47° North) yet there is every reason to lament that Captain Cook was himself prevented from such an examination as would have proceeded from him."

p. 25. Give me leave here, Sir, to compliment you on your modesty; you say that the Felice and Iphigenia "*did explore*" the latitudes just mentioned; yet, in the same breath, you lament that Captain Cook was prevented from doing it. — No notice however is taken by you of what either Captains Duncan or Barclay have done towards surveying this part of the coast; this country is indebted only to the Commanders of the Felice

33 Meares, in his *Answer*, pp. 30 f, admits this charge, saying that the natives were trying to steal his anchor and he fired one four-pound shot over their heads to terrify them; but in Dixon's *Voyage*, p. 257, (Letter xl) it is stated that several of them were killed.

and Iphigenia; for you tell us, (page 17), "Thus has been unveiled the whole of the American coast, particularly those parts between the latitude 50° and 55° North, and 47° and 48° North; and surely this survey gives room for something more than conjecture on the subject."[34]

I find in the same Observations, (page 50), speaking of the Straits of John de Fuca, the following passage: "If it should be asked why these Straits were not penetrated, or at least some attempt made to penetrate them? the answer is at hand; — the destruction of our commercial enterprize by the ships of his Catholic Majesty."

What a pity! the Dons should be made to pay well for this; for long before this time, you would *probably* have been in England by way of the North-west passage; for discovering which, there is a reward of £20,000:[35] I hope and trust you will not forget to include this, either in the *actual* or *probable* losses you have sustained.

p. 26.

Having in your "Observations, &c. on the probable existence of a North-west Passage," page 48, favoured us with an attempt to prove the probability of a communication between Cook's River and the Southernmost part of Baffin's Bay, or the Northernmost part of Hudson's Bay, into the Atlantic Ocean, you proceed, "For it should be remembered, that in the highest known latitude of Cook's River, no impediment was observed to

34 Meares leaves the impression that no vessel had been on the coast between Cook's visit in 1778 and his arrival in the *Felice* in 1788. There had been eleven: In 1785 Hanna in *Harmon;* in 1786, Hanna in *Sea Otter,* Meares and Tipping in *Nootka* and *Sea Otter,* Lowrie and Guise in *Captain Cook* and *Experiment,* and Portlock and Dixon in *King George* and *Queen Charlotte;* in 1787 Barkley in *Imperial Eagle,* Portlock and Dixon in *King George* and *Queen Charlotte,* and Colnett and Duncan in *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal.*

35 This reward was offered by Act of Parliament in 1745; the Act was altered and broadened in 1776, so as to apply to ships sailing from the Pacific ocean and to ships of the Royal Navy.

the further progress of ships, either from rocks, shoals, or want of a due depth of water; the channel on the contrary, appearing capacious and extensive, and abounding with whales." I should be glad to know on whose authority you make the above assertion? for I cannot find, after perusing your account of Captain Douglass's voyage, and your own also, that either of you were so high up this river, or higher than 60° 30′ North latitude; or that you had boats higher than the *narrows;* and Captain Cook, in his chart of that river, (*vide* Cook's last
p. 27. voyage), evidently shews the contrary, for he has laid down a large shoal *above the narrows,* on which the ship grounded; and the depth of the water, as put down on the chart, (an authority which I presume you are not disposed to controvert) decreases.[36]

Neither do I find in his book the least notice taken of their seeing any whales. However, should any further navigator, on the credit of your assertion, (which, begging your pardon, I scarcely think they will), go up there to catch whales, and be disappointed, for their encouragement, I can venture to affirm, they may obtain plenty of fresh salmon.[37]

Again, at page 57, after producing a variety of what you call "corroborating proofs" of former writers, are these words: "If these particulars can be supposed to have any weight, how much will it be encreased when it is known that ships have reached between 61 and 62 degrees of latitude in Cook's River, where a navigable strait of considerable extent appeared to their

36 In this discussion regarding Cook's river Dixon has the advantage; he was there with Captain Cook in 1778 and again in *Queen Charlotte* in 1786, when, as his chart shows, he anchored beyond the narrows. Meares had never been beyond the entrance.

37 "The salmon come into the river [Cook's river] in innumerable shoals at this season of the year and are caught by the natives in wears, with the greatest ease."—Dixon's *Voyage,* p. 63 (Letter xvi). Cook also mentions his being there supplied with "a large quantity of very fine salmon." See entry: 3rd June 1778 in Cook's *Third Voyage.*

SECTION OF JOHN MEARES'S CHART

A part of John Meares's chart of the North West Coast of America, drawn by J. Heywood, No. 3 St. Martin's Churchyard, and published, in 1790, in *Meares's Voyages*. It shows the course of the *Iphigenia* on her voyage to the coast, in 1788, under Captain William Douglas. A comparison of this chart with that of Captain Cook's will show that Meares has added nothing to the knowledge of Cook's River.

view, free from ice, or impediments of any kind, and where the rise and fall of the tide was so great that there must be other extensive channels for the reception of the waters which
p. 28. can only be East?" Had Captain Cook been living, what answer would he have made to this bold assertion? or what reason could he have assigned, "when there was no impediment of any kind in his way," why he did not push boldly on, and at once make the passage so long looked for in vain? But though that illustrious navigator is no more, respectable authority may easily be found to controvert any assertions of this kind.[38]

Captains Burney and Bligh,[39] of the navy, were both of them with Captain Cook when he discovered the river just mentioned. Captain Bligh, at that time master of the Resolution, surveyed it, laid down the shoal and the various soundings which I have already noticed; and, I doubt not, is fully competent to determine, whether in the highest "known latitude" of Cook's River there are *any impediments* in the way of navigation.

For the purpose of combating vulgar prejudices, and *unpopular* doctrines, you "beg leave to introduce the voyage of the Iphigenia."* Why produce that voyage, when you *have it*

*Observations on the Probable Existence of a North-west Passage, page 45.

38 Cook has traced the river or inlet to 61° 30′, more than seventy leagues, and congratulated himself that he had thus "prevented speculative fabricators of geography from assuming the existence of a passage thence to Baffin or Hudson bay." It is believed that no other ship had ascended the inlet further until 1794 when Vancouver traced it to its head.

39 James Burney was then a lieutenant on the *Discovery*. He was transferred to the *Resolution* in August 1779, after the death of Captain Clerke. Lieutenant Bligh, "Bread fruit Bligh," was then master of the *Resolution* Bligh is best known in connection with the mutiny of the *Bounty* and his great boat voyage thereafter.

in your power to produce a much better? I mean Captain Duncan's.[40]

As you confess to have Mr. Arrowsmith's chart, on which Captain Duncan's track is laid down, in your possession, it is but too plain that you have been furnished from it with the greatest part of the materials to construct your own; yet, in no part of your work do you acknowledge the obligation, except one; and, strange to tell! in that very place you differ from Mr. Arrowsmith's chart no less than 19° 45′ to the westward.[41] p. 29.

The part where you exercise your talents in so wonderful a manner, is the sea seen by Mr. Hearne. Go on, Sir, make one remove more, and you will open a North-west passage.[42]

Speaking still of the Iphigenia, you observe, "This ship enters so far to the East, that she passes, by three degrees, the western boundary of Mr. Hearne's sea in 72°, (but placed by Mr. Arrowsmith, in his chart lately published from Mr. Turner's charts and journals,[43] in the latitude of 68° 15′ North, and longitude of 228° East of Greenwich) when a clear and extensive passage is seen without impediments."

Well might the ship be to the Eastward of that place; for, as I observed before, (when speaking of your own chart), that

40 Meares, in his *Answer*, p. 17, makes the unsatisfactory reply that he prefers the journal of the *Iphigenia*. In his *Voyages*, pp. 287 ff, is an account of the passage of the *Iphigenia*, under Douglas from China to Nootka by way of Alaska.

41 Meares's *Answer*, p. 19 admits that he made this alteration because he preferred Douglas's observations to those of Duncan which Arrowsmith had accepted. See Table vii in the Appendix to Meares's *Voyages*.

42 A jibe at Meares's distortion of the evidence in order to support his theory of a North West Passage.

43 Aaron Arrowsmith, noted English cartographer, born 1750, died 1823. His maps and charts were remarkable for the accuracy and care with which they were constructed. Philip Turnor, the astronomer of the Hudson's Bay Company; see a reference to him in Cook's *Third Voyage*, p. lxxxi. See on this subject Meares's *Answer*, p. 18.

p. 30. part placed by Mr. Arrowsmith in longitude 247° 45′ East, you have removed to 228° East, which is *only* 19° 45′ to the westward of him; but ,not contented with that, you have laid down the land 1° 30′ to the eastward at Princess Royal Island, Nepean's Sound, Bank's Island, and in general, all that side of the channel.

On what authority you have deviated in your chart from Captain Duncan (as laid down by Mr. Arrowsmith) I know not, there being no reason whatever assigned for it in your publication; neither can I by any means learn why we are favoured with Capes *Mendozino* and *Mendocino,* in your *very correct* delineation of the American coast; as the most correct chart extant, so far as relates to that part of the coast, has only *one* Cape Mendocino; the other is called *Cape Blanco,* which cape you have been pleased to remove 1° 30′ to the Northward of its real situation.[44] By the same happy method (discovered I believe only by you) of removing land at pleasure, you have placed Port Sir Francis Drake in latitude 49° North, but which I presume can only be found in 47° 30′ nearly.[45]

In your instructions to Captain Douglas,[46] (Appendix No. 5.) are these words: "I recommend you to make the coast to
p. 31. the Southward: and as you have the credit of discovering the great island, the North-west side of which, comprehending near four degrees of latitude, is entirely undiscovered; I therefore recommend your making Cape Saint James, the Southern extremity of the great island, as the first point on the Continent

44 Meares's map shows a cape Mendocino in 40° and a cape Mendozino in 42° 30′. Meares was never that far southward. In his *Answer,* p. 19, he lamely replies that he found one on Arrowsmith's map and the other on Cook's map, so he set them both on his own.

45 These are typographical errors for 39° and 37° 30′. Meares in his *Answer,* p. 19, jeers back.

46 In command of the *Iphigenia,* one of Meares's vessels, in 1788 and 1789.

of America.[47] As you steer along the North-west side of the great island, you will explore it minutely, to the height of 50° North; where resides a chief, whose district is large, and where Captain Dixon procured in a few hours, two hundred cloaks, or six hundred skins."[48]

In the passage now quoted, and other parts of the same instructions to Captain Douglas, concerning this *great island,* as you are pleased to call it, and to whom you give the honour of the discovery, you frequently make use of the name *Cape Saint James*. Pray how did the Cape obtain that name? And how came you to be informed that I had visited this *great island* at or near the latitude 54° North, and where I purchased such a number of skins? Why not say at once to your associate, "I was favoured by Mr. Cox with an account of this place, together with a copy of a chart which Captain Dixon gave him in China?"[49] This would have been telling the p. 32. plain truth at once; but this I presume did not suit your purpose; palpable falsehoods, or studied misrepresentations, seem to be the most striking traits of your very extraordinary performance.

A little further on in the same instructions, you say, "Let your orders to Mr. Funter[50] be clear and explicit. When you separate at Cape Saint James, he will proceed into the great channel, and steer up the North-east side of the great island,

47 The reference is to Queen Charlotte islands, which Meares seems to think Dixon did not discover because he did not actually circumnavigate them. See also Meares's *Answer*, p. 15.

48 Cloak bay, near the northern end of Queen Charlotte islands. Dixon there procured 300 (not 600) skins in half an hour.

49 Cape St. James named by Dixon July 25, 1787 (St. James's day). John Henry Cox already mentioned. He was interested in the maritime trade from 1785 till 1789. He had assisted in fitting out the ventures of both Hanna and Meares.

50 In command of the schooner *North West America*, built by Meares at Nootka sound in 1788 — the first vessel constructed on the Northwest Coast of America.

as high as 54° 30′ North, and be employed alternately between the island and the main land of America; a plan of which is now in your possession, as well as information of the various chiefs, and their places of residence: – the paper of intelligence respecting this, which I fortunately procured, accompanies these instructions."

You will please to recollect, Sir, that you have told us, in the instructions just quoted, that you received some information from the Princess Royal; and, in another place you mention "Port Royal." So that it is no difficult matter to *unveil* your secret, and learn from whence you obtained your plan and information respecting the North-west side of the *great island,* and the opposite side of the channel.

p. 33. I have already mentioned Captain Barclay's chart, and shall now give the position of different places on the North-west coast, as I have taken them from the Memoire of a Map published by Mr. Dalrymple in 1789;[51] Captain Barclay's chart, given me by John Henry Cox Esq. not being at this time in my possession.

The positions from Captain Barclay's chart just mentioned are:

Lat. North.		Long. West of Greenwich.		
°	′	°	′	
47	9	125	23	Point Fear
47	43	125	1	Destruction River [52]
47	47	125	14	Pinnacle [53]
48	8	125	31	Cape Flattery
48	24	125	47	Centre of Tallock Island

51 A well known Scottish hydrographer, publisher, and author, born 1737, died 1808. He issued some polemical pamphlets in connection with the seizure of Meares's ships.

52 A river near Destruction island, (probably the Quillayute river) on the coast of the state of Washington.

53 Pinnacle rock, near Cape Flattery.

48	26	125	44	South point of De Fear's entrance.[54]
48	33	125	48	North point ditto
48	50	126	0	South point Barclay's Sound[55]
49	0	126	17	West point ditto
		127	0	West point Nootka

Whether or not this chart has been of service to you, p. 34.
the most superficial reader of your voyage will be able to discover; but your gratitude seems to keep pace with your other intellectual endowments, as I do not find in the whole course of your work, the smallest acknowledgement made for the many advantages you derived from it.

The same may be said respecting the use you have made of Captain Duncan's chart, different positions from which I would have given, but at present it is not in my possession.

I now come to take some notice of the agreement of your own charts one with another, and here I confess myself entirely at a loss in regard to the *interior* part of America; for they differ from each other so very materially in this particular, that I cannot find any other method of reconciling them, than by supposing that parts of them are taken from different authorities, and the remainder probably laid down from your own survey when on the lakes of Canada; as, from the following passage in your Voyages to the North-west coast of America, page 222, I find you were stationed there in the early part of your life: "And here, I trust, it will not be considered as an impertinent digression, if I express my gratitude to that p. 35.
example of professional rigor and perseverance, which in my early years were set before me, on the opposite side of this continent; where ability and courage alleviated, in some

54 A slip of the pen or typographical error; the strait of Juan de Fuca is meant.

55 Cape Beale, named in 1787 by Captain Barkley after John Beale killed by the Indians near Destruction island. The exact position is 48° 47′ north latitude, 125° 13½′ west longitude.

measure, the chagrin of unsuccessful war. The campaigns in Canada owe their only honour to the naval warfare on the lakes of that country; and it was my good fortune when a youth, to be inured in such a school to the hardships and difficulties of naval life, and to learn there, that temper and perseverance must be added to professional knowledge, in order to surmount them. I am ready to acknowledge, that for the little skill I may possess as a professional man, as well as the patience I have exercised, and the perseverance I have exerted in this or any other voyage, I am indebted to the rigid discipline which necessarily arose from the continual action, hazard, and conflict of the service in which I was first engaged."

If you mean to shew the world the charts now in question for examples of your skill as a professional man, they, I am afraid, will give the nautical part of it, but an indifferent opinion of your abilities in that line of life which you were brought up in, and which you now profess; however, be all this
p. 36. as it may, it never was my intention to find fault with, or cavil at you on that account: Few men arrive at perfection *in any line of life,* and the greater part of mankind seldom advance beyond mediocrity; yet, though we frequently find real merit and unaffected modesty joined together, we much oftener meet with two very opposite qualifications (if the old proverb is to be believed) "joined hand in hand."

Whatever may be your abilities, it was surely in your power, (wherever you have found your own inexperience aided by the information of others), to acknowledge from what source you derived your information; or, if they fortunately succeeded in making any interesting discoveries, or throwing new lights on the branch of commerce in which you were engaged, you surely might have let them enjoyed their hard earned portion of merit in quiet, and not have endeavoured, by detracting from others, to add to your own. But, no, this you could not possibly do;

and therefore a spirit of envious detraction, and fastidious misrepresention, is met with almost in every page of your work. I could not therefore suffer it to be ushered into the world unnoticed.

I am aware that my observations on the different passages p. 37. in your book do not proceed in a regular line; but I made them as they occured to me, or rather, I have selected as many of them as I have had leisure to do, for all your inconsistencies would (as I have already observed) fill a quarto volume.

I am, Sir

Yours, &c. &c.

GEORGE DIXON

James Street, Covent Garden;
December 1, 1790.

AN

ANSWER

TO

MR. GEORGE DIXON,

LATE COMMANDER OF THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

IN THE SERVICE OF

MESSRS. ETCHES AND COMPANY.

BY

JOHN MEARES, ESQ.

IN WHICH THE REMARKS OF MR. DIXON ON THE VOYAGES TO THE NORTH WEST COAST OF AMERICA, &c LATELY PUBLISHED, ARE FULLY CONSIDERED AND REFUTED.

LONDON:

PRINTED AT THE Logographic Press:

AND SOLD BY J. WALTER, Nº 169, PICCADILLY, OPPOSITE OLD BOND STREET.

M DCC XCI

SIR,

YOU have thought proper to publish a Letter to me, containing remarks on the Voyages which I have lately offered to my country. It becomes me, therefore, to return an answer to them, that my silence may not be interpreted as an acquiescence in the folly of your observations, and the falsehood of your assertions. It is a duty I owe to the public, — and I fulfil it.

In a work, entitled, A Voyage round the World, by Captain George Dixon,— and which is dedicated to such a respectable character as Sir Joseph Banks, by the same George Dixon; who, in the dedication of the Volume, represents himself as the Author,[1]— in this publication, it is asserted, that the disorders with which my crew were afflicted in Prince William's Sound, arose, in a great measure, from an uncontrouled use of spirituous liquors; I had, therefore, an undoubted right to presume
p. 6. the falsehood was of your fabrication. The calumny which was propagated in print, when I was engaged in a distant and hazardous navigation, from whence I might never have returned to contradict it, struck at my character as a sailor and as a man. It implied that I was ignorant of my profession,— inattentive to the objects of the voyage,—careless of the lives of my crew,—and even regardless of my own.[2] You, however, seem to be very glad to shift the charge from yourself, and leave Mr. Beresford, who was supercargo of the Queen Charlotte, and who now appears as the author of the book,[3] to answer for the falsehoods of it. The passage is as follows:

1 Another of Meares's half truths. Dixon wrote the dedication and the introduction. The dedication might leave such an impression; but the introduction shows that the work is not his. See Dixon's *Further Remarks*, p. 15.

2 "The lady doth protest too much, methinks."

3 Beresford always appeared as the author of the book — Dixon's *Voyage*. Every letter bears his initials.

Page 157 of Dixon's Voyage.

"It was Captain Meares's intention to have completed his "voyage in twelve months; but the frost setting in sooner than "they expected, had unavoidably detained them in the Sound "during the winter. The great loss they sustained by sickness "has already been related: unfortunately, when the remaining "part of Captain Meares's crew were weak and enfeebled to the "last degree, they were greatly distressed for fuel; and, for "some time, it was with the greatest difficulty that they got "wood on board for their daily use.

" On our inquiry whether the scurvy, unattended with any "other complaint, had made such fatal havoc amongst the "people belonging to the Nootka, we were informed, that a free, "unrestrained use of spirits had been indiscriminately allowed "them during the extreme cold weather, which they had drank "to such excess about Christmas, that numbers of them kept "their hammocks for a fortnight together; add to this, their "liquor was of a very pernicious kind; so that there is reason "to suppose its effects, when drank to such an extreme, were not "less fatal than the scurvy itself. Admitting this to be the "case, it was surely ill-judged in Captain Meares to suffer such "hurtful excesses amongst his people; and I am afraid that a "scanty supply of the various antiscorbutics absolutely neces-"sary for these voyages, put it out of their power to check this "cruel disorder, so often fatal to sea-faring people."

Without making any observations upon the artful, insidious p. 7.
and indecisive manner in which my name is here introduced, in order to fix a criminal conduct upon me, I shall proceed to declare, that the sickness of my crew arose, as I have described in the account of my voyage, from that extreme cold, which all the fires we could make, and all the means of protection we could employ, were not able to moderate, so as to prevent the cruel effects it had, more or less, upon us all. In Poland,

Russia, and other northern countries, the scurvy is known to prevail with great severity, where every aid of medicine and regimen is to be easily obtained. That we, therefore, should suffer the most distressing afflictions of this disease, who were destitute of fresh provisions, vegetable productions, and every other means of alleviating application, is so natural a consequence of our situation ,that the most eager malevolence alone, could listen to and adopt any other. So far from allowing a promiscuous and indiscriminate use of spirits, I do affirm, that no more than half a pint a day per man was allowed, which was distributed by the purser, half in its raw state, and the other half in water; and, as the people fell sick, this allowance was instantly discontinued. I am ready to acknowledge, that the spirits on board the Nootka were of Bengal manufacture, and very inferior to those of the West Indies; but this circumstance relates to the imperfect nature of our equipment from an Oriental port, and has nothing to do with the false and malignant charge that you made, or, which is the same thing, permitted to be made against me.[4]

REMARK THE SECOND.

AN accidental inaccuracy of expression, which arose from the haste with which my Voyages were prepared to meet the circumstances of the moment,[5] has enabled you to make out a quibble that, to superficial readers, may wear the appearance of an argument. The note, page 201, of my book, which stings

4 John Nicol, a seaman on the *King George*, says in his *Life and Adventures*, p. 87: "She discovered the *Nootka*, Capt. Mairs, in a most distressing situation from the scurvy. There were only the captain and two men free from disease. Two and twenty Lascars had died through the course of the winter; they had caused their own distress by their inordinate use of spirits on Christmas eve."

5 In May, 1790, Richard Cadman Etches wrote that Meares's *Voyages* would not be issued within nine months; the book, however, appeared within six months.

you so deeply, most certainly implies that you had already been p. 8.
to China; but the error is of no consequence to the charge I made, and still make, against you: for the question is not, whether you were going to China for the first or second time;— but whether you did not possess such an abundance of stores, as to afford a much more effectual assistance than you gave to the distressed crew of a ship in the service of the same owners with yourself!— I have asserted you did not; and I continue to assert it.— I shall state the offensive note in the form I am very willing to allow it ought to have appeared, and in which it shall appear hereafter.

" On enquiring of Captain Duncan concerning his distressed "condition,[6] he told me that he had met Captain Dixon in the "Queen Charlotte; and though that ship *was proceeding to* "*China,* and abundantly stocked with every thing;— and even "though she belonged to the same owners with the *Princess* "*Royal,* the provident commander thought it much better to "*carry all his stores to China,* than to spare any of them to the "latter vessel, though they would have been so great an allevi- "ation to the hardships of her voyage."*

That you supplied the Captains Duncan and Colnett, in their distress with one puncheon of molasses, some Sandwich Island pork, articles of trade, a copy of your charts, and part of your log-book, may be very true.—But will you take upon you to say, that this supply was equal to their distressed condition, or to your power of alleviating it?[7]—If the latter,— from what

* It may be proper to observe, that the distress of Captain Duncan arose from accidental circumstances, as both his ship and the Prince of Wales were originally equipped with the same commercial spirit as distinguished the outfits of the King George and Queen Charlotte.[8]

6 See Dixon's *Further Remarks,* pp. 22 ff, in which Duncan denies the distress and gives his version of the meeting.

7 Duncan was well satisfied with Dixon's conduct; see his letter in Dixon's *Further Remarks,* pp. 22 ff; Dixon also touches the matter in *Further Remarks,* pp. 17 f.

8 According to Duncan the owners (who were now Meares's co-adventurers) "merited every censure" for "the many deficiencies even of common necessaries," on the *Princess Royal*: See *Further Remarks,* p. 23.

idle vanity did you make a boast, on your arrival at Canton, that, although you had been out twenty-three months, you had no occasion to purchase any article of stores or provisions for your homeward-bound voyage to England.[9] At the time, therefore, you met Captain Duncan, you must, according to your own account, have had near a twelvemonth's stores, &c. on board; and were, besides, on your voyage to China, where every
p. 9. kind of supply was to be obtained;—nevertheless, one puncheon of molasses, and an hogshead and harness cask of Sandwich Island pork, was all your cautious sympathy and provident humanity could spare to relieve the distresses of your fellow-creatures and countrymen, employed in the service of your common owners.—The Captains Duncan and Colnett both declared to me, that, in every part of their subsequent voyage, they sensibly felt and lamented, to use no harsher expression, the unfeeling parsimony of your conduct.[10]

You appear, Mr. Dixon, to infer, from the account you give of the supplies which the Captains Duncan and Colnett received from Captain Barclay, that they superseded the necessity of your further assistance; but those gentlemen, while they acknowledged their obligations to Captain Barclay, always represented his supplies as by no means sufficient to be of any lasting service. Nor do I fear to hazard an opinion, that the return of the Princess Royal to China was owing to your avarice.[11] Had she received from you, Sir, what you could so

9 Dixon deals with this alleged boast in *Further Remarks*, p. 18.

10 Duncan says that Meares "must have misunderstood" him — that his censure was of his owners' conduct, not of Dixon's; see *Further Remarks*, pp. 22 f. We have nothing from Colnett, who had just been released from confinement in Mexico and was wintering at Clayoquot sound, British Columbia.

11 This complaint is difficult to understand. The *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal* left England in September 1786; spent the seasons of 1787 and 1788 on the coast; arrived in China, December, 1788; the *Princess Royal* joined the Meares venture and the *Prince of Wales*, with Duncan on board, reached England, July 14, 1789. This was normal; two seasons were usually spent in trading. Dixon replies in *Further Remarks*, pp. 19 f.

well have spared, and, setting aside the common dictates of humanity, you ought to have bestowed, for the interest of your owners, that vessel might have remained another season on the Coast of America. Captain Duncan is now in London,— and I am most willing to rest my credit with the public, on his testimony respecting all I have said concerning the transactions between that worthy man and yourself.[12]

If you do not recollect the precise quantity of those spirits, stores, &c. which, after three years' voyage, you brought back to the Thames, the Mess. Etches, perhaps, will trouble themselves to re-inform you. As for the porter to which I alluded in pages 28, 29 and 30, of my Introductory Voyage, that charge rests wholly with your commander. He, indeed, promised to sell me a certain portion of it, at a time when it would have proved a nutritious, cordial and healing medicine to the afflicted crew of the Nootka; but, as may be seen in the pages to which I have just referred, he thought proper to break his word on the subject, and brought a quantity of it back with him, in order to regale his friends in London with such a curious and long travelled article of convivial luxury.[13] p. 10.

REMARK THE THIRD.

WITH respect to the equipment of the King George and Queen Charlotte, I represented it, as it was, of a very superior kind,—such as the port of London could alone afford, and

12 After his return in 1789 Duncan had been engaged in seeking a passage from Hudson bay to the Pacific ocean, as Meares knew — see Meares's *Voyages*, p. xlix. "He probably thought that I might never return from Hudson's Bay, or that I might pass over in silence his unmerited accusations." —Duncan in *Further Remarks*, p. 21.

13 Meares mentions this porter in his *Voyages*, p. xxviii; but it is not referred to in any of his or Portlock's letters, nor in Dixon's *Voyage* or Portlock's *Voyage*. Portlock reached England in August, 1788; Meares was then on the Northwest Coast and did not arrive in England until April, 1790; consequently this story rests upon mere gossip, or worse.

suitable to the commercial spirit and ability of their owners. It may, indeed, be presumption in me to appear to know more of the objects of your own voyage than yourself; but, *notwithstanding your assertion to the contrary,* I am still of opinion that one of them was to form settlements and factories on the Coast of America;[14] and that, for this very purpose, Mr. Wilby was put on board the King George, to undertake the direction of an infant colony, with proportionable men and artificers. Besides, I have now before me a copy of the orders given to Mr. Portlock, who had the honour of commanding you, which were drawn up by the Mess. Etches, &c. in the true spirit of commercial understanding and honour. These instructions particularly recommend their commanders to fix an establishment in Nootka Sound; and as it was not the incapacity, at least, of your equipments, or a deficiency in your instructions, which prevented you from performing that part of your duty, you would have done well not to have mentioned the subject at all, if you had no better means of justification than evasion and falsehood.

EXTRACT *from the* INSTRUCTIONS *of* RICHARD CADMAN ETCHES, *to* CAPTAIN NATHANIEL PORTLOCK, *Commander of the Ship* KING GEORGE, *of which* CAPTAIN DIXON'S *Instructions are an exact Copy. Dated* London, *September 3, 1785.*

".. .. ..and for the future securing the trade of the continent "and islands adjacent, you are to establish *such factories* as you "shall see necessary and consistent with the safety of such
p. 11. "settlers and your ship's company. King George's Sound,

14 Many expeditions had instructions to form settlements: e. g., the *Butterworth, Prince Lee Boo,* and *Jackal,* under Brown in 1793-4; Meares, himself, had given instructions for the formation of a settlement at Nootka sound in 1789.

"we should presume, not only from being centrical, but in every "respect consistent with the intent of forming such establish-"ment;— but in this respect we must leave you entirely discre-"tional.

" Mr. William Wilby we have deemed perfectly qualified for "such an undertaking, and he accompanies you entirely with "that intent;— Therefore, wherever it is necessary to establish "*a factory*, you are to purchase of the natives such a tract of "land as you shall think best suited for the purpose of trading, "and for security, paying them in the most friendly and liberal "manner for the same.— You are then to appoint as many men "as you shall deem necessary, and who shall turn out as volun-"teers, to be companions to Mr. Wilby; you are to give them "every possible assistance to erect a log-house, or such other "building as shall appear to be necessary for their residence, "and for the carrying on traffic with the natives, &c. You are "to give them every assistance to make such place tenable "against the natives, and provide them with such arms, am-"munition, &c. as you shall deem necessary for their defence "and protection. You are to leave them such quantities of "provisions and other articles for convenience, and the purpose "of trade," &c., &c.

More clear and explicit instructions were perhaps never given, than those delivered by your owner to Captain Portlock and yourself; and never were orders more strangely perverted, or more shamefully disobeyed.[15]

Your destination was King George's Sound, where you

15 In *Further Remarks*, pp. 36 ff, Dixon points out that all the crew had signed articles for a three years voyage and there were no volunteers for a settlement; and on p. 40 he shows that Meares has garbled the quotation by the omission of a clause permitting them to act according to their own discretion.

were to establish a factory; and which, strange to tell, you never ventured to enter.—The King George and Queen Charlotte arrived *off the Sound* from Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Isles, with their crews in full health and high spirits;— there you remained upwards of a fortnight, without pushing into the Sound: by day, indeed, you neared the land, and sometimes even made the opening of the Sound; but no sooner did the favouring night approach than you retreated, and took care to run further out to sea than you could make the following day.—
p. 12. Though, if I am not very much misinformed, your ship was often tacked, and her head pointed to the land, without your knowledge, and without the desired success.[16]

You really write, Sir, in so desultory a manner, that, on the subject of your great geographical discoveries, which are so proud a boast to you, or my plagiarisms from them, which you wish to infer I have silently committed, I must either skip from page to page of your remarks, or compress the whole of them into one article of refutation. It will, I believe, be for the ease of my readers, as well as my own, to perform the latter. Indeed, I am much obliged to Mr. Dixon for giving me an opportunity to state a few circumstances to the public, in addition to those already communicated by me, on the subject of the North West Coast, &c.

I most frankly confess that when I sailed on my second voyage, I furnished myself with your chart, and every chart that promised to be of the least service to me.[17] And I protest, Sir, that it would not have been an intentional neglect, if, in

16 Dixon deals with this charge in *Further Remarks*, pp. 41 f. It is discussed in the introduction hereto.

17 Throughout these paragraphs Meares evades the gravamen of the charge as given, e. g. in Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 25, viz., that he took from others' charts and made their discoveries appear as his own.

discriminating what each navigator had done to complete the survey of the American Coast, which is comprised in the chart prefixed to my publication, I had omitted what I am indebted to you. The additions you made to the geography of that part of the coast are recorded in my chart. I have attributed to you the discovery of the Hippah Island, and almost all the Charlotte Isles,[18] with many an interesting nook and corner, which your penetrating genius and nautical sagacity have added to the map of the world. In short, Sir, you are crammed with discoveries which you cannot digest,— and are, nevertheless, voraciously gaping for more.

If Captain Cook had lived to finish his work, you Sir, would probably have been spared the trouble of your discoveries,— and the public would not have suffered any attempt to intrude on its patience from such inconsiderable people as ourselves. Yet, to several of the officers of that great man, the nation continues to be indebted. To Captain Roberts,[19] in particular, p. 13. the navigation of this country has very considerable obligations: it is his general chart of the world which ought to form the groundwork of us all; as our best discoveries consist of little more than the filling up its chasms on the American Coast. I made it the foundation of my chart, as must be evident to every one acquainted with the late discoveries, without any information from me. To the abilities of Mr. Arrowsmith I owe much, and I never differed from him but

18 See note 20 to Dixon's *Remarks*. The Indian habitations on the island reminded Dixon of the hippas or fortified dwellings of the New Zealanders. They are described in Cook's *First Voyages* (Hawkesworth collection) vol. 2, p. 395.

19 Henry Roberts who sailed with Captain Cook on his second and third voyages and who was in charge of the pinnace on the fatal 14th February, 1779, at Karakakooa bay when he made a gallant effort to rescue his commander. He drew the chart in Cook's *Third Voyage;* see his explanations in the introduction thereto, pp. lxxix *et seq*.

when I was convinced that I had better authority before me.[20] Nor do I even blush to acknowledge, that I adopted some parts of Captain Portlock's and Captain Dixon's charts, while I rejected others. I also called in the aid of the Captains Duncan, Barclay and Colnett: all which various assistance, added to the observations and surveys made by Captain Douglas and myself, has enabled me to offer to the public those charts which accompany the Voyages I have published. They are, I trust, as accurate as the nature of mercantile surveys will admit, and have received the sanction of those opinions, against which, any petty objections from you would weigh but as so many grains of dust in the balance. I very sincerely lament that Captain Colnett's charts were seized by the Spaniards. In point of accuracy, they are, I believe, superior to any of the preceding ones; and when they are delivered up, will, I doubt not, throw new light on the geography of the American Coast.[21]

The following nautical remarks will not be very interesting to the generality of readers; but it is necessary for me to prove the futility of Mr. Dixon's reasonings, and to correct, by the statements of truth, the falsehoods of his publication.

You observe, Sir, in something like a tone of triumph, that I was in possession of Mr. Barclay's chart, which, you say, includes the utmost extent of my progress to the southward.[22] The former part of the assertion is true; but the latter is false: Nay, fortunately for me, I have Mr. Barclay's chart in my

20 See note 43 to Dixon's *Remarks*. Arrowsmith was the great geographer of his time.

21 Nathaniel Portlock, of the *King George*, on the coast 1786-1787; George Dixon, of the *Queen Charlotte*, on the coast 1786-1787; Charles Duncan, of the *Princess Royal*, on the coast 1787-1788; Charles William Barkley, of *Imperial Eagle*, on the coast 1787; James Colnett, of *Prince of Wales*, on the coast 1787-1788; William Douglas, of the *Iphigenia*, on the coast 1788-1789.

22 This may be taken as a sample of Meares's veracity. As Dixon shows in *Further Remarks*, p. 44, his words were: "As far as, or nearly so, as you went."—see *Remarks*, p. 11.

possession, which proves that he did not go further to the southward than 47°, or thereabouts; and 45° 30′ is the point where my course was completed. Between Maurelle's chart and mine there is no similtude; and for any information I received from the Captains Hannah, Lowrie and Guise, the two latter Gentlemen, for the former is dead, will not come forward to calumniate or accuse me.[23] p. 14.

In answer to your remark which alludes to a longitudinal mistake on my part, in page 38 of my Introductory Voyage, I most readily acknowledge, that when I was on that part of the coast there described to be in lat. 56° 38′, and long. 223° 00′ 25″, I had my doubts as to the perfect accuracy of the latter observation. Accordingly, in constructing my general chart, I adopted the concurring, though distinct, observations of Mr. Arrowsmith and Captain Douglas, and stated the longitude at 224° 30′, instead of 223° 00′ 25″.[24]

You desire me to inform the public, on what authority I have introduced the track of the Washington in my chart; and, from that respect which is due to the public, I shall condescend to comply with your request. 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, on his authority, I have communicated to the public.[25] Mr. Kendrick, who commanded the Washington, arrived at China, with a very valuable cargo of furs, some time previous to the departure of the Chesterfield; and Mr. Neville, who was continually with him during that

23 But until Meares is challenged he leaves the impression that the discoveries shown on his chart are his own.

24 This refers to the *Remarks*, p. 21, where Dixon points out the discrepancy between Meares's text, p. xxxviii, and his chart.

25 In a memorandum, 4th July, 1790, Meares's statement was: "Mr. Neville an officer in the Et India Company's service came home from China in the *Duke of Buccleugh*."

interval.[26] and received the particulars of the track from him, was so obliging as to state it to me.[27]

Your sarcasm, Sir, on the manner in which I speak of Captain Cook in my Observations on the North West Passage, proceeds from the habitual liberality of your mind. I wrote the sentiment which I felt; nor do I fear to repeat it. "Though "the Felice and Iphigenia did explore the latitudes from 56° "to 47° North, there is every reason to lament, that Captain
p. 15. "Cook was prevented from making such an examination as "would have proceeded from him."[28] Nor have I the least apprehension that the most enthusiastic admirers of Captain Cook, will consider the foregoing sentence as containing any attempt to degrade him beneath, or elevate myself above, the very distant stations we respectively hold in the scale of professional merit.

I have endeavoured, to the utmost of my information, to particularize the merits of every Gentleman employed on the coast of America. Captain Duncan did explore a considerable part of the coast between 50° and 52°. I personally esteem him, and think his merit too well established to need such a champion as yourself. Nor have I neglected that attention which is due to Captain Barclay; his name is continued by me to the Sound to the Southward of Nootka:[29] But though his boat was in

26 Kendrick in the *Washington* arrived in Macao roads January 27, 1790; a few days later he anchored in Larks bay. There he was taken so ill with fever that his life was despaired of. It is not clear, therefore, how an officer of the East India Company could have met him frequently at Macao (see introduction).

27 See on this subject generally the introduction hereto and *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island* by C. F. Newcombe, Victoria 1914, especially pp. 46 ff. And *Further Remarks*, pp. 44 f.

28 Observations on the Probable Existence of a North West Passage, in Meares's *Voyages*, p. xliii, commented on in Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 25, and in his *Further Remarks*, pp. 45 f.

29 Captain Barkley discovered and named, in 1787, Barkley sound, Vancouver island, and it is not clear, therefore, why Meares should take some credit for continuing his name. See *Further Remarks*, p. 46.

the Straits of John de Fuca, he never was, as appears from his own chart.[30]

But now comes the cause of all this bitter severity against me, for depriving great navigators of their just honours, and sinking their superior merit in silence. I have certainly dared to rob the Channel of the Charlotte Isles of the *title of Dixon;* for no better reason, than because the enterprising, intelligent and humane navigator, who thought so proudly to distinguish it with his own name, never saw that Channel,— according to the evidence of the track on his own chart. I have, therefore ventured to give it the name of the man who boldly pushed through it: I have stripped the silly Jay of his borrowed plumage.[31]

I shall here take the opportunity of observing, that there is a port which unfortunately bears my name. I did not myself, however, assume this distinction,— but owe it to the partial remembrance of Captain Douglas when we were many hundred miles distant from each other.[32]

As to the existence of the Straits of John de Fuca,— Captain Duncan saw them as well as myself; and the original sallies of Captain Dixon's pleasantry, will not prevent me from p. 16.
repeating my opinion,—that some further account would have already been given of these Straits, if Captain Colnett had not

30 Meares in his *Voyages*, chapter xiv, claims to have discovered and named this strait. Compare p. lv, with pp. 151, 152, and 155. See, also, Dixon's *Further Remarks*, p. 47.

31 Dixon entrance was named in 1788 by Sir Joseph Banks after Captain George Dixon. In *Further Remarks*, p. 49, Dixon gives an account of the incident.

32 Douglas anchored in Port Meares, August 14, 1788. "It was now named Port Meares," Meares's *Voyages*, p. 329. Port Meares was, probably, in Cordova bay, Alaska, and is to be distinguished from Meares bay, which is the entrance to Kaiganee strait, Alaska.

been prevented by the ships of his Catholic Majesty from fulfilling the objects of his voyage.[33]

I now come to that part of your publication which mentions Cook's River, and its probable communications with the southernmost part of Baffin's Bay, or the northernmost part of Hudson's Bay. I find no data in Captain Cook's Voyage to determine the non-existence of a passage. There is no declaration from him that militates against the navigation of a ship beyond the Narrows, where we know there is sufficient depth for a whale. But this is not absolutely the point. The place in which the Iphigenia anchored, was in lat. 59° 58′ and her boat went as far as lat. 60° 42′, which, indeed, was not so high by many miles as the survey of Mr. Bligh: though, if I mistake not, there were several persons on board the Discovery, who retained their opinions in favour of a passage, independent of the surveys made by the boats of both ships.[34] You, however, with your usual eagerness and ignorance, take possession of the shoal placed above the Narrows, in order to form a barrier against all further navigation up the river: but to dispossess you at once of your important situation, I must inform you, that ships can navigate on each side of this formidable shoal. No one considers the character and abilities of Captain Cook with more veneration than myself; nevertheless, I am free to observe, that there are those *who have taken the liberty* of correcting the surveys of the very parts which were explored by him. The Russians, indeed, who in their galliots have navigated Cook's River much higher than any European vessel, consider it, in reality, to be a bay, filled with fragments of islands, whose channels have been erroneously taken for rivers;

33 For these "original sallies" see Dixon's *Remarks*, pp. 25 f. Dixon did not deny the existence of the waterway called the strait of Juan de Fuca.

34 Zimmermann in *Dernier Voyage du Capitane Cook*, pp. 67 f, says that Lieutenant Gore was convinced that he could find a passage from Prince William's sound by which he could reach England in three months.

— nor does it appear that a single river has been discovered by any of the navigators on the American coast.[35] It is, in my opinion, by no means improbable, that the sea seen behind Nootka, will be hereafter found to extend to the Northward as far as Cook's River. But this is mere conjecture; and, in my Observations on the North West Passage, I argue only on the probability of its existence,— and leave my reasonings, such as they are, on the subject, to the candid investigation of inquisitive and discerning men. p. 17.

Whales were most certainly seen by Captain Douglas at the anchoring place of the Iphigenia in Cook's River; and I myself saw them off Cape Douglas taking their course up it: But the Pacific Ocean and the channels of the Charlotte Isles are so abundant in these animals, that it would be an idle excursion indeed to follow them elsewhere in those latitudes.[36]

In short, Sir, if you will peruse the Voyages of Captain Cook with a little more attention than you appear to have bestowed upon them, you will add another discovery to those you have already made,— that the great Navigator did not give over his survey of the river, called after his name, from impediments, but opinion; and I defy you to produce, or even name any one who navigated Cook's River till he could navigate it no further.[37] But, after all, though Captain Cook found the rise and fall of its tides to be very considerable, I am disposed to believe, that if a passage should hereafter be discovered, it will prove to be in a more southerly direction.

35 No ship had passed that shoal after the *Resolution* grounded on it in 1778 until Vancouver sailed up Cook's river (or inlet, as he called it) to Turnagain island. A Russian galiot can hardly be called a ship.

36 Douglas in the *Iphigenia*, in June 1788, anchored in Cook's river, now Cook's inlet, ten or twelve miles north of Anchor point. His journal does not mention whales.

37 Meares seems to forget that Dixon was with Cook on that voyage. He is correct in saying that Cook did not abandon the exploration of the river because of impediments. See note 38 to Dixon's *Remarks*.

The probability of a North West Passage, for which I contend, appears to be a stumbling block of great offence to you; and, in a dictatorial tone of inquisitive importance, you ask me, why I produced the voyage of the Iphigenia to aid my observations on the subject; when, as you are pleased to say, it was in my power to have brought forward that of Captain Duncan; which, in your unerring opinion, is of superior authority. I answer,— because, without retracting from the acknowledged merit of Captain Duncan, I prefer the journal of the Iphigenia to every other. I consider Captain Duncan as the best authority for the navigation between the Charlotte Isles and the Main,— or, at least, what we take to be so. This circumstance, with his traverses from shore to shore, justifies the application I have made of his voyage to my chart. He
p. 18. undoubtedly visited the great Northern Archipelago prior to Captain Douglas; but, from his distressed situation, he quitted those parts without knowing there was such a channel as that through which Captain Douglas made his way.[38] You had no such excuse; and when I mention Captain Barclay as infinitely your superior both in navigation and commerce, I assert that which he himself has proved. He performed the voyage from Europe to America, and from thence to China, in twelve months; and I maintain, that instead of employing two years to reach Canton, you and your consort ought to have manifested the same expedition as that gentleman.[39]

Your charge against me that, in the only place where I acknowledge Mr. Arrowsmith's assistance, I have made such

38 Duncan's letter in *Further Remarks*, pp. 26 ff, shows that he was not in distress, but left to keep a rendezvous. According to Douglas's journal he did not land or trade anywhere in passing through Dixon entrance and Hecate strait.

39 Barkley had a very successful season; he collected 800 sea otter skins in three months. Portlock and Dixon's first season (1787) was a failure, and they were compelled to remain another season. See *Further Remarks*, pp. 52 f.

an extraordinary deviation from him as 19° 45′, would be of a very serious nature indeed, if it were true; but the accusation from its flagrant falsehood, proves nothing more than the mad malice of the man who makes it.

You here allude, I presume, to the sea seen by Mr. Hearne. Now, Sir, to prove the captious ignorance of your objection, I must inform you, that in Captain Cook's chart we find this sea in latitude 72° North, and longitude 240° East of Greenwich. In that of Mr. Arrowsmith, it appears in latitude 68° 15′ North, and longitude 248° 30′ East, agreeable to Mr. Turner, as I have since been informed, making the difference of 3° 45′ in latitude, and 8° 30′ in longitude; nevertheless I have adhered to the position of Captain Cook. On the chart of the latter, we find no sea laid down in the latitude of 68° 15′, and longitude 228° East; but in that of Arrowsmith a sea is placed precisely in those degrees, agreeable to the account of the Canadian traders, given to him, and so much for your idle and ill-founded questions concerning your supposed difference of 19° 45′ of longitude between Mr. Arrowsmith and me. But to proceed in settling the rest of them, such as they are: I must inform you, that the reason why I differ from the last named gentleman, or rather from Captain Duncan, who was his p. 19
authority, in the position of the land to Eastward, at Nepean's Sound, Princess Royal Island, &c. proceeds from a preference I have given to the corrections of Captain Douglas, who has fixed these parts of the coast by numerous lunar observations. He has placed them at 1° 30′ to the East of Captain Duncan; and I believe myself to be justified in following his example. I am not conscious of any improper bias in selecting the authorities which have governed me.[40]

40 See Dixon's *Remarks*, pp. 29 ff and *Further Remarks*, pp. 53 ff; see also introduction hereto. Samuel Hearne, who in 1771 reached the Arctic ocean overland from Hudson bay. Aaron Arrowsmith, the geographer. Philip Turnor, the astronomer of the Hudson's Bay Company.

You are at a loss, it seems, to account for my motives in mentioning the Capes *Mendocino* and *de Mendozino,* in my delineation of the American Coast; because, in your opinion, there is only one Cape *Mendocino;* the other, you say, is *Cape Blanco,* which you accuse me, in your usual way, of removing 1° 30′ to the Northward of its real situation. I answer, Captain Cook does not mention any Cape Mendocino in latitude 40°, which Mr. Arrowsmith does; I have therefore, as I conceive, very justifiably mentioned both the Cape Mendocino of Mr. Arrowsmith, in latitude 40°, and the Cape de Mendozino of Captain Cook, in latitude 42° 30′, or thereabouts, which he places in his chart 42° 30′. As for Cape Blanco, I have placed it in latitude 43° 30′, agreeable to Captain Cook, by whose chart I have arranged all that part of the coast.[41]

You state my position of Port Sir Francis Drake, as an example of the happy method I possess of removing land at pleasure. Captain Cook places it in latitude 38° 45′, or thereabouts.—Mr. Arrowsmith in latitude 37° 30′, and I have adopted the position of the former, latitude 38° 45′; while you insist upon its being in 47° 30′; forming a difference of ten degrees from Mr. Arrowsmith, and eight degrees fifteen minutes from Captain Cook. This, Mr. Dixon, is removing land with a vengeance.[42] The interior parts of America, as laid down in my chart, come in also for their share of disapprobation. I shall only add, with respect to them, that they were arranged from the best authorities.

p. 20. Having, I trust, very completely fixed the latitude and longitude of your character as a navigator, I shall proceed to lay down, as I hope with tolerable accuracy, the exact position of

41 Dixon's *Remarks,* p. 30; *Further Remarks,* pp. 55 f.

42 Dixon's *Remarks,* p. 30; *Further Remarks,* p. 56. By a slip of the pen, or a printer's error, Dixon is made to say 49° and 47° 30′, when they should be 39° and 37° 30′.

your commercial excellence. In making my observations on this subject, I must previously remark, that your malignity is so predominent, as to annihilate in you the leading, and, as I should think, the inherent principles of a man of trade. You seem to rejoice that your voyage round the world, as you call it, for the purposes of commerce, was not attended with the advantage expected to be derived from it. You appear to be proud of the inadequate and disproportioned sale of your cargo at China; and are, I doubt not, grateful to the Houang merchants of Canton, *for having purchased all your skins at less than half their value,* in order that you might be furnished with a plausible, but fallacious argument, against a new branch of commerce; in which, having failed yourself, you would be glad, as far as your wretched testimony would go, to prevent former adventurers from obtaining the remuneration of their risks and labours; or to discourage the enterprizes of others, whose knowledge, activity and perseverance, by ensuring success, would fling added disgrace on those who have failed from the want of such essential qualifications.[43]

You state, with an infatuated kind of triumph, that your 2552 sea-otter skins, &c. fetched no more than 54,857 Spanish dollars at the Chinese market; and your statement is made in such a manner, as to infer that it was *the common market price* of that valuable commodity; and that, of course, what has been said by myself and others on the advantages of that commerce, is a deception on the public. At the moment you were writing that curious piece of information, or instructing others to write it, you knew that it was founded in falsehood. Nor dare you

43 Portlock and Dixon's voyage was successful and would have been more so but for the monopoly of the East India Company. "Though we could have sold our cargo with ease we were not at liberty to dispose of one material article; the sole management of it being vested in the hands of the East India Company's supercargoes." Portlock's *Voyage,* London, 1789, p. 382. Dixon's *Further Remarks,* pp. 58 f.

deny that the low prices given for the articles in question, arose from the contract of your owners with the East India Company, to leave the disposition of your American cargo to the disposal of their servants at Canton, which necessarily gave an addi-
p. 21. tional power to the Houang merchants, those privileged oppressors of European commerce.* I repeat, those skins did not find any thing like half the price for which otter skins have been sold in China, both at the time, and since the period of their sale.[44]

You are pleased to add, if I wish to be informed why these skins sold for so small a sum, I may enquire of Mr. Richard Cadman Etches, who, you doubt not, can give me every satisfaction on that subject. I perfectly agree with you, that the gentleman to whom you refer me, is fully qualified to answer me upon the matter immediately before us; and I desire no better judge than him, between you and me. Nor have I the least doubt but he will be ready to confirm the explanations I am about to give, to use your own phrase, of *the ill success of your commerce;* which arose, among other causes, from the misconstruction your commander and yourself thought proper to put on the license granted to your owners by the Honourable the East India Company, for the disposal of your American

* The history of the Houang merchants, and the manner in which they are allowed by the Chinese government to oppress the commerce of the Europeans, is stated at large in the Account of the trade between the North West Coast of America and China, prefixed to my Voyages.[45]

44 Dixon's *Remarks*, pp. IIff; *Further Remarks*, pp. 58 f. The latter citation shows that as a term of its license permitting them to sell the furs in China the East India Company exacted a bond of £5,000 from Portlock and Dixon and their owners, "either to sell them to the Company's supercargoes at Canton at a fair price or leave them in their hands for sale by commission." As to the Houang merchants and their methods, see Captain Cook's *Third Voyage*, vol. 3, pp. 428 f (Dublin ed. 1784).

45 Meares's *Voyages*, p. lxxvi *et sea;* Dixon's *Voyage*, pp. 300 f; Cook's *Third Voyage* (Dublin ed.) vol. 3, pp. 428 f.

cargoes, and the consequent controul assumed by the super-cargoes over the sale of them.[46]

I have also good reason to think, Mr. Dixon, that a considerable part of your furs were of a very, if not the most, inferior nature, consisting of worn out garments of the Indians, pieces bedaubed with paint, and sewed together, so as to greatly lessen the supposed aggregate value of your cargo.[47]

But let me ask you, Sir, whether you did not encourage, as far as you had any power to do it, the first opportunity of selling the furs, however disadvantageous to your owners, in order to secure, from all future risk, a certain little advantage you were to receive upon the sale?[48]

In page 13, your pamphlet states an account of furs brought by the several ships you mention, amounting to 5,033 skins; they sold, it seems for 146,842 Spanish dollars in China; which, at a medium, makes no more than about 29 1-6 dollars per skin: but of these furs which were brought to Canton in the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, I am authorized to say, that scarce three thousand of them were saleable articles. And I do assert, that in those very years, the prime skins sold in China from *ninety* to *one hundred and twenty dollars* per skin.[49] p. 22.

In the first voyages to the North West Coast of America, the adventurers purchased whatever skins the natives brought them; and the latter sold only such as they had procured for

46 Dixon's *Further Remarks*, p.p. 59 ff. Richard Cadman Etches could not complain of any "misconstruction," as here alleged, of Portlock and Dixon for he was on the bond with them.

47 Such furs were in every cargo. See *Further Remarks*, p. 62.

48 The allusion is to Dixon's two per cent. primage or "hat money." See *Further Remarks*, pp. 62 f.

49 There are no records of sales at such prices except the following: "A few prime skins, which were clean and had been well-preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty dollars each."—Cook's *Third Voyage*, vol. 3, p. 435 (Dublin ed. 1784).

themselves, many of which must have necessarily been old, worn out and rotten, having been employed as cloathing, and for other purposes of personal or domestic convenience. But as the inhabitants of the coast are become more informed as to the nature and advantages of commerce, their attention is become proportionately encreased to the due preparation of the objects of it. They no longer dye or paint, or even wear the otter skins which they take, but consider them merely as articles of trade, for which they can get commodities more suited to their necessities and comforts. The Nootkan people have already given a very decided preference to the woollens of England.[50]

The following statement will, I believe, settle at once the present difference, Mr. Dixon, between you and me.

Your 2,552 skins, sold for 54,877 dollars, which is somewhat more than *twenty-one dollars* per skin.[51]

My cargo, (carried to Canton when you were there, consisting of 370 skins, 120 of which were of the river otter, worth
p. 23. only eight to nine dollars each) was sold for 14,000 dollars;[52] and the merchant who bought them, not being able to make good his purchase, forfeited his deposit of 1,000 dollars. Many of these skins were of an indifferent quality, but the prime parchment skins sold from 100 to 120 dollars per skin.

In the year 1788, which is the period when your extraordinary sale took place, I beg leave to bring to your remembrance, and Mr. Etches will confirm the assertion, that the prime sea-otter skins sold at Canton, at an average price, from *ninety* to *one hundred Mexican dollars* per skin.[53]

50 The point of this remark is not plain; all the trade up to 1789 having been British.

51 Dixon's *Further Remarks*, p. 63.

52 Dixon in *Further Remarks*, pp. 63 f, claims this statement is false.

53 Etches was as much interested as Meares in supporting the claim of $100 each for prime sea otter skins.

In page 13 of your letter you address me in the following manner: "I should have been happy to have included in the "above statement, the furs brought to the China market by "yourself, your second voyage; and also those belonging to "the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal: These accounts you "had it in your power to have laid before the Public; but, for "reasons best known to yourself, you have thought proper to "keep them secret."

To the Public I most readily give the account both of the one and the other; and my character shall stand pledged for the accuracy of them. — You are continually giving me opportunities, Mr. Dixon, of clearing away any and every impression that may be made by your insidious, malignant, and false depreciation of the North West American commerce.

I arrived at Canton, in the Felice, in the month of December 1788; my cargo consisted of about 750 skins. I had not to encounter the controul of the Honourable East India Company's supercargoes, but possessed a free, independent power over my cargo, which I sold for 38,000 dollars, being something better than 50 dollars per skin.[54]

It may not also be improper to observe, that the Chinese p. 24. furriers sorted these skins into the following classes:

Of the first quality	100
the second	200
the third	200
the fourth	90
the fifth	120
the sixth	40
Total	750

54 In 1788 Meares was masquerading under the flag of Portugal and in the name of Juan Cawalho (see his Memorial) and consequently, as he says, did not encounter the control of the East India Company.

The tails of the sea-otter, which were promiscuously attached to these skins, averaged about six dollars per tail.*[55]

I shall also add another circumstance relative to this cargo, as it is in point to the general question.

The Chinese furrier, who had bought the whole of it for 38,000 dollars, being apprehensive that the Hoppo, or Comptroller of the Customs, would exercise his arbitrary power, in taking such of the skins as he might chuse, at his own price, if he knew of the sale, requested that it might not be immediately divulged; in consequence of which the Hoppo came on board the Felice, and selected eight of the best skins, and twenty of the finest tails: for the former he paid me 250 dollars each, and for the latter 15 dollars each; which I, of course, allowed the Chinese merchant, on completing the contract between us.[56]

The Prince of Wales and Princess Royal arrived off Macao the same month, with a cargo, which was acknowledged by the Chinese merchants to be in the best condition of any brought
p. 25. to the Canton market; and many applications were made to Mr. J. Etches, the supercargo of those ships, for the disposal of his cargo, before he went up to Canton. He exposed, however, only those skins which were of the second quality to sale, for which he was offered *seventy-five dollars* per skin; and he and Captain Colnett wrote an account of the offer to their owners, and acquainted them that if they could not procure an higher price, they should close with the offer, and pay the proceeds into the Company's treasury at Canton. He was offered so high a price as *one hundred and fifty dollars* for some of the

* The reason of the small comparative number of tails arises from their being considered as the exclusive right of the American women, who employ them in their dress.

55 See *Further Remarks*, pp. 67 f.

56 See Dixon's criticism of this strange statement in *Further Remarks*, pp. 69 f. The price of $250.00 for a prime sea otter skin is an exaggeration; it is more than double the highest price on record.

best skins. A few days after this offer, they received a peremptory order from the East India Company's Council, for the Prince of Wales to proceed to Canton with the joint cargoes, which was accompanied with a prohibition to dispose of any part of their furs. On their arrival they found the fatal precedent, established by Captain Dixon's commander, of leaving the sale of his cargo to the controul of the Company's Supergoes, in full force against them. So that, exclusive of a large quantity of pieces of sea-otter skins and other furs, which were left at their own disposal, they delivered to the Supercargoes 1959 *whole sea-otter skins, and sixty-five cloaks made up of the furs of the same animal,* for which they granted Mr. Etches bills on the East India Company for *fifty-six thousand dollars,* amounting to no more than about *twenty-seven dollars and an half per skin.* The difference between the price offered by the Chinese merchant, and that which was paid by the Company's supercargoes, renders all further observation superfluous. And now, Mr. Dixon, I have laid these accounts before the Public, which, with your usual liberality, you suggest that I withheld from some sinister and dishonourable motive. Your ignorance, to say no worse, has called forth these incontrovertible proofs of the falsehood which pervades your statement of the North West American fur trade.[57]

I have one more item for your satisfaction on this subject. The Spanish commanders, in their tender kindness, thought proper to return 96 skins belonging to the cargo of the North West America, which they had seized, as stated in the memorial presented to the House of Commons. These, with the master p. 26. and crew of that little vessel were taken to Canton on

57 Whether the statement that John Etches received this offer be accurate or not, the strangling effect of the East India Company's monopoly is seen. It is probable that the license in this case, as in that of the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte,* required that the furs be disposed of through the company's supercargoes. See Portlock's *Voyage,* p. 382.

board the American ship Columbia, who took 24 of the 96 skins for freight. The account of their sale, from Canton, is thus stated in a letter to me by the *Chesterfield* East Indiaman, dated Canton, February 12, 1790.

" I have received from the Americans 72 skins, (*of the "middling, second, and third quality*); they deduct 25 per cent. "for the freight; and these 72 I have sold for 4000 dollars."

Thus, at so late a period as in the commencement of the last year, *sea-otter skins,* which are stated to be of the *middling, second, and third qualities,* averaged at the Canton market at *fifty-five dollars and an half* per skin.[58]

Having employed such reasons as my own experience and information suggested, to detect the fallacy of the statement in your pamphlet, which is calculated to give the most erroneous ideas concerning the fur trade between the North West Coast of America and China, I shall proceed to state a few corroborating arguments in favour of my opinions concerning that trade; And the first will be taken, Captain Dixon, from your own voyage, p. 300,301. The account there given, differs so much from your opinions in your letters to me, that as you acknowledge you did not write it, I am disposed to think also that you have never read it. The passage I allude to proves, *as I have already asserted,* that the low sale of your furs arose from accidental circumstances, and by no means from the state of the market for that article when you arrived at Canton. The passage is as follows:

" In regard to the sale of our furs I should observe, that "there is at Canton a company of wealthy merchants, called "the Houng Merchants, with whom our East India Company "transacts all their business, and purchase from them the whole

58 Dixon in *Further Remarks*, p. 68, points out that Meares is claiming from Spain $100 for each of these skins. See these 96 skins mentioned: Meares Memorial in Appendix to Meares's *Voyages*.

"of the tea and China-ware sent to Great Britain. To these "people our furs were offered, with an expectation of their p. 27. "immediately taking them off our hands at an advantageous "price: but here we were woefully disappointed; and we found, "to our cost, the sad mistake of our owners, in appointing the "supercargoes to have the sole disposal of their property; for "the moment these Houng Merchants had looked the skins "over, and fixed a value on them, no other merchant dares "interfere in the purchase. Indeed, as the quantity above-"mentioned was not suffered to be divided, there were not "many people, except these Houng merchants, who had it in "their power to buy so large a parcel and advance the money "immediately. Add to this, the duty on merchandise in the "port of Canton, seems not to be regulated by any fixed rule, "but rests, in a great measure, in the breasts of those appointed "by the Hoppo to lay it on, and who fix it higher or lower at "pleasure. With these people the Houng merchants have a "great influence, so that had any indifferent person been at "liberty to purchase our skins, and disposed to give us an "advantageous price for them, the fear of having an enormous "duty to pay, would at once deter him from any attempt of "the kind: In this *poor situation* were we with respect to the "sale of our cargo, during the month of December and the "greatest part of January: either we must close with the *paltry* "offers which the Houang merchants had made to the super-"cargoes, or be under the necessity of leaving our furs in their "hands undisposed of. This both parties knew we wished to "avoid, if possible; meanwhile *some of the refuse, which they "had left for us to dispose of, sold for considerable advantage.*"*

* Whether they were considered as among the refuse, I know not, but a small lot of those skins were sold by your commander to a China merchant at 100 dollars per skin.[59]

59 This refuse, it appears, sold for $100; not $100 *per skin.* In *Further Remarks,* pp. 70 f, Dixon charges Meares with adding the two words, "per skin."

Another argument in favour of the *fur trade,* and which corroborates Captain Dixon's foregoing refutation of his own fallacious statement and insinuations to the prejudice of that trade, as given in his letter, is taken from the voyage of Captain Portlock, his associate and commander. The latter gentleman concludes the account of his voyage, in the following manner:

p. 28. " The grand object of the voyage, of which an account is "given in the preceding sheets, being to trade for furs, with an "expectation, no doubt, of gaining more than common profits, "by an undertaking which, at once, was new, hazardous and "uncertain, the world will naturally enquire whether such ex-"pectation has been answered; and, more particularly, *as reports "have been industriously propagated to the contrary."*

" That the King George's Sound Company (the proprietors "of the ships commanded by Messrs. Portlock and Dixon) have "not accumulated immense fortunes, may, perhaps, be true; but "it is no less certain, that they are *gainers* to an amount of "several thousand pounds; and that the voyage did not answer "to the utmost extent of their wishes, *undoubtedly was owing "to their own inexperience;* for when the King George and "Queen Charlotte arrived at Canton, and even a month after "that period, prime sea-otter skins *sold from eighty to ninety "dollars each.* Of this quality the ships had at least two "thousand on board, besides a large quantity of furs of inferior "value; but though we could have sold our cargo with ease, we "were not at liberty to dispose of one material article, the sole "management of it being vested in the hands of the East India "Company's supercargoes; and, at length, the skins just men-"tioned sold for less than twenty dollars each."

" From this plain statement of facts, the public may at once "perceive, that *this branch of Commerce, so far from being a*

"losing one, is perhaps, the most profitable and lucrative that "the enterprising merchant can possibly engage in."[60]

I have only one additional observation to make upon the subject. In page II of your pamphlet, you are pleased very facetiously to remark, that though, according *to my probable arithmetic,* your cargo ought to have sold for 200,000 dollars, it fetched no more than 54,857. To this I have only to answer, that the *probable arithmetic* of your commander, Captain Portlock, goes *to the same calculation.*[61]

Having, Sir, as I trust, fully, incontrovertibly, *and from* p. 29. *the best authorities,* established the fallacy of the statement in your letter, and thereby, as I hope, baffled the malice which excited you to make it, I shall, for the present, quit the cause of the North West American commerce, and take up my own.

You suggest that I divided part of the skins I carried to China, on board the Nootka, among my own people, and sold them on my own account; and with the most entire satisfaction I inform you, that I did both the one and the other. I sincerely thank you, Sir, for forcing me to relate circumstances which I feel to be so honourable to myself, and to state my conduct in them, of which no liberal or humane mind will think I have any reason to be ashamed.

The commercial expedition to the North West Coast of America, from Bengal, in 1786, and which was fitted out by many of the most respectable characters in that settlement, pro-

60 The citizens of the United States, unshackled by any monopoly, found the trade lucrative. The great profit was in the return cargo, which the East India Company's monopoly prevented British vessels from obtaining. Portlock's meaning is, as the context shows, that freed from the monopoly the trade would be lucrative; and this is what he told Marchand at Saint Helena: see Marchand's *Voyage*, London, 1801, vol. 1, pp. clxxvi, *et seq.*

61 The fallacy of his argument is that in 1789 when his ships were seized Meares was operating under the same license as Portlock and Dixon, and Colnett and Duncan had used; and, therefore, subject to the same supervision of the East India Company.

ceeded not from a view of private gain, but the spirit of public advantage: *it was a patriotic experiment in favour of British commerce;* and the proprietors consigned it to my unlimited and independent command; their partial and animating friendship shackled it with no conditions, but made me as much master of the whole equipment, as if I had prepared it at my own cost and expence. The misfortunes of the voyage I have related to the world; but they have not been heightened by a single reproach from those who enabled me to make it: on the contrary, my disappointments have almost been done away with by the continuance of their friendship and protection.

The sufferings of myself and people in this voyage, afford a very painful example of those hardships to which maritime life is subject. When, therefore, I returned to China, I felt it to be my first duty to remunerate, in the best manner I was able, those of my crew which the winter of Prince William's Sound had spared me. I did, accordingly, divide a certain quantity of skins among them; I was invested with the power of doing
p. 30. it: And this act of justice, which was my chief consolation at the time when I performed it, is a source of honest pride to me at this moment, when I am compelled to record it.[62]

I have now, as I flatter myself, settled the opinion which every impartial reader will entertain of your pamphlet, in the principal objects of it. As I feel a wish, however, that the confutation should be complete, I shall condescend to remark upon the petty observations and subordinate charges which form the remaining part of that publication.

I mentioned, but without any aggravating expressions, the circumstances of your having supplied Taheo, the King of Atooi, one of the Sandwich Islands, with arms, ammunition, &c. on very improper conditions, from the authority of Captain

62 See Dixon's caustic comment in *Further Remarks*, pp. 71 f.

Douglas.[63] It is the language of his journal, and I am disposed to believe it. Nor can you, with any justice, exercise your severity on me, for having given credit to such an authority; when you reflect, with what readiness you admitted an invidious as well as false account into your book, of the causes that augmented the sickness of my crew in Prince William's Sound, on an evidence of very inferior credibility.

But it was not the matter of trading away musquets, pistols, or other weapons, which, indeed, was consistent enough with your former occupation[64] — but the manner or motive of your conduct in so doing. I am willing to acknowledge that I also furnished certain of the chiefs of the Sandwich Islands with arms and ammunition, in order to defend themselves against their enemies, and thereby to secure their friendship to the future interests of British commerce.

The recollection of my conduct at the different visits I made to the Sandwich Isles, does not present to my mind a single cause of reproach. On my return to China from Prince William's Sound, we remained there a month;[65] and, in consequence of frequent attempts, during the night, upon the anchor of the Nootka, by some of the natives, I did discharge p. 31. a four-pound shot on shore, though not among the people, as you falsely assert, but over an hill, where it could have no other but its intended effect, to terrify the inhabitants from their designs on the most material implement of the ship: this desirable effect was produced without the least interruption to that harmony which subsisted between us and the natives, from

63 Meares's *Voyages*, p. 354; Dixon's *Remarks*, pp. 16 f; *Further Remarks*, p. 73.

64 Dixon had been armourer on the *Discovery* during Cook's last voyage. An armourer was a skilled mechanic, with the rating of a petty officer, whose duty it was to assist the gunner in keeping the arms in order.

65 Meares made two visits to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) islands: In 1787 in the *Nootka*, and in 1788 in the *Felice*.

the time of our arrival, till we quitted them to proceed on our voyage to China.[66]

I agree with you that a time-piece is not of the least utility at sea, unless a sight can be obtained both of the horizon and the sun. Nor do I retract the declaration, which seems to alarm your nautical experience, "that during a season of continued fog, my time-piece had proved of real service to me." For, I believe it is known to every seaman, that, in weather which may be properly called a continual fog, those momentary gleams of the sun appear, and transient views of the horizon are obtained, to which the instrument in question may be applied with the greatest utility.[67]

As to your having anchored in Karakakoa Bay, in the island of Owhyhee, previous to the Iphigenia, if I had recollected that circumstance to have been related in your voyage, I should have acknowledged it in mine. I really do not wish to deprive you of any merit, however trifling, that you or your voyages may possess.[68]

Whether skin or wooden canoes are in use from the straits of the two continents along the coast, as far as Cape Edgecumbe, is a matter of too little consequence to merit investigation. When I am convinced, from some better authority than your's, that I am mistaken in my account, in favour of the former, I will correct the error.[69]

Whether you or I, or according to your opinion, the Spaniards, first saw the extraordinary people with the disfiguring cut in their underlips, in the latitude of 56° 38′ North, and
p. 32. longitude of 223° 0′ 25″, shall not be made a subject of con-

66 See Dixon's *Remarks*, pp. 23 f, and note thereto; *Further Remarks*, p. 74.

67 Meares's *Voyages*, p. iv; Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 20; *Further Remarks*, pp. 75 f.

68 Meares's *Voyages*, p. 343; *Dixon's Remarks*, p. 16.

69 Meares's *Voyages*, p. x; Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 19; *Further Remarks*, p. 76. Cape Edgecumbe, at the entrance to Sitka sound, (Dixon's Norfolk sound) Alaska.

tention by me. I shall only repeat the opinion of my Introductory Voyage, p. 38, where some account of these people may be found, — that, from the circumstance of their conduct and behaviour, there was every reason to believe that we were the only navigators they had ever beheld.[70] One word more, Mr. Dixon, and I have done.

You are pleased, Sir, to declare, that it was from a sense of the duty you owe to the public and yourself, that you have undertaken, with what success that public will determine, to point out some of the numerous absurdities, &c. which, in your opinion, fill my volume: but, leaving yourself out of the question, it really became your boasted zeal for the right information of the public, to have added a few more of my inconsistencies, and your own observations on them, in order to have narrowed the enormous margins of your pamphlet, as well as to have occupied the four last pages of it, which you have now left to instruct the reader with an interesting catalogue of your bookseller's publications.

JOHN MEARES

Jan. 1, 1791.

P. S. It is with particular satisfaction that I possess this opportunity of contradicting the misinformation of Mr. Duffin, relative to Captain Colnett's illness, in his letter to me from Nootka Sound, published in my Memorial to the House of Commons, No. 9, and, in the Appendix to my Voyages, No. 13. Mr. Duffin there mentions, but I am sure

70 Meares's *Voyages*, p. xxxviii; Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 21.

very innocently, that Mr. Colnett's insanity is supposed to be a family disorder.[71] It, therefore, becomes my duty to declare, from the best authority, that such a report is destitute of any foundation whatever.

71 See hereon, Martinez's Manuscript Journal, July 9, 11, 1789, Colnett's *Voyage,* (London 1798) pp. 101 f.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE VOYAGES OF *JOHN MEARES, Esq.*

IN WHICH

Several important FACTS, misrepresented in the said VOYAGES,

RELATIVE TO

GEOGRAPHY AND COMMERCE,

ARE FULLY SUBSTANTIATED.

To which is added,

A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN DUNCAN,

CONTAINING

A decisive REFUTATION of several unfounded ASSERTIONS of Mr. MEARES,
And a final REPLY to his ANSWER.

BY

GEORGE DIXON,

LATE COMMANDER OF THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE IN A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY, AND GEORGE GOULDING, JAMES STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

M.DCC.XCI.

[PRICE THREE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.]

SIR,

A Contention between individuals is ſeldom of ſufficient importance to be communicated to the Public; as, generally ſpeaking, few are entertained by, and ſtill fewer are intereſted in, the concerns of private perſons: the preſent caſe, however, I humbly conceive not as merely relating to Mr. Meares and myſelf, but of real importance to all who may hereafter be concerned in proſecuting the commerce of which it is the ſubject, or navigating the ſeas where that commerce is carried on.

p. 4. It was from this idea that I pointed out ſome of the errors in your late publication, and I am inclined to think that you, in ſome degree at leaſt, feel the juſtice of my remarks; for in a pamphlet juſt publiſhed by you, intitled, "An Anſwer to Mr. George Dixon," &c. you attempt to refute them; but it does not appear to me, nor I believe to any unprejudiced reader, that you have ſucceeded in a ſingle inſtance: I ſhall therefore oppoſe a plain, ſimple ſtatement of *facts*, to your weak, fallacious reaſonings, and leave a candid public to determine between us.

At the concluſion you obſerve, that "it really *became* your boaſted zeal for the right information of the public, to have added a few more of my inconſiſtencies," &c.

As you ſeem to think this my duty, I will, previous to the diſcuſſion of your pamphlet, point out a *few* more of your inconſiſtencies.

In page 8 of your Introductory Voyage, ſpeaking of the inhabitants of Ounalaſhka, you obſerve "That their diet conſiſts entirely of fiſh, with the oil of ſame for ſauce;" but
p. 5. a little farther in the ſame page, an addition is made to their diet, and we are told, that "The only vegetables theſe

Iſlands produce is wild celery, which the natives eat as it is pulled out of the ground."

To ſhew you that wild celery is not the *only vegetable* found at Ounalaſhka, I ſhall take the liberty of quoting a paſſage from Captain Cook, and eſpecially as you wiſh me to peruſe his voyages with attention. - In Capt. Cook's laſt Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. page 519, we find that "There are a great variety of plants at Ounalaſhka, and moſt of them were in flower the latter end of June. Several of them are ſuch as we find in Europe, and in other parts of America, particularly in Newfoundland, and others of them, which are alſo met with in Kamtſchatka, are eat by the natives both there and here. Of theſe, Kraſheninikoff has given us deſcriptions. The principal one is the *ſaranne*, or lily root, which is about the ſize of a root of garlick, round, made up of a number of ſmall cloves, and grains like groats. We muſt reckon, amongſt the food of the natives, ſome other wild roots, the ſtalk of a plant reſembling *angelica;* and berries of ſeveral different ſorts, ſuch as bramble-berries, cranberries, hurtle-berries, heath-berries, a small red berry, which in Newfoundland is called partridge-berry; and p. 6. another brown berry unknown to us. Here are a few other plants which are found ſerviceable, but are not made use of by either Ruſſians or natives: ſuch as wild purſlain, pea tops, a kind of ſcurvy-graſs, creſſes, and ſome others. All theſe we found very palatable, dreſſed either in ſoups or in ſallads."

Of the above quotations, I have to remark that Captain Cook viſited the place the latter end of June and October, you was there the latter end of Auguſt, and ſurely it is not conſiſtent with reaſon to ſuppoſe, that during the ſpace of ten years the face of things were ſo entirely changed, that every production of nature was ſwept away, except "wild celery."

A little farther on (at page 10) we are told, that "with this deſign we purpoſed to make one port to the weſtward of Cook's

River; and, in coafting along, we faw a large opening, which appeared to be formed by an ifland, we accordingly fteered in for it, and when we were within it, it appeared of very great extent, taking a north eafterly courfe. As we now thought ourfelves clear of the Ruffians, we were in continual expecta-
p. 7. tion of being vifited by the natives, and commencing the advantageous part of our voyage; though we *are* at a lofs how to reconcile it, that fo large a ftrait fhould not have been obferved by Captain Cook. Having continued our courfe up it about twenty leagues, a canoe came off to us from the inland fide with three people in it, one of whom came on board, who proved to be a Ruffian feaman. He was a very intelligent man, and informed us that this was the ifland of Kodiack, that the crews of three galliots were on duty there, and that there was another ifland of the fame name along the coaft. This intelligence was by no means pleafing, as it dafhed at once all our hopes of obtaining any trade, at any immediate place, between Cook's River and the Schumagin Ifles. We therefore continued our paffage through the ftraits, which were named Petrie's Straits, in honour of William Petrie, Efq. and found it brought us out near that point forming Cook's River, and diftinguifhed by the the name of Cape Douglas on Captain Cook's Chart. Thefe ftraits are upwards of ten leagues in length, and about fifteen in breadth, and cut off a very large tract of continent from the former charts." As I could not by any means underftand the above quotation, I of courfe applied to your chart, entitled "A Chart of the Northern Pacific Ocean, containing
p. 8. the North Eaft Coaft of Afia, and North Weft Coaft of America, explored in 1778 and 1779, by Captain Cook, and farther explored in 1788 and 1789, by John Meares," hoping that would fet me right; but here I found myfelf woefully miftaken, for in that coaft you make the ftraits juft mentioned, *thirty-fix leagues long*, and inftead of its agreeing with your

verbal deſcription of the place, I find you have taken it either from Mr. Arrowſmith's chart, or a chart entitled "Cartes des Deſcouveries faites par le Ruſſes, et par le Capitaine Anglois, Jacque Cook, dans la Mer du Sud," publiſhed in 1787, in which there is a particular chart of the iſlands forming theſe ſtraits by Mr. Iſmyloff, the largeſt of which he calls *Kiſhtac*, but as he did not think proper to name the ſtraits, you Mr. Meares have done it for him."*

I remember when I was on board your veſſel in Prince William's Sound, that you told me you entered the ſtraits juſt mentioned in the latitude of 58° north, or nearly ſo, and that it was ſo foggy, you thought the land to the eaſtward to be the barren iſlands, until a Ruſſian acquainted you it was Kodiack; at the ſame time, you pointed out to me the Whitſuntide p. 9.
Bay of Captain Cook, as the place where you entered the ſtraits; but it ſhould ſeem, that ſince you have ſeen either of the above charts, the fog is cleared away, and you can *now* point out to a certainty where you entered this ſtrait.[1]

In a note, page 24, of your Introductory Voyage, are theſe words, "When our mutual ſurpriſe was in ſome meaſure abated, Captain Dixon was informed by me of my condition and the misfortunes we had encountered. To which he replied, that it only lay in Captain Portlock's power to lend us the aſſiſtance he ſaw we ſo much wanted, and that he purpoſed to depart very early in the morning to the ſhips, which were diſtant near twenty leagues; he alſo added, he was certain Captain Portlock would put to ſea immediately on his hearing this intelligence of us." Any perſon on reading the above paſſage, would infer

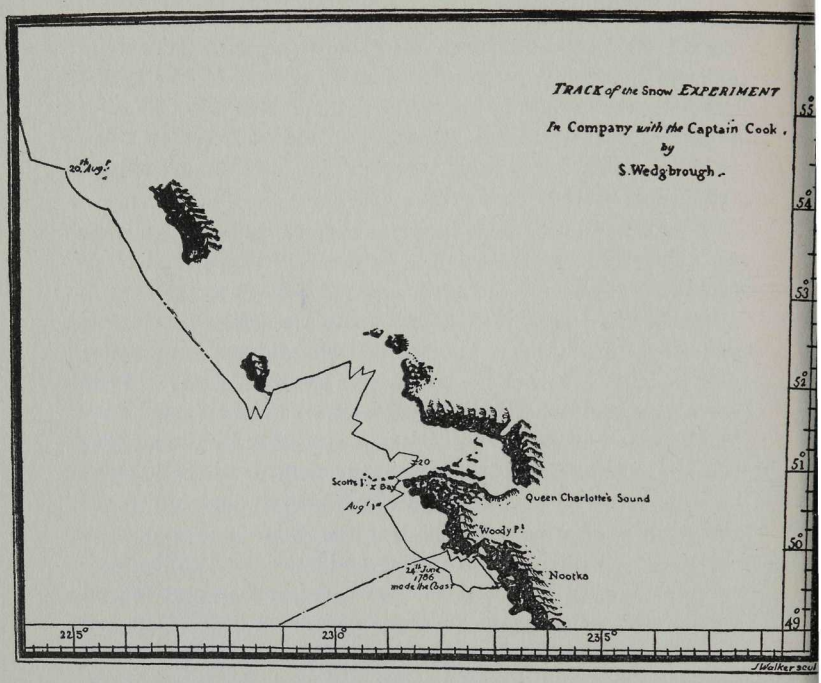
* This chart is particularly intereſting, as on it we find the tracks of the veſſels commanded by the Captains Beering and Tſchirikow.

1 Portlock's *Voyage*, p. 323, has a similar account. His map, agreeing with Meares's text, shows the course of the *Nootka* into Cook's river, by Petrie (now Shelikoff) strait; but Meares's map shows her course through a channel east of Kodiak island.

that Captain Portlock would put to ſea purpoſely to avoid affording you the aſſiſtance you ſo much wanted, and that I had told you ſo; the fact was, I informed you that when I left the veſſels, Captain Portlock was going to lay them on ſhore in order to examine their bottoms; that I expected by the time I
p. 10. got back, they would be ready for ſea, and that when he came to hear of your wintering in the Sound, and other veſſels being on the coaſt, he would think it unneceſſary to wait any longer, as no trade could be expected.[2]

Further on in the ſame note, you obſerve, "a few hours after the departure of Captain Dixon, it occurred to me, that if we could poſſibly launch the long-boat and proceed to the ſhip, it might be the means of ſecuring ſome aſſiſtance previous to their departure." Pray, Mr. Meares, why did you not mention your inability to launch the boat whilſt I was on board? I had ſeven able hands beſides myſelf, and we ſurely ſhould have been able to launch the boat without any aſſiſtance, and then you might have proceeded in company with us to the veſſels; but this ſeems to have been an after-thought, and introduced now with your uſual candour, for the purpoſe of indirectly charging me with a want of feeling and humanity.[2] In the ſame note you ſay, "I took with me two caſks of rum and ſeveral bags of rice, to exchange for ſome gin and a little ſugar and cheeſe; all of which, Captain Dixon informed me they had in abundance." I did inform you we had ſuch things on board,
p. 11. but the *abundance*, like many others, is a fabrication of your own.[2] I had my ſhare of the rice you brought, but it being wet, the greateſt part was spoiled; in regard to the *rum*, not any of it was brought on board my veſſel; of its quality and effects, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak by and by.

2 Duncan also complains (*Further Remarks*, p. 23) of Meares's faculty of "misunderstanding."



TRACK OF THE SNOW *EXPERIMENT*

Chart showing the north western end of Vancouver Island, drawn in 1786, by S. Wedgbrough of the *Experiment,* one of the vessels of James Strange's expedition. Original, in the Archives of British Columbia, published probably about 1790.

The island shown in the north westward of Scott Island is Cape St. James, the southern point of Queen Charlotte Islands; the land shown further northward is another part of Queen Charlotte Islands.

Speaking of the ſtraits of Juan de Fuca, in your "Probable exiſtence of a North Weſt Paſſage," page 50, you have theſe words, "ſhe enters the ſtraits of Juan de Fuca, between the latitudes of 48° 30′, and longitude 235° eaſt, and latitude 47° 50′ and longitude 235° 30′ eaſt, and finds them fifteen leagues in breadth." According to your chart, the title of which I have given before, we find the north point of theſe ſtraits laid down in the latitude of 48° 40′, and longitude 234° 30′ eaſt, and the ſouth point in the latitude of 48° 20′ north and longitude 235° eaſt; to ſay nothing of the breadth of the ſtraits, there is a material difference in latitude and longitude, betwixt your verbal deſcription and the chart; and here, let me entreat you, if hereafter you ſhould publiſh any thing of the kind, firſt to get ſome perſon to write your account, and afterwards place the written document before the compiler of your chart; and then — though both may poſſibly be erroneous, they will have at leaſt the merit of correſponding with each
p. 12. other. [3] In page 54, of the "Probable Exiſtence," we find that Mr. Strange alſo firſt found the bay called Friendly Cove, which received its preſent name from that gentleman." I ſhould imagine, if you had only once caſt your penetrating eye over the ſketch of Nootka by Captain Cook, without reading his account of that place, you would not have aſſerted Mr. Strange was the firſt perſon who *found* the bay called "Friendly Cove"; but for fear that account ſhould have eſcaped your notice, I ſhall here take the liberty of quoting it. "Having now finiſhed moſt of our heavy work, I ſet out the next morning to take a view of the Sound. I firſt went to the weſt point, where I found a large village, and before it a very ſnug harbour, in which was from nine to four fathoms water over a bottom of fine ſand." Vide Cook's laſt Voyage, vol. II. page

3 The strait of Juan de Fuca lies between 48° 23′ and 48° 36′ north latitude, and on the meridian of 124° 45′ west. It is, therefore, 13 miles, not 15 leagues, wide.

279. Mr. Strange had doubtleſs the honour of naming the harbour in queſtion, but it is pretty evident that he was not the perſon who firſt *found* it.

In the "Voyages to the North Weſt Coaſt," &c. page 326, we find, that "The ſhip was not entirely land-locked, except at the entrance, and her preſent ſituation was named Sea-otter Harbour, from the great number of thoſe animals which were in the water." Facing the deſcription juſt quoted, you give p. 13. us a plan of Sea-otter Harbour and St. Patrick's Bay,[4] taken by Captain James Hanna; you ſurely, Sir, cannot, nay, I dare ſay you do not, mean to obtrude this on the public for the Harbour you have juſt been noticing; as I find on the plan, lat. 50° 41′ north, longitude 231° 24′ eaſt of Greenwich; when, at the ſame time you are deſcribing a place of the ſame name in lat. 55° 39′ north, long. 226° 04′ eaſt. You have alſo given us a ſketch of Raft Cove by Mr. Funter, but as we are not favoured with any verbal deſcription of the place, you might, with equal propriety, have introduced that here alſo.[5]

We are told in Mr. Duffin's Journal, Appendix, No. 4, that "at ſun-ſet, the entrance of Port Hawkeſbury, north by eaſt, Tatooche's Iſland ſouth, Point Entrance weſt-ſouth-weſt, off the latter eight leagues, and from the former three leagues."[6]

Here we find, as plain as it is poſſible for words to expreſs,

4 Now Sea Otter cove and San Josef bay on Vancouver island. The Sea Otter harbour in Meares's text was probably in Bucareli bay, Alaska. "It is in most cases impossible at present to come to an absolutely satisfactory decision in regard to the exact locality of his [Meares's] names or the geographical features he endeavours to describe."—Alaska Pilot, (1883) p. 98.

5 The late Captain Walbran suggested that perhaps Raft Cove, shown in Meares's *Voyages*, p. 326, was in Shushartie bay, at the northern end of Vancouver island.

6 Port Hawkesbury is port San Juan; point Entrance is, of course, Cape Flattery.

how far your boat was up thefe Straits; for Port Hawkefbury is the eaftermoft part fhe was at, and Point Entrance the weft entrance of the Straits; diftance between the two Points 11
p. 14. leagues; but you have *ftretched* thefe 11 leagues to nearly 30, for, fpeaking of the boat in page 179, "Voyages to the North Weft Coaft," you fay, "She had failed near thirty leagues up the Strait, and at that diftance from the fea it was about fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon ftretching to the eaft for fifteen leagues more."

Be fo good, Mr. Meares, as to inform me how you reconcile this difference between the mafter of the boat's journal, and your own account, for, I am free to confefs, I cannot poffibly do it.[7]

Having now pointed out a few more of the inconfiftencies in your quarto volume, not to call them by a harder name — I fhall proceed to notice the petty, malevolent affertions which fill your pamphlet, in order that, to ufe your words, "my filence may not be interpreted as an acquiefcence in the folly of your obfervations, and the falfehood of your affertions."

You begin by obferving, that "In a work, entitled, A Voyage round the World by Captain George Dixon, and which is dedicated to fuch a refpectable character as Sir Jofeph Banks,
p. 15. by the fame George Dixon; who, in the dedication of the volume, reprefents himfelf as the Author," &c. — In that dedication I return my fincere acknowledgements to Sir Jofeph Banks for his condefcending to favour me with his name to it; but if you had taken the trouble of perufing my Introduction to the work mentioned in the above quotation, you would have found in it the following paffage: "It yet remains for me to befpeak the candour and indulgence of the reader, in perufing the following work, as it was written by a perfon on board the

7 Just another of Meares's exaggerations: it is only 83 miles from Cape Flattery to Whidby island, in the San Juan (or Haro) group.

Queen Charlotte, who has been totally unufed to literary purfuits, and equally fo to a feafaring life. However, to obviate any objection that might poffibly arife from his deficiency in nautical knowledge, I have been particularly careful in correcting that part of the work."

The perfon juft alluded to has alfo put the initials of his name to each Letter, and, as I informed you in my laft, is in London, fo that I could not eafily "reprefent myfelf as the author."[8]

You next come to that part where notice is taken of your people having free accefs to fpirituous liquors. I have every reafon to believe that the paffage quoted by you, and on which you are fo very free in your remarks, was inferted from the p. 16.
pofitive affertions of your own people:[9] but I can fpeak with certainty of its pernicious effects, for two of my people, who were along with me when on board your veffel, were totally unable to do any duty for a confiderable time, entirely owing to drinking grog mixed with your *rum* as you were pleafed to call it. I naturally imagined at firft that this arofe from their drinking to excefs, but I found this was not the cafe, though it feems the allowance at that time, on board your veffel, was *rather more* than "half a pint a day per man," for your people brought the fpirits by pailfuls.

REMARK THE SECOND

p. 17.

AFTER altering fome expreffions which you fay arofe from the hafte with which your Voyages were prepared to meet the circumftances of the moment, you have thefe words: "That you fupplied the Captains Duncan and Colnett, in their diftrefs, with one puncheon of molaffes, fome Sandwich Ifland

8 Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 8; Meares's *Answer*, pp. 5 f.

9 Meares's *Voyages*, note on p. xxxviii; Meares's *Answer*, p. 6 and note 4 thereto.

pork, articles of trade, a copy of your charts, and part of your log-book, may be very true. But will you take upon you to ſay, that this ſupply was equal to their diſtreſſed condition, or to your power of alleviating it? — If the latter, from what idle vanity did you make a boaſt, on your arrival at Canton, that, although you had been out twenty-three months, you had no occaſion to purchaſe any article of ſtores or proviſions for your homeward-bound voyage to England."[10]

To ſatiſfy the public that I could not have the "*idle vanity*" peculiar to Mr. Meares, I readily anſwer, — That the ſupply in queſtion was all in my power to grant, without a material injury to my own ſhip's crew, except a little vinegar, which
p. 18. was intended for them, but omitted to be put on board through mere inadvertency and hurry at parting.

To ſatiſfy the public that I could not have the "*idle vanity*" of making a boaſt in Canton, that I wanted neither ſtores nor proviſions, although I had been from England twenty-ſix months, I ſhall here give a liſt of what articles I purchaſed at Canton and St. Helena:

At Canton.	Arrack, 325 gallons
	Tar, 3 barrels
	Pitch, 3 barrels
	Canvas, 2 bolts
	Twine, 18 ſkains
	Dammer, 300 lb.
St. Helena.	Canvas, 1 bolt
	Tar, 1 barrel
	Pitch, 1 ditto
	Twine, 12 lbs.
	Rice, 5 bags
	Potatoes, 20 buſhels.

10 Meares's *Answer*, p. 8.

A little farther on you ſay, "Nor do I fear to hazard an p. 19.
opinion that the return of the Princeſs Royal to China was owing to your avarice; had ſhe received from you, Sir, what you could ſo well have ſpared, and ſetting aſide the common dictates of humanity, you ought to have beſtowed for the intereſt of your owners, that veſſel might have remained another seaſon on the coaſt of America. Captain Duncan is now in London, and I am moſt willing to reſt my credit on his teſtimony, reſpecting all I have ſaid concerning the transactions between that worthy man and yourſelf. If you do not recollect the preciſe quantity of thoſe spirits, ſtores, &c. which, after three years' voyage, you brought back to the Thames, the Meſſrs. Etches's, perhaps, will trouble themſelves to re-inform you."[11]—In the copy of your Memorial preſented to the Houſe of Commons, I find that Meſſrs. Etches's and yourself are in partnerſhip; I am ſurpriſed they ſhould neglect informing you not only of the quantity and quality of the returned ſtores, ſpirits, &c. but the time when, and the place where they were bought, as they are in my account which was delivered to them upwards of two years ago; perhaps, as that account yet remains unſettled, they, in the great hurry of buſineſs ſuch *public* p. 20.
ſpirited Merchants in general are, have not had time to look it over.

You ſay you are moſt willing to reſt your credit with the public on the teſtimony of Captain Duncan, ſo far as relates to the transactions betwixt him and yourſelf; this being the caſe, I ſhall here inſert a letter I have received from that Gentleman; and the more willingly, as it contains information in regard to that part of the coaſt which Captain Duncan explored, which neither Captain Douglas, yourself, or any other perſon had in their power to lay before the public.

11 Meares's *Answer*, p. 9.

To Captain GEORGE DIXON.

"S I R,

HAVING ſeen a letter from you addreſſed to John Meares, Eſq. containing ſome remarks on that Gentleman's Voyages to the North-Weſt Coaſt of America, I was not a little ſurprized
p. 21. to find he had made an attack upon you in his publication; but much more ſo, on ſeeing he had named me as the author of his unfounded aſſertions; which, I would hope was not ſo much meant to prejudice me, as to ſwell his own volume.

"However, my good Sir, I find your friendly offices have not been wanting, during my abſence,[12] to vindicate me, which, though with juſtice you could do; I cannot but feel grateful for ſuch a mark of friendſhip. He probably thought that I might never return from Hudſon's Bay, or that I would paſs over in ſilence his unmerited accuſations.

"When I firſt met Lieutenant Meares on the Weſt ſide of America,[13] I thought him both the officer and the gentleman, and am willing to conſider him ſo still; but the latter towards me he has deviated from widely, particularly ſo, as after his profeſſions of friendſhip, I had every reaſon to expect the reverſe of what I have met with.

"In page 201, Voyages to the North-Weſt Coaſt of America, I have ſeen the following note: "On inquiry of
p. 22. Captain Duncan concerning his diſtreſſed condition, he told me that he had met Captain Dixon in the Queen Charlotte, and though that ſhip was on her return to China, and abund-

12 Duncan had spent the season of 1790 in seeking a North West Passage from Hudson bay. See hereon notes 11 and 12 to Meares's *Answer*. It would appear from Meares's *Voyages*, p. 1, that he did not expect Duncan to return until after the expiration of two years.

13 Off Nootka sound, August 7 or 8, 1788: Meares's *Voyages*, p. 195, p. 199; note 6 to Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 9; and *Further Remarks*, p. 29.

antly ſtocked with every thing, and though ſhe belonged to the ſame owners with the Princeſs Royal, the *provident* commander thought it much better to carry all his ſtores back to China, than to ſpare any of them to the latter veſſel, though they would have been ſo great an alleviation to the hardſhips of her voyage."

"The foregoing aſſertion I avow to be without foundation; he ſays, "the Queen Charlotte was on her return to China." That ſhip at the time I met her never had been at China, and had been from England twenty-three months, I had not been quite ten, when you were kind enough to ſpare the Prince of Wales and Princeſs Royal, one puncheon of Molaſſes, two caſks of Sandwich Iſland Pork, a quantity of trading goods which were divided between the two aforeſaid veſſels, we alſo took many uſeful remarks from your journals, &c. all of which were of infinite ſervice to ourſelves and owners. After which it is very improbable I ſhould be guilty of ſuch ingratitude to a man I received ſuch attention from; particularly not having it in my power to make the leaſt return, although ſo late from p. 23. England; ſo that Mr. Meares muſt have miſunderstood me in naming you, Sir, inſtead of our owner, Mr. Richard Cadman Etches; who, from his unjuſt treatment to me, and the many deficiencies even of common neceſſaries, in the veſſel I was ſent out in, has merited every cenſure from me; I have only been paid my wages a few months ago."*

* Captain Duncan has been particularly fortunate in recovering his money, for ſome time after I came home, I accepted a bond of payment of a much leſs ſum than is actually due to me, and which was aſcertained by Mr. Etches and filled up by his attorney, to pay the ſame twelve months after date, but when due, was diſhonoured.

Upon my commencing an action in the Court of King's Bench, the ſame was defended and tried by one of the parties to the bond. I obtained a verdict for the whole, after which, a writ of error was brought, and a bill of Chancery filed to delay payment by all parties, and the money is not yet recovered.—I will juſt obſerve, that I arrived in the port of London in September 1788, and Captain Duncan the following Auguſt.

"Lieutenant Meares mentions in his Voyage, that he is aſtoniſhed how I could proceed to China, without the aſſiſtance which he afforded me off Nootka, when I was about leaving the coaſt.[14]

p. 24. "I met him, as he relates, excepting the diſtreſs, he ſays, I was in; it is true, I received ſome aſſiſtance from him, which, though I was not diſtreſt for, proved very acceptable. I will mention the articles I received; which were, forty gallons of arrack, five gallons of brandy, one quarter cheſt of tea, two China hams, one pine-apple cheeſe, ſome rice and pepper, and twenty pound of tobacco for my crew. The plentiful ſupply of proviſions that I procured at the Sandwich Iſles[15] the Winter before, had amply relieved my diſtreſs; and I was happy then to have it in my power to return the favour I received from Lieutenant Meares; and I well know, that what he got in return, was equally acceptable; as, from his own information, he was in want of proviſion. I ſent on board the Felice, one caſk of beef, two of pork, thirty fathoms of nine inch cable, one anchor of four hundred weight, and a grindſtone; the three laſt articles were of equal ſervice with the former, he having at that time a ſmall veſſel on the ſtocks at Nootka; where he told me he had a fort, guns mounted, and *Portuguefe colours* flying.[16]

"The next thing I have to rectify is, his miſtake in ſaying,

14 Meares's *Voyages*, p. 195, indicates that sighting the *Princess Royal* he feared that the "various articles of novelty on board her" might interfere with his trade. Hence his anxiety to meet her. However, compare therewith Meares's *Voyages*, p. 200.

15 The *Princess Royal* and her consort, following the custom, had wintered at the Sandwich (Hawaiian) islands in 1787-8.

16 The schooner *North West America*, the first vessel built on the coast, launched September 20, 1788: Meares's *Voyages*, p. 220, "Captain Meares arriving here some time before Captain Douglas landed his second officer Mr. Funter and a party of artificers who first built a tolerably strong garrison or place of defence and then went to work building a small schooner of about 30 tons."—Haswell's MS Log Sept. 16, 1788.

"I occupied almoſt a whole ſummer at Queen Charlotte's Iſles, and yet ſtrange to tell, that I quitted the coaſt of America p. 25.
without knowing that Captain Douglas had already taken the ſame courſe."

"From this aſſertion, my owners, and thoſe who read Lieutenant Meares's publication, may conclude, that I loitered away the ſummer of 1788, which he alludes to, at ſo confined a ſpot as Queen Charlotte's Iſles.

"I ſhall refute his miſreprefentations, by entering into a ſhort detail of my proceedings that ſummer.

"After having ſpent three of the winter months among the Sandwich Iſles,—on the 20th of March I left the Iſland Oneehow,[17] in company with the Prince of Wales, and ſtood to the northward in order to get on the coaſt of America as ſoon as poſſible.

"On the 31ſt of March we parted company by conſent, the Prince of Wales for Prince William's Sound, and the Princeſs Royal for Nootka, in which harbour I anchored at 11 o'clock at night, having only made the land at noon that day. The p. 26.
head of my rudder having been near wrenched off at the Sandwich Iſles, from the violence of the ſwell while at anchor, I here wanted a new one, which was begun at daylight next morning, by cutting down a tree for that purpoſe; it was a tedious job for one man, and was not completed ſo that I could put to ſea, until the 10th May, when I ſtood for Queen Charlotte's Iſles, and anchored in Luxaena Bay[18] near Cape St. James, on the 14th; ſailed on the 19th, and on the 20th anchored in Etches's Sound; ſailed on the 24th, and anchored again on the 25th, about 15 leagues farther to the northward; ſailed on the 28th, and anchored again that evening 10 leagues

17 Niihau, one of the westerly islands of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) group.

18 Now Luxana bay, on the eastern side of Kunghit island, about ten miles from cape St. James.

farther north; ſailed on the 31ſt, and ſtood over for Princeſs Royal's Iſles, the weather being bad and the coaſt dangerous. On the 1ſt of June I got in amongſt Princeſs Royal's Iſles, and not finding anchorage, made faſt to trees, head and ſtern; boomed the veſſel off from the rocks, and on the 2d of June in the evening, anchored in the mouth of Ayton's river[19] about 15 leagues north-eaſt off where I had ſtopt the night before; ſailed the next night, and on the 5th made faſt to trees on ſhore again for want of anchorage; on the 6th anchored at ſome ſmall diſtance in a ſmall creek. Here I near loſt my
p. 27. boat's crew by the treachery of the natives.[20] In this ſituation I lay until the 10th, and ſailed again to the weſtward down the Sounds which I had come up, and that evening anchored in a ſmall creek in order to trade with a tribe of Indians. I here met with a heavy gale of wind, which prevented my ſailing until the 15th in the morning, and that evening I anchored in Port Stephens,[21] where I lay until the 19th; ſailed in the morning, and in the evening made faſt to ſome trees, there being no anchorage. On the 20th in the morning, ſailed and ſtood to the northward along Princeſs Royal's Iſles; not ſeeing any ſigns of Indians, left Princeſs Royal's Iſles, and ſtood over again for Queen Charlotte's Iſles, to viſit a tribe which I had heard of, and anchored on the 23d off the mouth of Trollope's River,[22] here I was succeſsful in the fur way; ſailed from this place the next day, and on the 27th anchored again about 18 leagues farther to the ſouthward and traded; ſailed on the 29th, and on the 2d of July anchored in Etches' Sound;[23] here

19 Skeena river.

20 This attempt was made by Siak's tribe, probably near Browning entrance. The Indians at Cumshewa inlet, Queen Charlotte islands, also attempted her capture.

21 On Pitt island.

22 Skidegate channel, Queen Charlotte islands.

23 Probably Juan Perez sound, Queen Charlotte islands.

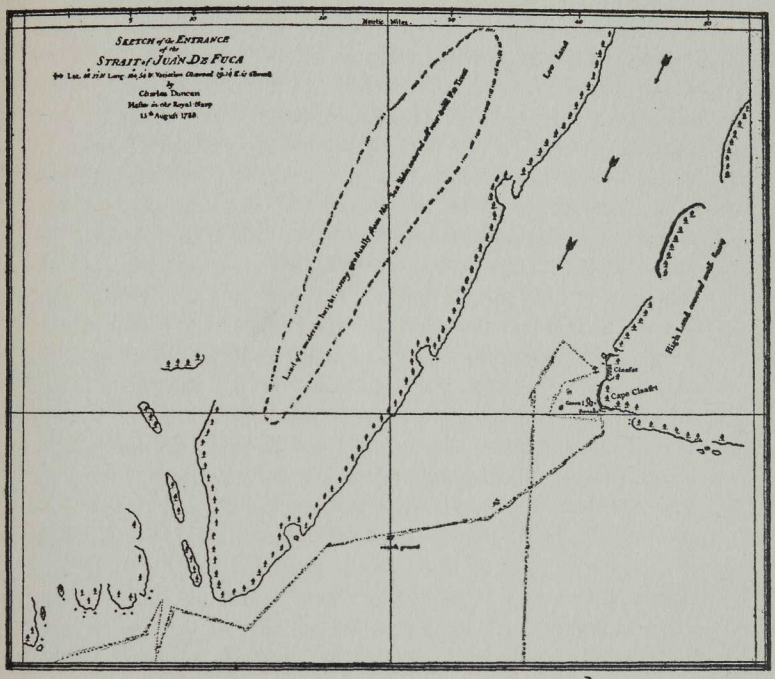
I expected to have heard of my confort the Prince of Wales, but the natives had not heard any thing of her, or any other veffel during my abfence; traded for fome furs, and on the 6th of July left the Sound, and a letter in care of the Chiefs for Captain Colnett, which he afterwards received. I had appointed to meet Captain Colnett at Queen Charlotte's Ifles, but not find- p. 28.
ing him on my arrival here, I deemed it ufelefs to wait, therefore in my letter I informed him where I had been fince we parted, and the route I intended to take, and immediately ftood over for Princefs Royal's Ifles, to the fouthward of where I had before vifited. We had heavy gales of wind, fo that I did not get into port again before the 14th, where in the evening I anchored in a fmall cove in Millbank Sound;[24] here I traded with the natives for fome excellent otter fkins, and was obliged to lie ftill and dry a number of wet skins that I had procured in rainy weather; failed on the 18th and ftood to the fouthward, anchored on the north end of Calvert's Ifland, where I lay the night of the 21ft, and ftood up Sir Charles Middleton's Sound[25] againft a ftrong current for ten hours, founded, 180 fathoms brackifh water, no bottom; after driving up and down this found with calms, and counter-tides, I anchored in Port Safety[26] on the coaft fide of Calvert's Ifle; here I hauled the veffel on fhore to clean her bottom, it being very foul. The tempeftous weather prevented my failing until the 2d of Auguft, when I failed and traced the coaft down to the fouthward and anchored off Port Brooks[27] on the 5th of Auguft; not finding any furs here, I left it the fame evening and ftood for Nootka, where I had promifed to join my confort the fol- p. 29.

24 Milbank sound, in latitude 52° 9′ and 52° 16′, named by Duncan. Of all the names bestowed by him only five survive: Milbank sound; Calvert island; Princess Royal island; Port Stephens; and Port Safety.

25 Fitzhugh sound.

26 Now Safety Cove, Calvert Island, named by Duncan.

27 Klaskish inlet, on the west coast of Vancouver island.



CAPTAIN DUNCAN'S SKETCH OF THE ENTRANCE OF THE STRAIT OF JUAN DE FUCA

Sketch of the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca made by Captain Charles Duncan of the *Princess Royal* in August, 1788. J. Walker, sculptor. Published in *Spanish Pretensions Fairly Discussed,* by Alex. Dalrymple. London, 1790.

The islands on the left are at the mouth of Barkley Sound; the adjacent land is part of Vancouver Island. This is the earliest known map of the locality.

lowing day, and was met by the Felice, Captain John Meares, on the 7th, off Nootka, under Portugese colours;[28] on my firſt hailing him from whence he came, I was anſwered, from Liſbon, and that ſhe was commanded by Don Antonio Pedro Mannella, or ſome ſuch ſtuff, which I knew to be falſe; however, as I ſaid before, "Mr. Meares and I met friendly and parted the ſame." My conſort not having arrived at Nootka, I ſtood to the ſouthward along the coaſt, and anchored off the village of Ahouſet[29] on the evening of the 8th, where I lay trading with the natives until the 13th; ſailed, and on the 15th anchored before the village of Claaſit[30] on the ſouth ſide of the ſtraits of Juan de Fuca. Having got what ſkins the natives had, I left the coaſt on the 17th, which I ſhould not have done ſo soon, but that I had made an appointment to meet the Prince of Wales on a certain day at the Sandwich Iſles, in order to go in company together to China. Thus I traded the coaſt of Queen Charlotte's Iſles from Cape St. James, (named by you) in latitude 52° along the eaſt ſide of it up to 54°, and from 54° on Princeſs Royal's Iſles, down to the latitude of 51°, where they end, and then down along the coaſt to the ſtraits of Juan de Fuca, in the latitude of 48° 30′, during which route I was at anchor in nineteen different places, very p. 30. often at a great riſque, as the greateſt part of them were very unſafe to lie in when it blew hard, and difficult to enter. Without the greateſt exertions I could not have collected ſo fine a

28 See introduction hereto, and Meares's *Memorial* in Appendix to his *Voyages*.

29 An Indian village then situated on the sea front of Vargas island, near Foam reefs, in Clayoquot sound, Vancouver island.

30 Vancouver had named Cape Flattery, Cape Classet, but finding that it was only the name of an inferior chief he removed it. Vancouver's *Voyage*, 1801 ed., vol. 2, pp. 389 f.

cargo of furs as I did.[31] I would wifh Lieutenant Meares to underftand, that I did not come to the coaft of America to learn my duty of him or any thing elfe. What you fay in regard to his charts being partly made from mine, that I am fure is an abfolute fact, as neither Meares or Douglas have but a faint knowledge of the eaft fide of Queen Charlotte's or Princefs Royal's Ifles, where there appears to be the greateft profpect of a paffage to the eaftward among the latter. This I affert from knowing that Captain Meares never was on that part of the coaft; and from feeing Captain Douglas's track he appears to have had little communication with the coaft, either of Queen Charlotte's or Princefs Royal's Ifles.

"You will at once perceive that thefe are only a few heads of the particulars which my logg-book and journals contain; they are in poffeffion of Alexander Dalrymple, Efq. [32] where they may be referred to if neceffary. How far Captain Meares may have mifled the public, I have taken no farther notice
p. 31. of, than what relates to myfelf, and if you think it merits a place in your next publication, you have my liberty for putting it in.

"I am fincerely yours,

"CHARLES DUNCAN.

Iflington, Jan. 17, 1791.

"N. B. At the time I met Captain Meares off Nootka, he had only one cafk of beef and of pork on board the Felice, as he afterwards informed me by letter, while I lay at

31 "There is every reason to believe that this little vessel accomplished more for the benefit of her owners than any ship that ever sailed to the North Western Coast of America."—Meares's *Voyages*, p. 200. In Meares's *Answer*, p. 25, that cargo is said to have been 1959 skins and 65 cloaks.

32 A Scottish mapmaker and author especially versed in matters relating to the Pacific ocean. See, also, note 51 to Dixon's *Remarks*.

Ahouſet, and ſaid that his conſort, the Iphigenia, was more diſtreſſed than he was; the Felice's compliment were 35 men; it appears abſurd, where he mentions I could not get to China without tea, grog, and tobacco,[33] at that time I had plenty of Indian tea on board; ſpirits I had been without upwards of twelve months, and tobacco I never make uſe of any. Some of my crew are here upon the ſpot who were on board the Felice, and can certify who were the moſt in diſtreſs; my crew having as much as they could eat of Sandwich Iſland pork, bread, flour, and ſpruce beer. His people declared that they were fed upon iron hoops and beads, alluding to their having been ſerved with pieces of p. 32. iron hoops and beads to procure fiſh from the natives to ſubſist upon, not having taſted meat for two months."[34]

IN order that the public may ſee ſome of your actions, mentioned in Captain Duncan's letter, in their true light, I ſhall here quote an extract from the memorial preſented by you to the Houſe of Commons.— "Your memorialiſt thinks it neceſſary upon this occasion to explain, that in order to evade the exceſſive high port charges demanded by the Chineſe from all other European nations, excepting the Portugueſe, that he and his aſſociates had obtained the name of Juan Cawalho, to their firm, though he had no actual concern in their ſtock; that Cawalho, though by birth a Portugueſe, had been naturalized at Bombay, and had reſided there for many years, under the protection of the Eaſt India Company, and had carried on

33 The reference is to Meares's *Voyages*, p. 201. Duncan was about four months from the Sandwich (Hawaiian) islands: "The Paradise of the Pacific;" Meares was about six months from China.

34 Maritime traders sometimes required their crews to obtain food in this way: See Bartlett's *Narrative* in *The Sea, The Ship, and The Sailor*, Salem, 1925, p. 301, where he says that the crew of the *Gustavus* in 1791 bartered their own clothes for fish, except when the captain gave them strings of beads for that purpose.

an extenſive trade from thence to their ſeveral ſettlements in that part of the world.

p. 33. "That the intimacy ſubſiſting between Cawalho and the Governor of Macao, had been the principal cauſe of their forming this nominal connection; and that Cawalho had in consequence obtained his permiſſion that the two ſhips above mentioned, *in caſe it ſhould be found convenient ſo to do, ſhould be allowed to navigate under, or claim any advantages granted to the Portugueſe flag.*

"That this permiſſion had anſwered the purpoſe of your memorialiſt, ſo far as reſpected the port charges of the Chineſe, until the return of the Iphigenia; but the Portugueſe Governor dying ſoon after her departure, and Cawalho becoming a bankrupt, his creditors demanded his intereſt in that ſhip; that your memorialiſt having reſiſted their claim, an application was made by them to the ſucceeding Governor for poſſeſſion of the ſhip; that the Governor had, in conſequence, inveſtigated the transaction, and finding that Cawalho had no actual concern or intereſt in the property, obliged her to quit the port; that this proceeding had ſubjected the Iphigenia at once, to the increaſed port charges, which were inſtantly demanded by, and paid to, the Chineſe.

p. 34. "Your memorialiſt has ſtated this tranſaction thus fully in order to ſhew that the Iphigenia and her cargo were actually, and *bona fide*, Britiſh property, as well as to explain the occaſion of the orders which were given to her commander."

You, perhaps, may remember, Sir, that when I firſt went on board your veſſel in Prince William's Sound,[35] I inquired by what authority you was trading on that coaſt under Engliſh colours; at the ſame time I informed you that no veſſels under ſuch colours had any right there, unleſs they had a license

35 May 8, 1787; see an extract from Dixon's journal in Dixon's *Voyage*, pp. 152 ff. (Letter xxix).

from the South Sea Company, this you declared you had not; ſhortly afterwards, when you came on board our veſſels at Montague Iſland, you peruſed our licence from the South Sea Company, and I doubt not but you afterwards ſaw it at Canton, for mine* was in the hands of Mr. Cox,[36] at whoſe houſe you reſided. From this ſtatement of facts, your hailing Captain Duncan under Portugueſe colours, and afterwards acquainting him that you had a fort in Nootka with guns p. 35. mounted, and Portugueſe colours flying over them, it appears perfectly evident that to *evade the Chineſe port charges* was not your only motive for procuring Juan Cawalho's name to your firm; for neither that name, or the Portugueſe colours at Nootka, could any ways affect the port duties at Canton: no, Sir, your principal motive was to evade the *South Sea Company's licence;* fearful that you might fall in with ſome Britiſh ſhip, who probably would ſeize your veſſel and bring you to England: upon my word, Sir, this conduct proved you to be a *man of buſineſs*, with a vengeance, it was properly "*killing two birds with one ſtone.*"[37]

You ſay in "Remark the Third," "With reſpect to the equipment of the King George and Queen Charlotte, I repreſented it as it was, of a very ſuperior kind, ſuch as the port of London could alone afford."

If this really was the caſe, that no port but London could afford ſuch equipment, you ought to have given a liſt of it, as that would be of the utmoſt ſervice to merchants who ſend

* I have left Captain Duncan's letter, my South Sea licence, the Eaſt India Company's licence, the Articles ſigned by my people for performing the voyage, and Mr. Etches's inſtructions to Captain Portlock, in the hands of Mr. Stockdale, where any gentleman may peruſe them.

36 John Henry Cox, so frequently mentioned in this discussion. See note 10 to Dixon's *Remarks*; also Portlock's *Voyage*, p. 359; Meares's *Voyages*, p. 4.

37 See this subject further considered in introduction hereto.

ſhips on diſtant voyages from any other port, particularly as
p. 36. we find in your publication, that you are poſſeſſed of ſuch a patriotic ſpirit as to venture not only your fortune, but what is ſtill dearer, your life, *in favour of Britiſh commerce.* Had your partners not been able to have furniſhed you with a liſt of the articles both ſhips had on board, I could have given you a particular account of the ſtores and proviſions ſent on board the Queen Charlotte, had you applied to me.[38]

Farther on, in the ſame remark, "It may indeed be preſumption in me to appear to know more of the objects of your own voyage than yourſelf; but, notwithſtanding your aſſertion to the contrary, I am ſtill of the opinion that one of them was to form ſettlements and factories on the coaſt of America, and that for this purpoſe, Mr. Wilby was put on board the King George to undertake the direction of an infant colony with proportionable men and artificers. Beſides, I have now before me a copy of the orders given to Mr. Portlock who had the honour of commanding you; which were drawn up by Meſſrs. Etches, &c. in the true ſpirit of commercial underſtanding and honour. Theſe inſtructions particularly recommend their commanders to fix an establiſhment in Nootka
p. 37. Sound; and as it was not the incapacity, at least of your equipments, or a deficiency in your inſtructions, which prevented you from performing that part of your duty, you would have done well not to have mentioned the ſubject at all, if you had no better means of justification than evaſion and falſehood."[39] In regard to that part of this remark, where you ſay that Mr. Wilby was put on board the King George to undertake the direction of an infant colony, with proportionable men

38 The quotation is from Meares's *Answer*, p. 10. The partners referred to are the Messrs. Etches, who in 1789 had joined with Meares, but who had operated the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* commanded by Portlock and Dixon.

39 This quotation is from Meares's *Answer*, p| 10.

and artificers; I anſwer, that no ſuch men were on board either the King George or Queen Charlotte as you deſcribe, to attend Mr. Wilby; our people having all, to my certain knowledge, ſigned articles for a voyage of three years and a half out and home. Again, in the part of the inſtructions you have quoted, we find that the men to be left with this Governor, that was to be, were "to turn out volunteers, to be companions to Mr. Wilby." In my veſſel, I had no ſuch volunteers, neither, I dare ſay, had Captain Portlock; and if he had, as the inſtructions you have been pleaſed to favour the public with *a part of* invested him with a diſcretional power to ſettle them at any place he thought proper on the coaſt, I ſhould imagine, had Mr. Wilby and his volunteers only hinted to him a wiſh to ſtay, he would have complied with their requeſt at Port Etches; for, by his own words, he ſeems to think this an eligible place p. 38. for a ſettlement, for, ſpeaking of Port Etches,[40] in his Voyage, page 251, he ſays, "It hath ſeveral advantages over any place I have ſeen on the coaſt; one of them is, that it lies ſo near the ſea, that in all probability it would be one of the laſt places that would freeze, and one of the firſt in which the ice would break up. In the next place, you would be much ſheltered by the high land lying to the eaſtward and northward, from the bleak winds in the winter, and you have all the ſouthern aſpect open over the low land which lies to the ſouthward of you, which land, in a little time, might be turned to very uſeful purpoſes in raiſing articles of food for the ſettlers." To the latter part of your remark, where you aſſert, "I had no better means of juſtification, than evaſion and falſehood;" I anſwer, if you, Mr. Meares, really think ſo, why did you not produce, (as I am ſure Meſſrs. Etches would have favoured you with ſuch a thing, *if they had it,*) a copy of the agreement

40 Port Etches was in Prince William's sound, Alaska; it must be distinguished from Etches sound mentioned in Duncan's letter herein.

between them, and thofe men and artificers they had engaged to attend this *paper governor*? But though neither Capt. Portlock or myfelf could find volunteers to quit our veffels and live on fhore, it is pretty evident that you had thofe on board who preferred the fhore, without either fettlement or protec-
p. 39. tion, to *your* fhip;[41] for what reafon, I fhall leave the public to judge after quoting the following paffage from Portlock's Voyage, page 254. "I omitted in its proper place to mention, that at the fouth part of the little bay where we found the water-creffes, we faw a tree with an infcription on it, the characters, fome were of opinion, were Greek; but for my own part I could not make out what moft of them were; they were badly cut. It appeared to me as if the infcription had been made in the latter part of the laft year, and I am of opinion by a man, who, fome time after the Nootka's arrival, left her; this man is a native of one of the iflands in the Mediterranean, and it fhould feem was drove from the Nootka by bad ufage, and I believe is ftill among the Indians."

Immediately after that part of Mr. Etches's inftructions to Captain Portlock, which you have thought fit to favour the public with, you obferve, that "more clear and explicit inftructions were perhaps never given than thofe delivered by your owner to Captain Portlock and yourfelf; and never were orders more ftrangely perverted, or more fhamefully difobeyed."[42] Had you, Mr. Meares, not mutilated thofe "*clear and explicit inftructions*," as you think proper to call them, the public might have feen the following paffage: "And as it is impoffible
p. 40. to forefee the accidents that may arife in fuch a voyage, you

41 Meares had a mutiny on the *Felice* in 1788: see his *Voyages*, p. 188. Haswell says in his manuscript log under date, May 1, 1789, that a sailor from Meares's ships hid himself in the woods at Nootka in the autumn of 1788 and remained there until they sailed when he took service on the *Columbia*.

42 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 11, and see note 15 thereto.

have full power to act according to your own difcretion for the benefit of the undertaking." And that Captain Portlock did act for the benefit of the undertaking, according to the best of his knowledge, as far as circumftances would permit, there is not a shadow of doubt.

You next obferve, that "Your deftination was King George's Sound,[43] where you were to eftablish a factory; and which, ftrange to tell, you never ventured to enter. The King George and Queen Charlotte arrived *off the Sound* from Owhyhee,[44] one of the Sandwich Ifles, with their crews in full health and fpirits; there you remained upwards of a fortnight, without pufhing into the Sound: by day, indeed, you neared the land, and fometimes even made the opening of the Sound, but no fooner did the favouring night approach, than you retreated, and took care to run farther out to fea than you could make the following day. Though, if I am not very much mifinformed, your fhip was often tacked, and her head pointed to the land, without your knowledge, and without the defired fuccefs."[45] Of all your mifreprefentations I have had occasion to notice, fcarcely any of them are fo palpably falfe as that p. 41. juft quoted. The time from our leaving the Sandwich Ifles, to our arrival off King George's Sound, was three months and ten days, during which time, we had been in Cook's River; "after leaving that place, we fteered to the fouthward and eaftward, attempting at feveral places to come to anchor, but without fuccefs; arrived off King George's Sound, September 23d, and after repeatedly attempting to get in, the weather all the time being very ftormy, we gave it up at 7 o'clock, P.M. on the 28th, and ftood for the Sandwich Iflands."

By the above account, taken from the logg-book, the reader

43 Nootka sound.

44 Hawaii.

45 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 11; and see introduction hereto.

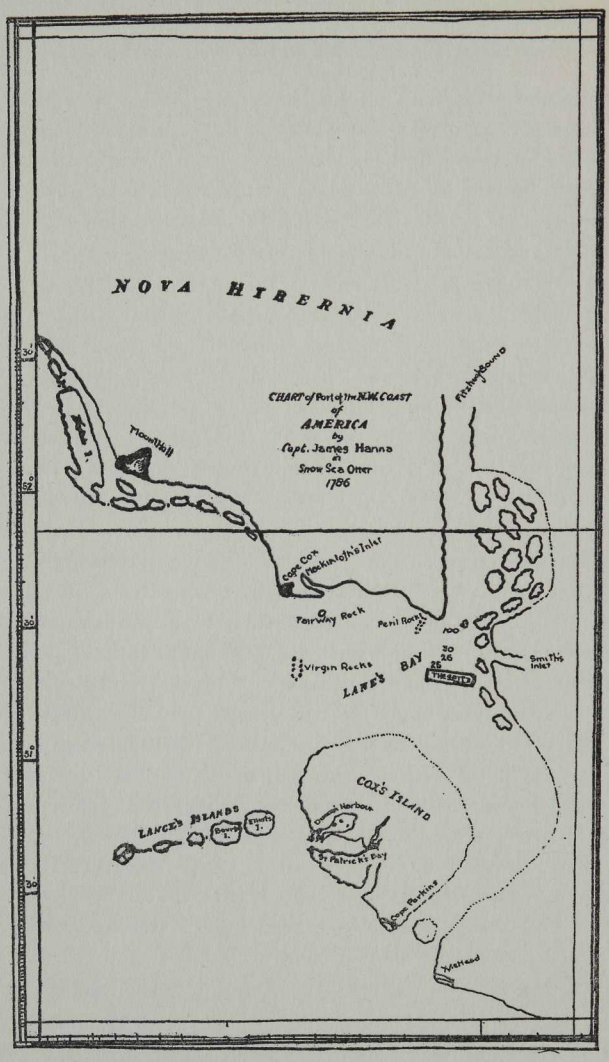
will at once perceive that you have *only added nine days* to the time we were off Nootka:[46] you have alſo *only modeſtly hinted,* that we made a direct courſe from Owhyhee to King George's Sound; off which place we arrived with the crews full of health and ſpirits: for ſhame, Mr. Meares! how could you poſſibly make theſe aſſertions, when you muſt know that "a plain tale would put you down?"

You ſay, "By day you neared the land, and ſometimes even made the opening of the Sound; but no ſooner did the *favour-*
p. 42. *ing night* approach, than you retreated." Be ſo good, Sir, as to inform us why the *night* became ſo peculiarly favourable for entering Nootka Sound, where the ſhores are lined with ſunken rocks, ſome of which lie a league or more from the ſhore. (Vide Cook's laſt Voyage, vol. ii. page 265, and his Sketch of Nootka Sound.)

But, perhaps, you was a ſettler there, you have found a regular ſea and land wind at the place, which ſets out all day, and in at night; though it is the reverſe to all winds of the kind I ever heard of: was this the caſe, you ought to have given an account of it in your publication. You next obſerve, that if you are not very much miſinformed, "my ſhip was often tacked, and her head pointed to the land without my knowledge." This aſſertion ſavours ſo much of real ignorance in nautical matters, that I ſhould have thought a gentleman of Mr. Meares's *profeſſional knowledge* would only have laughed at ſuch information, *if any ſuch he really had*; but I ſhould not now be ſurpriſed to hear you advance, that on leaving England I fell aſleep, and never waked until I was on board your veſſel in Prince William's Sound.

p. 43. Farther on you obſerve, "If Captain Cook had lived to

46 Other vessels found it difficult to enter Nootka sound, e.g. Haswell's MS log shows that the *Washington* arrived off Nootka sound September 8, 1788, but could not reach anchorage until September 16.



CAPTAIN JAMES HANNA'S CHART

Captain James Hanna's chart made on his second voyage (1786), engraved by W. Harrison, and published in *Spanish Pretensions Fairly Discussed,* by Alex. Dalrymple, London, 1790.

The locality shown is the north western end of Vancouver Island and the neighbouring continental shore. It is the first chart after that of Captain Cook, and is crude and incorrect. "Lance's Islands" are Scott Islands. "Cox's Island" is the northern end of Vancouver Island, but the passage is imaginary. "Lane's Bay" is Queen Charlotte Sound.

finiſh his work, you, Sir, would probably have been ſpared the trouble of your diſcoveries."[47] Happy ſhould I have been if a life ſo valuable could have been ſpared to his country; having had the honour of ſerving, if not immediately in his veſſel, yet under his command, in the voyage where he came to ſo untimely and lamented an end.

I ſhall here give a liſt of all the charts which you acknowledge to have made uſe of in compiling yours; at the ſame time, give me leave to obſerve, that you did not own yourself indebted to any perſon whatever, until you were forced to it. The charts I allude to, are Lieutenant Roberts's, Mr. Arrowſmith's, Captains Berkley, Maurelle, Hanna, Lowrie, Guiſe, Portlock, and my own:[48] were all the parts you have taken from the above charts, extracted from that part of the North Weſt Coaſt of America betwixt the latitude of 60° north and 47° north in your chart, I am apt to think there would be a very ſmall portion of land remaining.

p. 44. I find this remark on Captain Berkley's chart: "You obſerve, Sir, in ſomething like a tone of triumph, that I was in poſſeſſion of Mr. Berkley's chart, which you ſay includes the utmoſt extent of my progreſs to the ſouthward." The former part of the aſſertion is true, but the latter is falſe; nay, fortunately for me, I have Mr. Berkley's chart in my poſſeſſion, which proves that he did not go farther to the ſouthward than 47° or thereabouts; and 45° 30′ is the point where my courſe is completed."[49] Here you have evidently given a wrong extract, for, in my letter to you, the paſſage ſtands, "as far, *or nearly ſo*, as you went;" beſides, I cannot find, *even*

47 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 12.

48 See Meares's *Answer*, pp. 13 f; notes 12, 13, 34, and 43 to Dixon's *Remarks* and note 19 to Meares's *Answer*.

49 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 13; but what Dixon actually wrote had the words "as far as, or nearly so, as you went," which Meares omits; see Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 11.

by your own account, that you have difcovered any thing to the fouthward of Captain Berkley.

As you acknowledge a longitudinal miftake in 56° 38′ north latitude, I fhall proceed to the track of the Wafhington, which you now own to have taken from the information of "Mr. Neville, a gentleman of refpectable character, who came home in the Chefterfield from China."[50]

Having never feen or heard of this Gentleman before, I p. 45. have no right to doubt the verbal information he may have given you, neither would I have it infinuated that I ever did. All my thoughts on the fubject are, that before you fuffered fuch a track to appear on your chart, you fhould have feen it delineated on paper, with either the latitudes and longitudes, or the veffel's run; but you, Mr. Meares, it feems, thought otherwife, for it appears by your own words, that you never faw anything of the kind; as you tell us in page 56, "Obfervations on the probable Exiftence," &c. "It is probable, however, that the mafter of that veffel did not make any aftronomical obfervations to give a juft data of that ftation." You proceed, "Your farcafms, Sir, on the manner in which I speak of Captan Cook, in my obfervations on the north-weft paffage, proceed from the habitual liberality of your mind. I wrote the fentiments which I felt, nor do I fear to repeat it. Though the Felice and Iphigenia did explore the latitudes from 56° to 47° north, there is every reafon to lament that Captain Cook was prevented from making fuch an examination as would have proceeded from him."[51] Here, Sir, you plainly acknowledge to have done nothing to the fouthward of what Captain Berkley

50 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 14. In his memorandum of July 4, 1790, Mr. Neville is said to have been an officer of the East India Company and to have returned to England on the *Duke of Buccleugh.* See introduction hereto and notes 25, 26 and 27 to Meares's *Answer.*

51 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 14.

p. 46. has laid down, in the chart you was in poſſeſſion of.[52] You alſo ſay, "you have endeavoured, to the utmoſt of your information, to particularize the merits of every Gentleman employed on the Coaſt of America. Captain Duncan did explore a conſiderable part of the coaſt between 50° and 52°.[53] If you, Sir, obſerve what Captain Duncan ſays in his letter, we there find that he was not confined between the latitudes of 50° and 52°, but that he has traced the coaſt along from 54° to 47°; moreover, I have at preſent by me a ſketch of the entrance of the Straits of Juan de Fuca, by Charles Duncan, Maſter in the Royal Navy, dated the 15th of Auguſt, 1788, and publiſhed by Mr. Dalrymple, January the 14th, 1790; in which ſketch we find Captain Duncan was at anchor in the Straits, off the village of *Claaſet*. The width of theſe Straits, by the ſketch juſt mentioned, appears to be fourteen miles; you make them fifteen *leagues*. Pray, Mr. Meares, how do you who never were in the Straits, reconcile this difference?

Again, "Captain Berkley's name is continued by me to the Sound to the ſouthward of Nootka."[54] Captain Berkley is certainly much obliged to Mr. Meares for condeſcending to let his name remain in that ſituation.

p. 47. "But, though his boat was in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, he never was, as appears from his own chart."[54] Nor were you ever there, Mr. Meares, any more than Captain Berkley, if we are to believe your own account, for you ſay, page 50, "On the probable Exiſtence," &c. "If it ſhould be aſked why theſe Straits were not penetrated, or at leaſt ſome attempt made to penetrate them, the anſwer is at hand, the deſtruction of our commercial enterprize by the ſhips of his Catholic Majeſty."

52 This is mere logomachy: Dixon knew that Meares had been south of Deception bay (Columbia river).

53 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 15.

54 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 15.

You here undoubtedly mean that you did not enter thefe Straits with your fhip, for we find Mr. Duffin was fent to explore them in the long-boat.

A little farther are thefe words: "I have certainly dared to rob the channel of the Charlotte Ifles of the *title of Dixon*, for no better reafon than becaufe the enterprifing, intelligent, and humane navigator, who thought fo proudly to diftinguifh it with his own name, never faw that channel, according to the evidence of the track on his own chart; I have therefore ventured to give it the name of the man who boldly pufhed through it."[55] To the firft part of your affertion, where you fay I never faw the channel, you will, I think, on reflecting only for one moment, find yourfelf miftaken; for you may find my p. 48. track up it, from Cape St. James, in the Latitude 51° 48′, to the latitude 53° 10′, nearly; and, from where the fame track is laid down at the north end of the channel, I could, moft affuredly, fee a clear, uninterrupted horizon confiderably within the entrance, and without feeing near fo far as you fay the people, in your long-boat, faw to the eaftward in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, in "Voyages to the North Weft Coaft," &c. page 179. "She had failed near thirty leagues up the Strait, and at that diftance from the fea, it was about fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon ftretching to the eaft for fifteen leagues more."

As your people never landed, they muft have feen this forty-five miles to the eaftward, *out of the boat*; but I cannot find it poffible, even for the eagle-eyed Mr. Meares, to fee from a boat like her, any thing near that diftance; for no mode of calculation that I know of, where the height of the eye could not be above feven or eight feet, will, after allowing for refraction,

55 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 15. His chart shows that Douglas sailed through Dixon entrance and Hecate strait without stopping, except to anchor off Rose point.

give the diſtance to be ſeen on the horizon, more than ſix miles. From the maſt head of my veſſel, I was enabled to ſee nearly twenty miles, which, in the latitude 54° 30′, gives thirty-four
p. 49. miles of longitude; this, Sir, when laid off from my track to the eaſtward, will at once convince you that I muſt have ſeen into this channel or ſtrait at the north end of it: that I did not fail through it is true, being prevented by contrary winds.[56] As to what name the channel is known by, is of little conſequence; I ſhall only obſerve, that when I laid my MS. chart before Sir Joſeph Banks for his approbation, I at the ſame time requeſted him to name ſuch places as I had not filled up, and he did me the honour to inſert mine in the place you find it on the chart.[57]

You have alſo, perhaps by way of "*ſtripping the ſilly jay of his borrowed plumage,*" changed the name of Forreſter's Iſland to that of Douglas. I know of no other motive you could have for doing it.[58] I now come to that part of your anſwer where you mention Cook's River; here you ſay, "I find no data in Captain Cook's Voyage to determine the non-exiſtence of a paſſage. There is no declaration from him that militates againſt the navigation of a ſhip beyond the Narrows."[59]

For an anſwer to the firſt part, you ſhall have Captain Cook's own words, from vol. ii. page 397, of his laſt Voyage —
p. 50. "It was a ſatisfaction to me, however, to reflect, that if I had not examined this very conſiderable inlet, it would have been

56 Dixon did not actually circumnavigate Queen Charlotte islands in July 1787; he inferred their insularity. Douglas, in August 1788, sailed through Dixon entrance and Hecate strait, thus demonstrating the fact.

57 The reference is to Dixon entrance (or Dixon's Strait, as it was first called), which Meares, for the reason specified in the preceding note, had changed to Douglas's Entrance. See Meares's *Answer*, p. 15.

58 Meares's map shows a Forrester's island and a Douglas island in the vicinity of Dixon's Forrester's island — more logomachy.

59 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 16. Dixon's reply is more logomachy.

aſſumed by *ſpeculative fabricators in geography* as a fact, that it communicated with the ſea to the north, or with Baffin's or Hudſon's bay to the eaſt."

To the latter part I can only anſwer, that I ſhould have been greatly ſurpriſed if there had, for Captain Cook was forty-ſix miles above the Narrows, and his boats much farther: ſee his chart of that place.

Afterwards, you obſerve, "You, however, with your uſual eagerneſs and ignorance, take poſſeſſion of the Shoal placed above the Narrows, in order to form a barrier againſt all farther navigation up the river; but to diſpoſſeſs you at once of your important ſituation, I muſt inform you that ſhips can navigate on each ſide this formidable Shoal." I am obliged to you, Mr. Meares, for your information, though it is of no ſervice to me, having been many miles above this Shoal, at the time Captain Cook was up the river;[60] however, as I think good offices ſhould never be ſuffered to paſs unrequited, I will endeavour to repay you with a little advice, which is, to p. 51. ſend your information to the *compiler of your chart*; and then perhaps, in your next edition, I ſhall be able to find the Shoal, for in the preſent map, I believe nothing of the kind is to be ſeen.

You next obſerve, "You aſk me why I produced the voyage of the Iphigenia, when it was in my power to have brought forward that of Captain Duncan. I anſwer: becauſe, without retracting from the acknowledged merit of Captain Duncan, I prefer the journal of the Iphigenia to every other. I conſider Captain Duncan as the beſt authority for the navigation between the Charlotte Iſles and the main; or, at leaſt, what we take to be ſo. This circumſtance, with his traverſes from ſhore to ſhore, juſtifies the application I have made of his

60 Dixon was armourer on the *Discovery* on Captain Cook's third voyage.

voyage to my chart."[61] It appears to me very extraordinary that you ſhould prefer the journal of a man who had juſt run through the channel, to that of one who had navigated it part of two ſeaſons, and had ſo often croſſed from one ſide to the other;[62] and particularly ſo, as we are told in page 369, "Voyages to the North-Weſt Coaſt," &c. on Captain Douglas's viſit to this place, that "The weather had been ſo thick and
p. 52. hazy ſince they had quitted Nootka Sound, that it was impoſſible to get a ſight of the moon or ſtars for the purpoſe of making an obſervation; Captain Douglas, therefore, was under the neceſſity of reducing the longitude of the different places which he viſited, from the obſervations he had made during his voyage of the preceding year."[63]

"He (Captain Duncan) undoubtedly viſited the great northern Archipelago prior to Captain Douglas; but, from his diſtreſſed ſituation, he quitted thoſe parts without knowing there was ſuch a channel as that through which Captain Douglas made his way." It does not appear from Captain Duncan's letter, which I have already inſerted, that he was in a very diſtreſſed ſituation, for we there learn, that he ſupplied you with proviſions; and it not only appears ridiculous in the extreme, but ſhews the moſt conſummate ignorance for any one to aſſert, that he knew no ſuch place as the channel in queſtion; for any perſon caſting an eye over Mr. Arrowſmith's chart will there find his track laid down.[64]

What you ſay in regard to Captain Berkley's completing the voyage from Europe to America, and from there to China, in twelve months, is no more than any other perſon may eaſily

61 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 17.

62 See Duncan's letter herein.

63 This refers to Douglas's voyage in the *Iphigenia*, in June 1789, after that vessel had been seized and released by the Spaniards.

64 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, pp. 17 f. Though a small matter it shows Meares's habit of making careless statements, or worse.

do, provided he goes no farther to the northward than King p. 53.
George's Sound, and has a good ſailing coppered veſſel, like Captain Berkley's; nay, probably we ſhould (as you ſay we ought) have done the ſame under ſimilar circumſtances: as to Captain Berkley's ſuperior knowledge in navigation and commerce, I never called his abilities in queſtion in either of thoſe particulars.[65] I come next to examine your differing ſo materially as you have done from Arrowſmith's chart, where you obſerve, "your charge againſt me, that, in the only place where I acknowledge Mr. Arrowſmith's aſſiſtance, I have made ſuch an extraordinary deviation from him as 19° 45′, would be of a very serious nature indeed, if it were true; but the accuſation, from its flagrant falſehood, proves nothing more than the mad malice of the man who makes it."[66]

Here I ſhall examine Captain Cook's chart, Mr. Arrowſmith's and yours; and then leave the reader to determine whether my accuſation is true, or a "flagrant falſehood." In Captain Cook's chart, by Lieutenant Roberts, I find the ſea ſeen by Mr. Hearne, is laid down in the longitude 240° 0′ eaſt of Greenwich; in Mr. Arrowſmith's charts, Mr. Hearne's track, to where he ſaw the ſea, is laid down in the longitude p. 54.
247° 45′ eaſt; you, Mr. Meares, have laid down no track in your chart, but in words thus: "the ſea ſeen by Mr. Hearne agreeable to Mr. Arrowſmith's chart," in the longitude 228° eaſt of Greenwich. In Mr. Arrowſmith's chart, in the longitude of 228°, there is neither Mr. Hearne's track, nor any mention made of his having ſeen the ſea in that longitude; for, the only place on his chart where he has continued Mr. Hearne's track to the north ſea, is 19° 45′ to the eaſtward of where you have thought proper to inſert the words, "the ſea

65 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 18. Barkley in one season collected 800 sea otter skins; Dixon in two seasons obtained 1842.

66 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 18.

ſeen by Mr. Hearne agreeable to Mr. Arrowſmith's chart," and at page 45 of your "Obſervations on the probable Exiſtence of a North-Weſt Paſſage, &c." are theſe words: "This ſhip enters ſo far to the eaſt, that ſhe paſſes by three degrees the western boundary of Mr. Hearne's ſea in 72°, (but placed by Mr. Arrowſmith in his chart lately publiſhed from Mr. Turner's charts and journals in the latitude of 68° 15′ north, and *longitude* 228° *eaſt of Greenwich.*)" I cannot poſſibly imagine what motive you could have for the above aſſertion, for it is evident beyond the ſhadow of a doubt, that the identical part of the north ſea ſeen by Mr. Hearne, is placed in Mr. Arrowſmith's chart, *only in the longitude* of 247° 45′ eaſt of Greenwich, and
p. 55. that he was never ſo far to the weſtward as 228° eaſt.*

You obſerve a little farther on, that the reaſon you had for differing 1° 30′ from Mr. Arrowſmith's chart, as laid down by him from Captain Duncan's ſurvey of the land to the eaſtward of Queen Charlotte's Iſles, was "from a preference I have given to the *corrections* of Captain Douglas, who has fixed theſe parts of the coaſt by numerous lunar obſervations." We have been told in a paſſage I have already quoted, that, from the time Capt. Douglas left Nootka, to his quitting Queen Charlotte's Iſles, he had *no opportunity of making lunar obſervations*, there being ſo thick a fog. Theſe paſſages are really curious, but you, perhaps, can reconcile them.[67] In regard to the Capes *Mendocino* and *de Mendozino*, you anſwer, "Captain Cook

* I am exceedingly glad to find that Mr. Arrowſmith has it in his power to lay before the public a more correct delineation of the interior parts of North America to the weſtward of Hudſon's Bay, than has yet been given, and that it will ſhortly appear on his chart of the world.

67 From Meares's *Answer*, pp. 18 f; see *Further Remarks*, pp. 51 f. Again Meares finds himself in an awkward position; it is difficult to explain why he prefers the work of a man who passed through but once — the voyage in the fog is of no value — to that of a man who spent months in the vicinity.

does not mention any Cape Mendocino in latitude 40°, which Mr. Arrowſmith does: I have therefore, as I conceive, very juſtifiably mentioned both the Cape Mendocino of Mr. Arrowſmith, in latitude 40°, and the cape de Mendozino of Captain Cook in latitude 42° 30′ or thereabouts; as for Cape Blanco, I have placed it in latitude 43° 30′, agreeable to Captain Cook, by whoſe chart I have arranged all that part of the coaſt."[68] p. 56.

If you have arranged that part of the coaſt by Captain Cook's chart, pray, for what reaſon do you introduce two capes nearly of the ſame name? I find no ſuch thing in his chart: indeed, after this, I ſhould not be ſurpriſed if you were to lay down two ports by the name of Sir Francis Drake; you might with equal propriety do one as well as the other, there being a difference in regard to the ſituation of that port, of 1° 30′ in latitude, between the charts juſt mentioned.[69]

As to the miſtake in my remarks, it is very plain that you reſemble the ſituation of a perſon drowning, and are glad to catch at any twig, for any perſon may at once perceive it to be a miſtake either of the preſs or pen; you might alſo have pointed out another miſtake of a similar nature, in the poſition from Captain Berkley's chart, where, inſtead of "ſouth point of de Fear's entrance, it ſhould be ſouth point of *de Fuca's* entrance." You next obſerve, "The interior parts of America, as laid down in my *chart,* come in alſo for their ſhare of diſ-approbation. I ſhall only add with reſpect to *them,* that they were arranged from the beſt authorities."[70] p. 57.

Pray, Mr. Meares, after having (as you ſay) conſulted the beſt authorities, why do your charts differ ſo very materially from each other? Should you publiſh another edition of

68 Quoted from Meares's *Answer,* p. 19; see Dixon's *Remarks,* p. 30.

69 Meares had unfortunately included in his map a part of the coast of which he had no local knowledge.

70 Quoted from Meares's *Answer,* p. 19.

your work, give me leave to suggeſt an improvement; which ſhould be an addenda—the title to be—"*All the contradictions and abſurdities in the foregoing work*, RECONCILED."

Next, you ſay, "Having, I truſt, very completely fixed the latitude and longitude of your character as a navigator, I ſhall proceed to lay down, as I hope with tolerable accuracy, the exact poſition of your commercial excellence. In making my obſervations on this ſubject, I muſt previouſly remark, that your malignity is ſo predominant, as to annihilate in you the leading, and, as I ſhould think, the inherent principles of a man of trade. You ſeem to rejoice that your voyage round
p. 58. the world,[71] *as you call it*, for the purpoſe of commerce, was not attended with the advantages expected to be derived from it. You appear to be proud of the inadequate and diſproportioned ſale of your cargo at China; and are, I doubt not, grateful to the Houang merchants of Canton, *for having purchaſed all your ſkins at less than half their value*, in order that you might be furniſhed with a plauſible but fallacious argument, againſt a new branch of commerce; in which, having failed yourſelf, you would be glad, as far as your wretched teſtimony would go, to prevent former adventurers from obtaining the remuneration of their riſks and labours; or to diſcourage the enterpriſes of others, whoſe knowledge, activity, and perſeverence, by enſuring ſucceſs, would fling added diſgrace on thoſe who have failed from the want of ſuch eſſential qualifications."[72]

How far you may have fixed the latitude and longitude of my knowledge or my commercial excellence, muſt be left for the public to determine, after I have laid before them the

71 It is difficult to catch the point of this remark. Dixon's voyage was around the world: outward by way of Cape Horn; homeward by the cape of Good Hope.

72 From Meares's *Answer*, p. 20.

remarks I have to make on your ſtatement; and firſt, where you ſay I am grateful to the Houang merchants for purchaſing my ſkins at half their value: I anſwer, that neither Captain Portlock or myſelf ſold any of our 2552 ſkins, with 434 p. 59. cub, and 34 fox, to the Houang merchants; we had no ſuch liberty, as by an agreement with the Eaſt India Company, ſigned by Mr. Richard Cadman Etches and Co. and ourſelves. we were under a penalty of five thousand pounds ſterling, either to ſell them to the Company's ſupercargoes at Canton, at a fair price, or leave them in their hands for ſale by commiſſion:[73] we choſe to ſell, and actually ſold them to the ſupercargoes for 50,000 dollars; well knowing that the money would be more acceptable to our owners, than an account that we had left the furs on commiſſion.

Believe me, Mr. Meares, I do not wiſh to prevent you, if you are one of the *adventurers* from receiving the remuneration of your riſks and labours; far from it, Sir, I always think the "*laborer worthy of his hire.*" Again you proceed, "You ſtate, with an infatuated kind of triumph, that your 2552 ſea-otter ſkins, &c. fetched no more than 54,857 Spaniſh dollars at the Chineſe market; and your ſtatement is made in ſuch a manner, as to infer that it was the *common market price* of that valuable commodity; and that, of courſe, what has been ſaid by myſelf and others on the advantages of that p. 60. commerce, is a deception on the public. At the moment you were writing that curious piece of information, or inſtructing others to write it, you knew that it was founded in falſehood. Nor dare you deny that the low prices given for the articles in queſtion, aroſe from the contract of your owners with the Eaſt India Company, to leave the diſposition of your American

73 Meares on page 21 of his *Answer* suggested that Portlock and Dixon had misconstrued the license; this afforded Dixon the opportunity to show that captains and owners were under a bond as described.

cargo to the difpofal of their fervants at Canton, which neceffarily gave an additional power to the Houang merchants, thofe privileged oppreffors of European commerce."

"I repeat, thofe fkins did not find any thing like half the price for which other fkins have been fold in China, both at the time, and fince the period of their fale."[74]

On the above, I fhall only obferve that our 2552 fea-otter fkins, together with the 434 cub, and 34 fox, were fold to the Eaft India Company's fupercargoes at Canton for 50,000 Spanifh dollars; the remaining pieces of fea-otter, and fuch other fkins as were of inferior value, were fold to different Chinefe merchants for 4,857 Spanish dollars; fum total of both fhips
p. 61. cargoes, including fome flints, and other trifling articles was 54,857 Spanifh dollars. I cannot poffibly fee how I have deceived the public by ftating *matters of fact.* You dare me to deny that the low price of the articles in queftion arofe from the contract of my owners with the Eaft India Company. I have already obferved that we were bound by an agreement to fell our furs at a fair price to the fupercargoes at Canton, nor have I the leaft doubt but thofe gentlemen thought the price a fair one. A little farther, fpeaking of Mr. Richard Cadman Etches, you obferve: "I defire no better judge than him, between you and me. Nor have I the leaft doubt but he will be ready to confirm the explanations I am about to give, to ufe your own phrafe, for the *ill fuccefs of your commerce,* which arofe, among other caufes, from the mifconftruction your commander and yourfelf thought proper to put on the license granted to your owners by the honourable the Eaft India Company, for the difpofal of your American cargoes, and the confequent controul affumed by the fupercargoes over the fale of them."[75] Upon my word, Sir, you have found an excellent judge between you and me," even a fecond Daniel!"

74 Quoted from Meares's *Answer,* pp. 20 f; see Dixon's Remarks, pp. 11 f.

75 From Meares's *Answer,* p. 21, Etches, though Dixon's old owner, being now in partnership with Meares and interested in securing a large award for damages, could hardly be impartial in this dispute.

As to the mifconftruction, you fay, we put on the p. 62.
agreement juft mentioned, I think it too plain to bear a mifcon--truction; indeed, you acknowledged it yourfelf, when you fay, I dare not deny but the low price our fkins fold for, was owing to the contract between my owners and the Eaft India Company. You fay, "I have good reafon to think, Mr. Dixon, that a confiderable part of your furs were of a very, if not the moft inferior nature, confifting of worn-out garments of the Indians, pieces bedaubed with paint, and fewed together, fo as greatly to leffen the fuppofed aggregate value of your cargo."[76]

The Eaft India fupercargoes, Sir, fent the Chinefe furriers to examine our cargo, which they did, and caft out all thofe furs of the quality you defcribe, which made part of what we fold for 4,857 dollars.

But you afk me, "whether you did not encourage, as far as you had any power to do it, the firft opportunity of felling the furs, however difadvantageous to your owners, in order to fecure, from all future rifk, a certain little advantage you were to receive upon the fale?"[77] As that little advantage you hint I was to receive, was two per cent. on the *amount of our* p. 63.
cargo, it does not require that depth of commercial knowledge you are poffeffed of, for any perfon to find out that it was for my intereft the furs fhould fell as high as poffible.

Your next obfervation worthy of notice, runs thus: "The following ftatement will, I believe, fettle at once the prefent difference, Mr. Dixon, between you and me. Your 2,552 fkins, fold for 54,877 dollars, which is fomewhat more than *twenty-one dollars* per fkin." This, Sir, is evidently miftating the

76 From Meares's *Answer*, p. 21.

77 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 21. The primage varied greatly. The United States vessels paid from 1 to 10%. Bishop of the *Ruby* was to receive, in 1794-96, 3½% on the sales of sea otter skins.

ſale of our ſkins, for the 2,552 otter ſkins, with 434 cub, and 34 fox, ſold for 50,000 dollars, the remainder, which were thrown out by the Chineſe furriers, as I have already related, ſold for 4,857 dollars; which makes the ſum total, as ſtated above, 54,857 dollars; ſo that the 2,552 otter ſkins, (I ſhall not take the 434 cub and 34 fox into the account) fetched rather more than 19½ dollars per ſkin; you know beſt what reaſon you have for miſtating this buſineſs. Again, you ſay, "my cargo, (carried to Canton when you were there, conſiſting of 370 ſkins, 120 of which were of the river-otter, worth only from 8 to 9 dollars each, &c.)"[78] After having given a wrong ſtate-
p. 64. ment of our furs, it is leſs to be wondered at that you ſhould give a fallacious one of your own, as there was leſs probability of your being detected: but this time you will not eſcape, as I have now before me Mr. Cox's account of your cargo, (who was appointed by your owners, agent in China, to the Bengal fur ſociety) in which I can only find 48 river-otter, both good and bad, at *ſix dollars* per ſkin.

Here I think it neceſſary to give your actual and probable loſſes, from your own ſtatement, as I find it in your publication, "A ſtatement *of the* actual *and* probable loſſes *ſuſtained by the* aſſociated merchants *of* London *and* India *by the capture of their ſhips.*"

p. 65.

ACTUAL LOSSES	Span. Doll.	PROBABLE LOSSES	Span. Doll.
To caſh paid the crew of the Iphigenia on their return to China, being near two years wages, and other incidental expences, for which vouchers have been obtained	15,534	To the value of the cargo that probably would have been collected by the Iphigenia, 1000 ſea-otter ſkins, at 100 dollars per ſkin	100,000

78 The two quotations in this paragraph are from Meares's *Answer*, p. 22.

To cafh paid the crew of the North-Weft America, being near two years' wages on their return to China for which vouchers have been obtained .. 3,719

To the equipment of the fhip Argonaut, for which vouchers have been obtained.... 39,816

To the equipment of the Princefs Royal for which vouchers are ready to be produced .....

To 473 fea-otter fkins feized on board the Princefs Royal, at 100 dollars per fkin 47,300

To 12 fea-otter fkins detained for the particular use of Mr. Martinez, at the fame valuation 1,200

To the agents expences in returning to England 2,000

To the value of the cargo which would probably have been obtained by the North-Weft America, 1000 fea-otter fkins, at 100 dollars per fkin 100,000

To the value of the cargo that would probably have been obtained by the Argonaut, 2000 fkins, at 100 dollars per fkin 200,000

To the value of the cargo which would probably have been obtained by the Princefs Royal, 1000 fkins, at 100 dollars per fkin .....100,000 p. 66.

To the lofs and deftruction of the commerce of the affociated merchants .....

To the infurance on the principal ftock at 20 per cent. the ufual premium	23,864	To the particular lofs of the veffel of 30 tons in frame on board the Argonaut, and of the furs fhe would probably have obtained .....[79]	
To the lofs of the officers charts, journals, nautical inftruments, cloathing, private goods, &c. the amount of which cannot now be afcertained			
To the amount of all the wages due to all the fervants of the affociated merchants now in captivity, from the time of their failing to the time of their return ..			
To the value of the North-Weft America, on the Coaft of America	20,000		
Total	153,433	Total	500,000

79 In his later claim (September 7, 1790) Meares subdivides the item "loss and destruction of commerce" into two parts: for 1789 he claims £106,322; for 1790 and 1791 he claims £285,019. The loss of the vessel in frame — the *Jason* — is set at £2,943-3-2. See Report of Archives Department of British Columbia, for 1913, Victoria B. C., 1914, p. 35.

The reaſon for my quoting this ſtatement of your "actual and probable loſſes" will preſently appear, as we next find in your pamphlet an account of your ſkins, and the ſkins collated by Captain Douglas, in theſe words: "I arrived at Canton in the Felice, in the month of December, 1788; my cargo conſiſted of 750 ſkins. I had not to encounter the controul of the Honourable Eaſt India Company's ſupercargoes, but poſſeſſed a free independent power over my cargo, which ſold for 38,000 dollars, being ſomething better than 50 dollars per ſkin. "It may not alſo be improper to obſerve, that the Chineſe furriers ſorted theſe ſkins into the following claſſes: p. 67.

"Of the Firſt quality	100
Second ditto	200
Third ditto	200
Fourth ditto	90
Fifth ditto	120
Sixth ditto	40"
	[80]
Total	750

How could you, Mr. Meares, after eſtimating ſea-otter ſkins in your "probable loſſes" at 100 dollars each, give an account of their ſelling for 50 dollars per ſkin! but I have done; my buſineſs is to ſtate FACTS, and leave a diſcerning public to comment on them. You here give us a ſtatement of your own furs in China, which I find ſold on an average, for about half the ſum you have averaged them at in your probable loſſes; for, I cannot for a moment ſuppoſe, that *all* the ſkins you imagine each veſſel would procure, were to be of the firſt quality; eſpecially as we find, from *your own ſtatement* juſt quoted, that you had not quite *one* in *ſeven of* that deſcription; but to put this matter beyond a doubt, you acquaint us that you are favoured with a letter from Canton, informing you p. 68.

80 From Meares's *Answer*, pp. 23 f.

that they had received 72 of *thofe identical fkins* which are ftated by you in "the probable loffes" to be worth *one hundred dollars per fkin,* but which actually fold for no more than *fifty-five dollars and half per fkin.* Your own ftatement, in my humble opinion, clearly proves your fallacious reafoning on this bufinefs.[81]

Farther you fay, "I fhall alfo add another circumftance relative to this cargo, as it is in point to the general queftion."

p. 69. "The Chinefe furrier, who had bought the whole of it for 38,000 dollars, being apprehensive that the hoppo, or comptroller of the cuftoms, would exercife his arbitrary power, in taking fuch of the fkins as he might chufe at his own price, if he knew of the fale, requefted that it might not be immediately divulged; in confequence of which the hoppo came on board the Felice, and felected eight of the beft fkins and twenty of the fineft tails: for the former he paid me 250 dollars each, and for the latter 15 dollars each; which I, of courfe, allowed the Chinefe merchant on completing the contract between us."[82]

Here we find fomething worthy notice. It feems the merchant who bought your fkins, requefts the bargain may not be immediately divulged, for fear the hoppo fhould exercife his arbitrary power, in taking fuch fkins as he might chufe, at his own price; but, notwithftanding this, the hoppo immediately comes on board the Felice! Pray, Mr. Meares, who informed the hoppo of this bargain of yours with the merchant, for we are given to underftand, it was a fecret between yourfelves? And what might be the reafon you did not fell the remaining 92 fkins of the firft quality, at the fame price this
p. 70. arbitrary comptroller of the cuftoms thought proper to give

81 See Meares's *Answer,* p. 26. On this question of prices compare Dixon's *Voyage,* pp. 315 ff (Letter xlvi).

82 Quoted from Meares's *Answer,* p. 24. See note 56 thereto.

you for thoſe 8 which he had? as in that caſe, the 100 ſkins of the firſt quality muſt have ſold for 25,000 dollars; and you had of the ſecond quality 200, which, at half the above price, would have fetched 25,000 dollars more; total for ſkins of the firſt and ſecond quality, 50,000 dollars; to ſay nothing of the tails, and ſkins of the third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth qualities. I am afraid, Sir, your *commercial* knowledge was then in its infancy, or at leaſt not ſo completely matured as it is at preſent, for you certainly let the Chineſe merchant lay an anchor to windward of you in this tranſaction.

After a long quotation from the account of my voyage, at the latter part of which is the following paſſage, *"ſome of the refuſe which they had left for us to diſpose of ſold for conſiderable advantage;"* I met with the following note — "Whether they were conſidered as among the refuſe I know not, but a ſmall lot of thoſe ſkins were ſold by your commander to a China merchant at 100 dollars per ſkin."[83] In the account ſales of our furs in China, which is now lying before me, I find a lot of ſundry odd pieces of ſea-otter which ſold for 100 dollars, ſo that it is perfectly clear you have added the words *"per ſkin"* in the above curious note; indeed, this is only p. 71.
one of the many inſtances I have had occaſion to notice, where you have ſhewn yourſelf a complete maſter of the rule of addition. I ſhall now leave the commercial part of your *candid and very intereſting* anſwer to the judgment of the public, and proceed to offer a few remarks on that part of it, where you quit "the cauſe of the North-Weſt American commerce, and take up your own." You obſerve, that I ſuggeſt you divided amongſt your people, part of the ſkins you carried to China, and alſo ſold ſome on your own account; after which you proceed, "and with the moſt entire ſatisfaction I inform

83 Quoted from Meares's *Answer*, p. 27.

you, that I did both one and the other."[84] Inſtead of giving me this information, Mr. Meares, which, by the bye, is *rather premature* at preſent, it perhaps would have been equally as conſiſtent, had you communicated it to Meſſrs. Cox and Beale, who were appointed agents to your veſſel at Canton, by the gentlemen of the Bengal fur ſociety; indeed, Mr. Beale informed me that you had on your arrival at Canton, divided ſome ſkins amongſt your people, as a recompence for their ſufferings in Prince William's Sound, but not a word tranſpired about your ſelling any furs on your own account, until Mr. Dormer, purſer of the Nottingham Eaſt Indiaman, through whoſe medium the ſkins were ſold, informed him of
p. 72. the tranſaction; this piece of information *rather* ſurpriſed him, but he perhaps did not know that your voyage was only *"a patriotic experiment in favour of Britiſh commerce;* that the proprietors conſigned it to your *unlimited* and *independent command; ſhackled it with no conditions, but made you as much maſter of the whole equipment, as if you had prepared it at your own coſt and expence."*[84] After knowing that this power was given you, I for my own part, am ſurpriſed that you ſhould render Meſſrs. Cox and Beale an account of any part of your cargo. I beg leave juſt to remark, that this experiment ſeems rather to have been an unlucky one, and I fear the balance was found to be againſt, inſtead of *"in favour of British commerce;"* that *"patriotic ſpirit"* which firſt ſuggeſted the voyage, and afterwards put it in execution, was certainly evaporated by the *experiment,* for I never heard of its being renewed.

Having, as you flattered yourſelf, "ſettled the opinion which every impartial reader will entertain of my pamphlet, in the principal objects of it;" you proceed, "As I feel a wiſh, however, that the confutation ſhould be complete, I shall con-

84 From Meares's *Answer*, p. 29.

defcend to remark upon the petty obfervations and fubordinate charges which form the remaining part of that publication."[85] I am much obliged to you, Mr. Meares, for this condefcenfion; but whether you have fucceeded, or will fucceed, refts not, I prefume with you, but with an impartial and difcerning public. p. 73.

The charges now alluded to, probably may be of a fubordinate nature; as you, however, have *condefcended* to notice them, I furely cannot pafs over them in filence. You mention my having fupplied Taheo, the King of Atooi, one of the Sandwich Iflands, with arms, ammunition, &c. from the authority of Captain Douglas.[86]

I only here can pofitively affert, as I already have done, that I never either traded, or gave away to an Indian in my life, either musquet, piftol, or grain of powder, and I defy any perfon whatever to prove the contrary.

You fay, "It is not the matter of trading away mufquets, piftols, or weapons, but the motive for fo doing," at the fame time you own you "furnifhed certain of the chiefs of the Sandwich Iflands with arms and ammunition, in order to defend themfelves againft their enemies, and thereby to fecure their friendfhip to the *future interfts of British commerce.*"[86] In anfwer to this, I aver, that whatever motive might induce you, or any other perfon, to do any thing of this kind, it could not poffibly be productive of any good effects; for it is from their dread of fire-arms, and that alone, that we are enabled to trade amongft them with fafety; that terror being once done away, by their familiarity with the weapons in queftion, they would foon be able. from their numbers and courage, to feize any veffels that might go to trade with them. p. 74.

85 Meares's *Answer*, p. 30.

86 See hereon: Meares's *Voyages*, p. 354; Dixon's *Remarks*, pp. 16 f; Meares's *Answer*, p. 30. See also note 24 to Dixon's Remarks.

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You confefs firing a four-pound fhot on fhore at Oneehow, but that it was a very innocent one, and only intended to fright the natives.[87] Pray, Sir, did you fire only *one* of thefe *innocent playthings* on fhore? Had that been the cafe, I can hardly imagine the natives would have brought feveral of them the day afterwards to Mr. Rofs, and fome of your people who were on fhore.

Another of your obfervations on my *fubordinate* charges runs thus, "I agree with you that a time-piece is not of the leaft utility at fea, unlefs a fight can be obtained both of the horizon
p. 75. and the fun. Nor do I retract the declaration, which feems to alarm your nautical experience, "that during a feason of *continual* fog, my time-piece had proved of real fervice to me." For, I believe it is known to every feaman, that, in weather which may be properly called a continual fog, thofe momentary gleams of fun appear, and tranfient views of the horizon are obtained, to which the inftrument in queftion may be applied with the greateft utility."[88] I fhall here firft quote what you fay on this fubject in your publication, and afterwards take the liberty of adding a remark on it. In your Introductory Voyage, page 4, are thefe words: "After leaving the latitude of 25° north, we had one *continual* fog, which was oftentimes fo thick, that it was impoffible to fee the length of the veffel;" and a little farther in the fame page, "It had indeed been *one continued* fog ever fince we croffed the latitude of 35°; and from that time we had not been able to make more than two obfervations; we very fortunately had a time-piece on board, which proved of the greatest utility." Your expreffions of *"one continual"* and *"continued fog."*

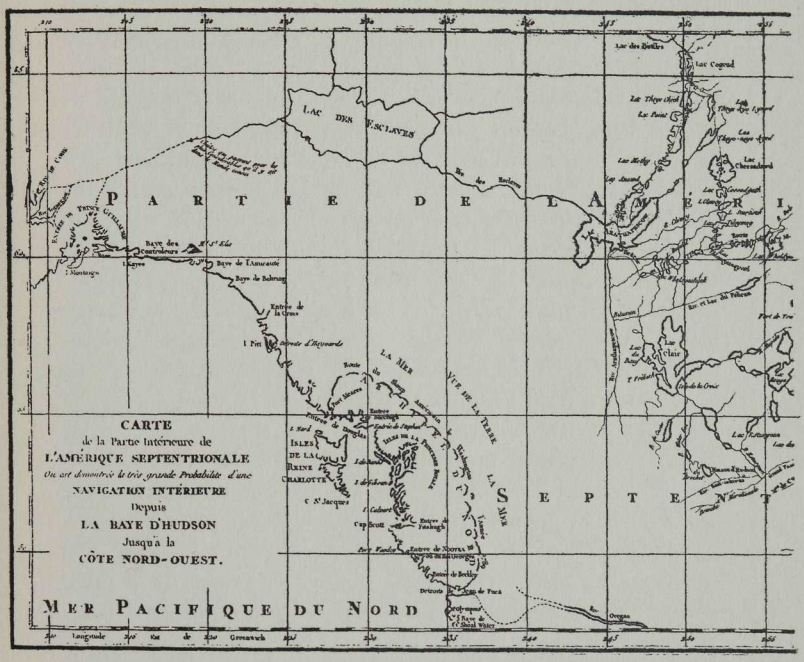
87 See Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 23, and note thereto; Meares's *Answer*, pp. 30 f. Oneehow (Niihau) is one of the westerly isles of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) group .

88 Meares's *Voyages*, p. iv; Dixon's *Remarks*, p. 20; Meares's *Answer*, p. 31.

will, I am afraid, ſcarcely admit of either *"momentary gleams of the ſun,* or *tranſient views of the horizon;* but, admitting you for a moment, to be in poſſeſſion both of one and the other, there is ſtill "one thing needful," Mr. Meares, though you p. 76.
ſeem to have forgot it, and that is the LATITUDE; WHICH YOU MUST HAVE, as well as *"tranſient views* and *momentary gleams,"* before your TIME-PIECE CAN BE APPLIED WITH ANY UTILITY: but this charge, being merely a *ſubordinate* one, can have no effect on a Gentleman of your *"profeſſional merit."*

You next proceed to obſerve, that "Whether ſkin or wooden canoes are in uſe from the ſtraits of the two continents along the coaſt, as far as Cape Edgecumbe, is a matter of too little conſequence to merit an investigation. When I am convinced from ſome better authority than yours, that I am miſtaken in my account, in favour of the former, I will correct the error." If you thought this matter of ſo little conſequence, why did you firſt mention it? I took notice of it, as it ſerves to mark, and that with a conſiderable degree of preciſion, how far the different tribes ſtretch along the coaſt. The wood canoe, which I preſented to Sir Joſeph Banks, and which is now in his poſſeſſion, I brought from Port Mulgrave; but, as *my* word ſeems to have little weight, you may, by calling on my bookſeller, Mr. Stockdale, have it on the *oath* of ſeveral of my people, and that they never ſaw a ſkin canoe at that place.[89] p. 77.
As to your remarks on my bookſeller's catalogue and large margin, the latter, I find, was made to correspond with the margin of your own work; and, in regard to the former, I only can ſay, that had you underſtood your profeſſion, as well as he does his buſineſs, there would have been no neceſſity for my remarks on your voyages. I ſhall juſt make an obſervation on

89 Meares's *Voyages,* p. x; Dixon's *Remarks,* pp. 19 f; Meares's *Answer,* p. 31. Cape Edgecumbe is at the entrance to Sitka sound, Alaska.



JOHN MEARES'S MAP

John Meares's map, showing the North West Coast of America, in support of the probable existence of a North West Passage, published in the collection of maps and views accompanying the French edition of *Meares's Voyages* (An 3 of the Republic—1795). It is also found in some copies of the original English edition (1790). Note the River Oregan (Columbia) flowing into the Strait of Fuca, and Slave Lake draining into Cook's River.

theſe words: "The probability of a North-Weſt Paſſage, for which I contend, appears to be a ſtumbling block of great offence to you."

It is not merely your contending for a North-Weſt Paſſage that I have taken notice of, but the contradictions and miſrepreſentations you make uſe of in the arguments produced by you in ſupport of the paſſage ſo long looked for. And here let me beg your indulgence, if I digreſs for a moment, and offer my own ideas on the ſubject. I ſhould be ſincerely glad if the exiſtence, or non-exiſtence of the paſſage in queſtion, was fully determined; but this, in my humble opinion, will never be found in a lower latitude (at leaſt ſome part of it) than 72° north, and, perhaps, much higher. As to there being a ſea, or a large body of water behind Nootka, I have no doubt, as Captain Duncan informed me, that when he was at anchor in the p. 78. Straits of Juan de Fuca, he found the tide of flood ſet out of the Straits to the weſtward; but how far this ſea or body of water may be found to the north and eaſt, is yet to determine.[90] Should Government ſend any more ſhips to ſurvey the coaſt, I am in great hopes the examining this place will be a particular part of the commanding officer's inſtructions. The veſſel most proper for a ſurvey of the kind, would be a ſmall one, of about fifty tons burthen, coppered and ſchooner rigged; ſhe should be conſtructed in ſuch a manner, as to uſe at leaſt four oars or ſweeps on each ſide, for the purpose of clearing the ſhore or rocks, when the wind leaves her cloſe in with either, as will frequently be the caſe under high lands, when at the ſame time, there will be no anchorage. Such a veſſel as the above might be ſent out in company with a larger; the

90 Elisa, after his exploration in 1791 of the strait of Georgia, wrote to the viceroy of New Spain: "Assuring your excellency that the passage to the ocean which foreign nations seek for so eagerly on this coast, if there be one, will not be found, as it appears to me, elsewhere than by this great channel." *Papers relating to the Treaty of Washington,* Berlin Arbitration, vol. 5, p. 98.

ſmaller one to have fifteen hands and a maſter, who would be able to navigate her at three watches; the place appointed for a rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, Berkley's Sound; at which place the tender might be reinforced with as many more men as would be neceſſary, not only to make a complete ſurvey, but prevent the natives from boarding her. I would wiſh to make one obſervation for veſſels coming to the Weſtern Coaſt of
p. 79. America round Cape Horn, which is, that ſhould they not want to fall in with the coaſt before they get into the latitude of 43° or 44° north, I would adviſe them, after rounding the Cape, to ſhape a courſe for the Marqueſas, by the way of Eaſter Iſland, at which place ſome ſmall refreſhments may be got. After having taken in wood and water, and what other refreſhments are to be had at the Marqueſas, they might, if neceſſary, touch at the Sandwich Iſlands on their way to the coast.[91] By this route, they would not only be enabled to prevent the fatal effects of the ſcurvy, but, in all probability, make a ſhorter paſſage, by avoiding thoſe variable winds and rains, which are found to prevail more to the eaſtward; theſe I not only have experienced, but we find it mentioned in Anſon's Voyage round the World.

And now, Sir, I wiſh to take my final leave of you. It has been inſinuated, that what I have ſaid reſpecting your publications, aroſe as much from private pique, as from a wiſh to correct your miſrepreſentations, but this I abſolutely deny; I never had any quarrel whatever with you, Mr. Meares; my *only motive* for firſt making remarks on your publication; and now, for replying to your *Anſwer to thoſe Remarks,* has
p. 80. been a deſire to correct your miſ-ſtatements, and to ſhew the public how eaſily they may be miſled by ſpecious, though fallacious arguments; at the ſame time, let me recommend you,

91 This route had been suggested in Dixon's *Voyage*, pp. 230 f (Letter xxxvii).

in future, to employ a perſon who is *maſter of his ſubject.* Men are readily to be found, who can write in eaſy langugae, and with a flow of words on *every ſubject,* without being maſters of *any ſubject or ſcience whatever.*

GEORGE DIXON

James Street, Covent Garden.
February 12, 1791.

THE END

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Of this edition of The Dixon-Meares Controversy, five hundred copies have been printed on Bard of Avon, antique finish paper. The type face used in the book is eleven point Franklin Old Style on thirteen point body, with the footnotes in eight point of the same type face on nine point body. The illustrations are from rare maps and pictures, and the colophon is the work of Charles W. Jefferys, R.C.A. The printing was executed by The Review Company, Bridgeburg, Ontario, and the book was bound at The Ryerson Press, Toronto.

1591681
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