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1923 - 1935

By

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Walla Walla, Washington

TABLE OF CONTENTS

In The Land of The Kootenai

Sir George Simpson

The Chinook Wind

Spokane House

Richard Grant

Captain Cook's Approach to Oregon

John Meares' Approach to Oregon

Robert Gray's Approach to Oregon

John Boit Log

See Or Hist Qly. (1935) 36. pp 295-6

151,238

IN THE LAND OF THE KOOTENAI

By

T. C. ELLIOTT

Member of American Historical Association
and Oregon Historical Society

Address at Bonners Ferry, Idaho, July 19th, 1926 at dedication of monument there by Columbia River Historical Expedition

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IN THE LAND OF THE KOOTENAI[1]

By T. C. Elliott

We foregather at an ancient *traverse* in the land of the Kootenai.[2] Twenty miles to the north lies an unguarded and almost invisible frontier, which separates two great nations. At our feet flows the beautiful river Kootenai, which rises many miles to the north-east among the glaciers of the Canadian Alps, and here, for a distance, touches elbows with the Republic before returning to the Dominion to complete its course to the Columbia. The winding of this stream typifies that international comity, which has so long permeated our history and now is happily recognized in the personnel and program of this occasion.

The story of this river is, broadly speaking, the history of this land; its discovery and exploration, its people, its early commerce, its diplomatic relations, its gold fields, its settlement and growth. In the region tributary to the river dwell the Kootenais, a people originally engaged in hunting for livelihood. These Indians have witnessed the coming of the explorer and fur-trader with his pack-horse, canoe and happy-go-lucky *voyageur*, of the early overland traveler and the pioneer emigrant to the Columbia, of the missionary of the Cross, of the hewer of the boundary line, of the excited prospector with his pick and shovel, of the pack-train, steamboat, locomotive and automobile. Their habitat is an extensive region of forests, streams, lakes, meadows and lofty mountains. Their eyes have been constantly on "the hills from whence cometh my help", and their camps in the shadows thereof. We do well to pause here and review history and plant a memorial to those who long ago led the way to and through this land.

A curious bit of natural geography, almost a freak of nature, features our story. The Columbia River rises in British Columbia in a chain of three lakes and flows north

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[1]Address at Bonners Ferry, Idaho, July 19th, 1926, at dedication of monument there by Columbia River Historical Expedition.

[2]Official spelling by U. S. Geographic Board; Kootenay according to Geographic Board of Canada.

two hundred miles before it turns south to the United States. The Kootenai River, flowing southward from *its* source, passes within two miles of the upper of these lakes. The watershed between lake and river is not a mountain or ridge, but a level, gravelly flat, out of which a large spring feeds the lake as its only visible tributary. The first one hundred miles of the Columbia have a fall of less than forty feet, to where the river flows through a gorge.[3] Geologists offer the opinion that originally the waters of this first hundred mile stretch of the Columbia drained southward through this Kootenai River.[4]

The Kootenais are an aboriginal people, separate and distinct from the larger linguistic families of the Pacific Slope, their speech unusually soft and musical.[5] They first emerge into the view of white men during the last years of the eighteenth century. Earlier in that century the literature of the Mississippi Valley contains references to Indians (Snakes) residing beyond the "Stoney" mountains on what was called Spanish river; but those were mere references, not a record of actual contact. When Lewis and Clark, in 1805, ascended the Missouri, they did not meet an Indian between the Mandan Villages and the source of Jefferson Fork. Yet, even before 1800, the Kootenais, first of the trans-mountain tribes, had appeared on the eastern slopes of the Rocky mountains of Canada to barter with the traders of the *Forts des Prairies* upon the Saskatchewan.

Rocky Mountain House, one of the prominent trading posts of the NorthWest Company, was then located about one hundred miles southwest of the site of Edmonton.

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[3]Now called Redgrave Canyon. Discovery of the Columbia was just above this gorge, at Blaeberry Creek up which the Indian trail ran to the summit of the Rockies, and beyond. The name Kootenai was applied to this part of the Columbia, and our Kootenai was called McGillivray's River, in honor of the leading official of the NorthWest Company then.

[4]For latest discussion of this see "The Columbia Unveiled," page 111, by M. J. Lorraine. A canal was once dug and used connecting Upper Columbia Lake with this Kootenai River.

[5]For scientific study of this family consult "Notes on the Kootenay Indians," by A. F. Chamberlain, in American Antiquarian for September, 1893, and September, 1894.

Among the Rockies west of that post was a beautiful mountain meadow, called Kootenai Plain, because thus far came the Kootenais from across the great divide. They usually did not go farther for fear of the Piegans or Blackfeet of the prairies, and the traders, some of them Scotchmen, gladly journeyed there to meet them.[6]

Over the mountain trail of the Kootenais the fur traders of Canada began, as early as 1800, to send their freeman and trappers (Saulteux, Iroquois and Canadian French) to spy out the road and the land. For five years or more these men penetrated the Kootenai country, and beyond among the Saleesh, Kullyspell, Skeetshoa and Spokane tribes. Their speech was French patois. They were untutored, and no written record remains, but their presence is well marked in Indian tradition and local nomenclature. The names *Tete Plete, Pend d'Oreille,* and *Coeur d'Alene* originated then. If journals kept at the trading posts of the upper Saskatchewan had been more generally preserved doubtless mention would be found of the infrequent return of these itinerant trappers, and interesting items as to the countries they had visited.[7]

Next over this trail (later known as Howse Pass) came the white man, and his coming marks an event of real importance in the history of the United States and Canada. This was the discovery of the source of the Columbia. The long search for a mysterious "River of the West" is a theme of itself, but soon after 1800 the fur traders of the Saskatchewan must have known that one or two large rivers existed in the Kootenai country. Whether these connected with the Tacouche Tesse (Fraser) of Alexander Mackenzie, or with the Columbia of Robert Gray, was not known, and an answer to that question was awaited with impatience by the traders. Rivalries with the X. Y. Company until 1804 delayed this answer, but following the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the advent of Simon Fraser in the Fraser River

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[6]Possibly here was an early application of Pope's phrase—"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind", etc.

[7]The journals of Alexander Henry do mention these men.

country, the officials of the NorthWest Company hastened to proceed. In the fall of 1806 Jacques Finlay, familiarly known as Jaco, a man with a mixture of English and French-Indian blood in his veins, accompanied by wife and children, was outfitted and sent over the trail to make it passable for pack animals, and to construct a canoe where the trail ended at one of the large rivers. Then, as soon as possible in the early spring of 1807, came David Thompson, with telescope, sextant and compass, with clerk, hunters and trading goods, to chart ad explore, and to open marts of trade in this Kootenai land.[6]

Of David Thompson, London charity-school boy, self-educated youth, God-fearing man, skilled astronomer and geographer, another will speak, and we merely pause to salute him as discoverer of the sources (and of three-fourths the entire length) of the Columbia, in those vivid lines of the poet laureate of Canada:[9]

There the enormous ranges stood
Forbidding against the sky,
Where only the bear and bighorn climbed
And the eagle's brood could fly:
His was the foot must find a road
For the World to enter by.

Up he followed the azure thread
Of a winding stream for guide,
By rapid and reach and shingly beach,
Then over the great divide.
Then he saw a river broad and strong
Swing past in silver tide.

Down through a maze of canyon walls
He watched the mighty stream
Sweep on in conquering plentitude

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[8]For David Thompson's written report of this discovery see Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXVI, Number 1.

[9]Bliss Carman, at Lake Windermere celebration in August, 1922.

With arrowy flight and gleam,
And knew that he had found at last
The river of his dream.

Since a trading post was established near Bonners Ferry, where we now stand, the final stanza of the poem is also appropriate:

And here has house was builded,
Here let us stand and say,
Here was a man full-sized, whose fame
Shall never pass away
While the stars shine and rivers run,
In the land of Kootenai.

Closely associated with David Thompson in exploration and trade was a remarkable Scotchman, Finnan MacDonald by name. When a boy of less than a dozen years Finnan migrated, with his parents, from one of those unpronounceable shires of Scotland to the Glengarry district of Ontario; there a family home was established, and in a churchyard there his body lies. His older brother, John, became a trusted officer of the NorthWest Company and Finnan followed into the fur trade without waiting to obtain the usual education, a fact which annoyed his brother, and partly accounts for there being no personal record of the many experiences of his active career.

But Finnan soon became quite a linguist. Association with trappers and *voyageurs* fitted his tongue to the spoken French, and nearly twenty years' continuous life (no vacations for Finnan, if you please!) among Indian tribes west of the Rockies rendered him proficient in native dialects and Chinook jargon. Ross Cox tells us that the oaths he uttered under provocation were a diabolical mixture of Scotch, French and Indian sounds, quite wonderful to listen to. He married a daughter of a Kullyspell (Pend d'Oreille) chief, and his children were, as soon as possible, baptised into the Roman Catholic faith of his family. Some leading citizens of Montana and British Columbia can trace their

lineage to him. Physically he was a Samson, and his feats of strength are traditional today among the Flathead tribe. The story of his fight single-handed with a wounded buffalo bull is classic in fur trade literature.

The first trading post established west of the Rocky Mountains was Kootanae House, near Lake Windemere in British Columbia. There David Thompson spent the winters of 1807-8 and 1808-9, trading, exploring, and gathering information as to the country. MacDonald, as his *avant courier* among the Indians to the south, probably was the first white man to descend the Kootenai River to Lake Kootenai, and the first to traverse the trail across the bend of the river, from Bonners Ferry to Cranbrook and Fort Steele, the present route of the Canadian Pacific.[10]

The winter of 1808-9 MacDonald spent in a leather lodge above Kootenai Falls in Montana (at the mouth of Rainey Creek, probably), and there built a log hut to protect the trading goods and furs. That was the first building erected in Western Montana by white men. After 1809 his career carried him into all parts of Idaho, Oregon and Western Montana and into the Thompson River region of British Columbia; and his red hair and beard were known to every Indian tribe of the Columbia.

Another associate of Thompson in the Kootenai country was James McMillan, a clerk of the NorthWest Company. During the winter of 1808 he crossed the Rockies on snowshoes, with dog sleds and more goods for trade, and joined MacDonald above Kootenai Falls. No written records have been found, but circumstances and later events indicate that one or both of these white men may have visited the Flathead, Kullyspel and Spokane tribes that winter or spring. Chapter XXII of the journals kept by Alexander Henry at Rocky Mountain House in 1811 contains many ethnographic and geographic facts as to the trans-mountain tribes and regions. This information had been brought to Mr. Henry from the field, by Thompson and others. McMillan was a keen, intelligent man, capable of comprehending and report-

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[10]The Moyie was originally called MacDonald's River.

ing such data, and he visited the *Forts des Prairies* frequently. In 1810 the Hudson's Bay Company, from their trading post contiguous to Rocky Mountain House, outfitted an expedition under Joseph Howse to winter beyond the Rockies, and McMillan was sent to follow and report their movements. This errand would have taken him into the vicinity of Flathead Lake, when few, if any, white men had seen that lake. In later years McMillan was the trusted officer of the Hudson's Bay Company who, under instructions of Gov. Geo. Simpson, explored the lower Fraser River and built Fort Langley. Of his antecedents and later career nothing is yet known.

These forceful men, Thompson, MacDonald and McMillan, were the discoverers and explorers of Kootenai land, a task calling for skill, endurance, patience and fortitude of high order. Consider the economic conditions involved. The commercial base, from 1807 to 1812, was Fort William on Lake Superior, where goods had been brought from the seaport of Montreal. From Fort William, in packages of about ninety pounds each, these goods for the Indian trade were transported, in canoes upon the streams and on the backs of men over the portages, to the headwaters of the Saskatchewan; thence by pack animals over the Rockies to the Columbia; thence by canoe again one hundred miles upstream to Columbia Lake; thence across the short portage to the Kootenai and down this river to the Indian roads leading to the Flatheads (near Jennings, Montana) and the Kullyspell and Spokane tribes (here at Bonners Ferry).

The furs gathered in trade had to be carried over the same long and weary road to Fort William. In May of 1810 Thompson arrived here (Bonners Ferry) with the season's furs from Kullyspell House on Pend d'Oreille Lake, and Saleesh House on Thompson's Prairie, Montana. His published narrative of that date reads: "May 17th. We got the canoes repaired and in the afternoon with forty-six packs of furs and eight bags of pemmican we went off for the Rocky Mountain defiles. Mr. James McMillan, one man and myself and sixteen horses, went by land." These forty-six

packs of furs weighed a little more than two tons, and represented the first freight shipment from Bonners Ferry east.[17]

This occasion naturally directs attention to this particular locality in the land of the Kootenai; prominent because the ancient crossing-place for the Indians in their travels, and the northerly end of the time-worn trail leading to the neighboring tribes to the southward. That trail has now become the busy highways for the locomotive and automobile of the white men. On David Thimpson's large and eloquent map, which he drew in 1813-14 immediately after retiring from field service with the NorthWest Company, this trail is traced under the designation, "Lake Indian Road"; the Indians residing around Kootenai Lake were at times called Lake Indians and it led to those residing around Kullyspell (Pend d'Oreille) Lake. This map also shows, at the bend in the Kootenai River here, the usual initials, "N W Co." to indicate that a trading post was then located here[12]—the only post so indicated on the Lower Kootenai. The starting point and meanderings of this old Indian trail, and the precise location of this trading post, are items for a later and more detailed study, but the date and circumstances of the beginning of organized and continuous trade here are pertinent and of historical interest.

Thompson first saw this crossing place, and road, in the spring of 1808, while on an exploring voyage down the Kootenai. He first used the road in the fall of 1809, in September and again in October, when penetrating south toward the Spokane country with goods to establish the posts on Lake Pend d'Oreille and Thompson's Prairie; and he again passed through here in May, 1810, as already cited. At these times only was he here, and the entries in his journals, though quite voluminous, are silent as to any trading post here then, or as to any of his clerks or associates having

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[11]The Great Northern Ry. was not here to receive it, and what else could David Thompson have done?

[12]According to Indian tradition this was located at the mouth of Deep Creek, a few miles below Bonners Ferry.

been sent here previously to establish one. The whereabouts of his men and clerks during those years is very well known from those journals, and those of Alexander Henry.

The year 1811 was a busy one with David Thompson; he then surveyed the Columbia from source to mouth, and opened up for travel the famous trade route across Athabaska Pass. In September of that year he was at Boat Encampment at the western end of the pass and the following appears in his journal: "Sept 25th. * * by the evening sent off the Goods in my wood Canoe & 9 men * * with Michel Kinville in charge, till he sees Mr. Finan McDonald." These were the first trading goods brought into Columbia district from Fort William over Athabaska Pass, and in his narrative Thompson speaks of them as "for the supply of the lower posts on McGillivray's, the Saleesh and Spokane Rivers." He himself followed down the Columbia a little later, en route to the Flathead country to spend the winter. In November, while traveling by land with pack animals and in camp at the crossing of Pend d'Oreille River below Sand Point, Idaho, two of his men reported as follows: "November 14, Thursday, A fine day. Learning from Bercier & Methode that the Lake indians do not hunt, but only gamble & keep the men starving. I told them as the Season was fast advancing to lay up the Furrs they have, abt 4 Packs, & make the best of their way back to Kinville, & return to the Skeetshoo River with all the property &c. as to keep up a Post there,[13] with so few goods, is expence to no purpose." The whereabouts of Kinville the following spring would indicate that these instructions were countermanded, for when coming down the Saleesh River (our Clark Fork) in canoes with his men and furs, Thompson wrote in his journal: "March 15th (1812) * * At 9-42 a m stopped 1 1-2 H to try & send some young men to Kinville on McGillivray's river". This visit was at the old Indian camp at

[13]This has been interpreted as referring to Kullyspell House, which Thompson passed within two miles the following day without stopping or mentioning it; and possibly so. More careful analysis seems, however, to connect it with the trading post on Kootenai River.

the mouth of Clark Fork, a few miles above Kullyspell House, which post this same journal entry mentions as being unoccupied.

It may be stated then, with some assurance, that Michel Kinville, an intelligent French-Canadian employee of the NorthWest Company, carried on the first trade here at Bonners Ferry, and that Finnan MacDonald,[14] or Kinville, located and began the construction of the post, during the year 1811.

In December, 1811, John George MacTavish, from Fort William, arrived at Saleesh house to succeed David Thompson in the Columbia district, and proceeded on to establish his headquarters at Spokane House, which continued for twelve years to be the most important trading post in the interior country. With MacTavish, or soon after, came Nicholas Montour, who was sent to succeed Kinville here.

The commercial base was soon after shifted from Fort William to the mouth of the Columbia, where the Pacific Fur Company, capitalized by John Jacob Astor of New York, in 1811 established what is now the city of Astoria. Readers of Franchere's and Ross' accounts of the Astoria enterprise will recall an incident of the arrival there from the interior of two strange Indians, wearing deer-skin clothing and carrying a letter addressed to Mr. John Stuart, Fort Estacatadene, New Calidonia. Whether both of these were women masquerading in mens' clothing is a trifle obscure, but at least one was a Kootenai woman, playing the part of a prophetess and medicine woman.[15] Both narrowly escaped death that summer at the Cascades, while returning up the Columbia, as noted in Thompson's journal entry of July 28th, 1811: "but had not Kootanaes been under our immediate care, she would have been killed for the lies she told on her way to the Sea." This is our record of the first quack who tried to practice at Astoria.

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[14]Mac Donald and McMillan were both with Thompson among the Flatheads during the winter of 1811-12, and no one seems to have been trading at Kullyspell House on Pend d'Oreille Lake.

[15]See David Thompson's Narrative, page 512.

In July, 1812, John Clarke, a chief trader of the Pacific Fur Company, was sent, with goods and men, from Astoria to establish a trading post (called Fort Spokane) adjacent to Spokane House. Competition at Spokane meant competition among the Kootenais also; and we read of the arrival of Francis Benjamin Pillett at Bonners Ferry that fall to oppose Nicholas Montour, of the NorthWest Company, and of a spectacular bloodless duel between these two men, "with pocket pistols at six paces; both hits; one in the collar of the coat, and the other in the leg of the trousers. Two of their men acted as seconds, and the tailor speedily healed their wounds." This is the animated occount by Ross Cox. Mr. Pillett did not return, for before another winter the "Northwesters" had succeeded to the business of the Astor Company, and Mr. Montour had this field to himself.

The name longest associated with the trading post on the Kootenai (and later called Fort Kootenai) was that of William Kittson, who came to the Columbia in 1818 as a "Northwester" and, after amalgamation (1821), continued with the Hudson's Bay Company. This trader carried the title of "Major" among his associates, because of having been a *voltigeur* in Canada in the War of 1812. He was a faithful and forceful man; a brother of Norman Kittson of St. Paul, who was associated with James J. Hill in the early transportation enterprises of Minnesota. He married Nelly MacDonald, oldest daughter of Finnan MacDonald, and died at Fort Vancouver in 1841.

The location of the trading post was not permanent here. Later it was moved to the mouth of Rainey Creek above the falls, still later to a site opposite Tobacco Plains, and finally to the boundary at Gateway, Montana. The dates of these removals are obscure. The Kootenais traded often in company with their neighbors, the Flatheads, at Flathead post.

The bloodless duel in 1812 may be called the first chapter in another contest of wits, equally bloodless and continuing for many years, namely: the diplomatic struggle over the location of the international boundary. The fact that trade was actually carried on here at the Kootenai River by the Astor people was not made an item of loud discussion in

the negotiations; nevertheless, under certain official proposals this river would have been the boundary instead of that unguarded line twenty miles away.

In 1823-25, while George Canning was foreign secretary of England and John Quincy Adams President of the United States, the boundary negotiations were acute. Removal of the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company from Astoria to Vancouver on the northern side of the Columbia,[16] just then at Canning's own suggestion, indicates the intent of that astute statesman. His offer, through plenipotentiaries, was that the line extend west from the summit of the Rockies along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the most northeastern branch of the Columbia, which is the Kootenai, then down that river to the Columbia, and down the Columbia to ocean. When, in 1842, Lord Ashburton came to Washington to negotiate with Daniel Webster, he carried authority to renew the proposal, and in the final conferences in 1844-6 the same offer was considered. Mitchell's map, in general use by the emigrants to Oregon during those years, emphasizes this line, and it is now generally conceded by historians that the English secretaries never seriously contended for a line south of the Kootenai and the Columbia. This suggests that, to Canning at least, the influence of the Astor enterprise may have been farther reaching than has been commonly supposed.

Mention has been made of the trail across the elbow, from Bonners Ferry to the river again. This trail continued northward to Lake Windermere, and was the artery of travel between the Upper and the Lower Kootenais; now between the East and West Kootenay, political divisions of British Columbia. In later years it became the much traveled road of settlers and miners and merchants from the south into the Kootenai Country. How long the first Kootanae House was maintained as a trading post is not known, but the traders of the Saskatchewan soon discovered a more direct road to and from it, by Bow River and Simpson or Vermillion Pass, to the Columbia a few miles below Lake Windermere. These

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[16]See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, volume XX, pages 25-34.

stretches of ancient Indian trails now constitute the wonderful scenic highway for tourist travel by automobile between Bonners Ferry and Lake Louise, Banff and Calgary. In fur-trade days this was the shorter and quicker land route to Oregon, as compared with the canoe route by the Athabaska and Columbia rivers.

Time does not permit extended mention of the early use of this route; by Sir George Simpson on his journey around the world and by the first organized company of emigrants to the Columbia, (from Red River 1841); by Warre and Vavasour, two officers of the British army, traveling incognito to take possession of Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the Columbia, for use in event of war; and by Peter Skene Ogden, their escort and companion (1844); by Pierre Jean De Smet, the Jesuit missionary to the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains (1844); by the bands of hurrying miners and packers to the Kootenai gold fields during the sixties; and by others. But are not these written in the books of the chronicles, journals, documents and the printed pages of those early days, when Bonners Ferry was the gateway for trade and travel to and from this Kootenai land?

Graven on the monument we dedicate today are names of the sturdy white men, who first saw and used this ancient thoroughfare of the Indians; names which rank high in the history of the Columbia. With these, and drawn from the more distant past, are two place-names: IDAHO, of Shoshonean origin,[17] literally spelled EE-DAH-HOW, meaning the light and shadow racing down the mountain side, when the sun's rays burst around the peaks and over the ridges at break of day, sun-up and good morning; KOOTENAI, of obscure meaning, but bringing to us visions of quiet valleys, noble rivers, lofty mountains and God's clear air. Notable and beautiful names—may posterity continue to honor them!!!

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[17]See Oregon Hist. Quarterly, Vol. XVIII, p. 83, for discussion by John E. Rees on Idaho; Its Meaning, Origin and Application.

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON, K.B.

Centennial Celebration

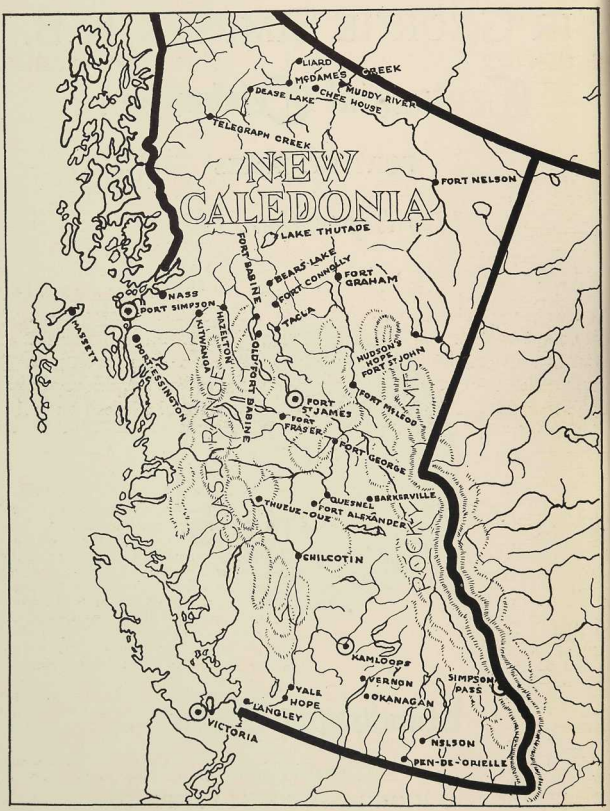
FORT ST. JAMES

17th September, 1928

Unveiling of Tablet

SIMPSON PASS
ON THE HIGH ROAD FROM BANFF TO
WINDERMERE, B.C.

20th September, 1928



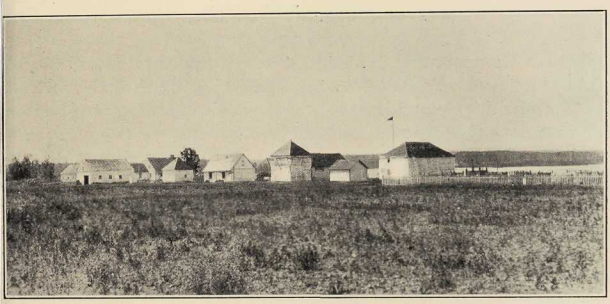
TRADING POSTS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

New Caledonia might be broadly defined as that portion of the country bounded on the north by Lake Thutade, on the south by Kamloops, on the east by the Rocky Mountains and on the west by the Coast Range.

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON

Centennial Celebration at Fort St. James

17th September, 1928



Fort St. James, 1928

Wednesday, 17th September, 1828.

OUR horses not found till late. In the meantime, however, party with their loads commenced their march. Overtook them by nine and about an hour after, at the last lake, within a mile of the Fort, halted for breakfast, and changed (dress). The day, as yet, being fine, the flag was put up; the piper in full Highland costume; and every arrangement was made to arrive at Fort St. James in the most imposing manner we could, for the sake of the Indians. Accordingly, when within about a thousand yards of the establishment, descending a gentle hill, a gun was fired, the bugle sounded, and soon after, the piper commenced the celebrated march of the clans, 'Si coma leum cogadh na shea' ('Peace; or War If You Will It Otherwise'). The guide, with the British Ensign, led the van, followed by the band; then the Governor, on horseback, supported behind by Doctor Hamlyn and myself on our chargers, two deep; twenty men, with their burdens, next formed the line; then one loaded horse, and lastly Mr. McGillivray (with his wife and light infantry) closed the rear. During a brisk discharge of small-arms and wall pieces from the Fort, Mr. Douglas met us a short distance in advance, and in this order we made our *entree* into the capital of Western Caledonia.

"Mr. Connolly (the late Chief Factor James [William] Connolly, of Montreal), had not arrived, nor had any word been had of him since the 24th ultimo, then but one day on this side of Kamloops. A letter was forthwith addressed to him by the Governor. . . . then, all of a sudden a canoe appears on the lake, and in about twenty minutes, we had the infinite satisfaction of receiving Mr. Connolly on the beach, amidst a renewal of salutes from the Fort."

Extract from "Peace River, A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific by the late Sir George Simpson in 1828" by Chief Factor Archibald McDonald—page 24.

Address

BY

Mr. Charles V. Sale

Governor Hudson's Bay Company

THE Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay have pleasure in joining with their friends in British Columbia to honour the name of Sir George Simpson, who came to this Fort on this date one hundred years ago, even as we have witnessed the scene re-enacted in pageant to-day.

I think we do well at this time to think of what his journey meant to this country and its people; of the ardours of his task and the difficulties he overcame; and of the men who shared his labours. If we carry our minds back over a century, what do we see? The mountains and the lake in their eternal beauty have not changed; but Fort St. James was then only a few wooden buildings, enclosed by a palisade, within a square of 150 feet. Yet in those early years, mean as it may have looked, it meant a great deal; it was the outpost of an empire; the visible sign of British occupation; a centre of government.

If we are to understand how it came into being, we must go back into history, and it might be well to commence a hundred and fifty years ago when the interior was unknown and when Spain claimed all the coast south of the Russian possessions. It was then—in the year 1778—that Captain James Cook visited the coast; and twelve years later, after seizing the vessels and buildings of Captain John Mears on Nootka Sound, Spain acknowledged the British right to fish, trade and settle in the parts of the North Pacific coast not already occupied.

But that did not settle the question, for by the treaty of 1821, Spain waived her claims to the territory north of 42 degrees in favour of the United States, and our American neighbours were disposed to believe that their title was clear to all the territory south of the Russian possessions. And so it might have been but for the Fur Trade, and for such men as Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser, John Stuart and Sir George Simpson.

Let me take you back again, this time to the year 1792, when Alexander Mackenzie of the North-West Company crossed the barrier of the Rocky Mountains—the first man to make the journey overland to the Pacific coast. It was eleven years later, in 1803, that the American Expedition of Lewis and Clark set out with the same object. The North-West Company, in order to anticipate an American occupation, sent forth Simon Fraser both to explore and secure the trade, and so began the struggle for the territories west of the Rocky Mountains. It was in this struggle of the fur traders that Simon Fraser founded Fort St. James in 1806—a hundred and twenty-two years ago. Two years afterwards, he made that perilous and wonderful voyage to the ocean down the river which bears his name.

To carry on the story—the American Expedition of Lewis and Clark, which had been authorised by President Jefferson, was followed by the formation of the American Fur Company by John Jacob Astor, and the establishment of a trading post named Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River. In the war which broke out shortly afterwards, the post and all its stock was bought in October, 1813, from the Americans by the North-West Company which remained in possession until its agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. In that year, two important events happened—the United States proclaimed her right to the Pacific Coast under the treaty with Spain, and George Simpson was appointed a governor in the Territory of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Three years later—in 1824—to prevent the United States or Russia from taking the whole coast, the Governor and Committee in London wrote to Sir George Simpson and asked him, if he could, to visit the Columbia district in 1825 and place its affairs on a proper footing; to extend the Company's posts westward towards the coast from New Caledonia, and to establish upon the coast as far north as might be practicable so that British rights might be secured by actual occupation and trade. This letter reached Simpson on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and although he had considered taking leave for England, he gave up his own plans, set out from York Factory on the 15th August, and, travelling by canoe and on horseback, reached his destination within eighty-four days, or twenty days less than any previous record.

We see in all Simpson's work the qualities of generalship—vision, judgment and practical ability. Realising that the fort in Astoria might be claimed as within the sphere of the United States, he transferred the Company's headquarters to the north bank of the Columbia River, some seventy miles up-stream, where he thought the land suitable both for agriculture and trade. In calling this new centre Fort Vancouver, he not only commemorated a great nagivator, but suggested that by Vancouver's discovery Great Britain had established a claim. At the same time, he proposed to keep Fort St. James as headquarters for the district of New Caledonia. Thus on the south he marked the limits of what he thought should be British territory as against the United States, and on the north as opposed to the claims of Russia. Then, leaving Dr. McLoughlin in charge at Fort Vancouver, he went back to Hudson's Bay, and in the year 1828 made his second overland journey by a new route in order to consolidate the work he had commenced. It is the visit that he made on that second journey to Fort St. James one hundred years ago that we are commemorating to-day.

Coming here smoothly by rail and road to a settled, prosperous and civilized country, it is difficult to realize the conditions a century ago. Sir George Simpson, in his report to the Governor and Committee in London, described the district as it then was, when, owing to the scarcity of animals and game and sometimes of fish, the people were often brought to the verge of starvation; when transport was difficult and arduous beyond conception. He speaks of the hardships which servants of the Company cheerfully suffered; pays a generous tribute to the men of the North-West Company, and describes the misery and privation of the life led by the Chief Factor, John Stuart, "The father or founder of New Caledonia."

It was part of Simpson's greatness that he foresaw the future of this wonderful Pacific Coast, its agricultural possibilities and its opportunities for trade and development. When the railway to Fort Churchill on Hudson's Bay is completed, as it will be next year, it will but represent the ideas of Simpson—mails and passengers to Hudson's Bay, and overland route to the coast and vessels to China. The whole scheme was worked out in detail by Simpson in his report to London, and we may be sure that if railways had then existed, he would have anticipated the Canadian Pacific Railway. Sir George

Sir George Simpson and James Douglas heading party entering gates of Fort St. James

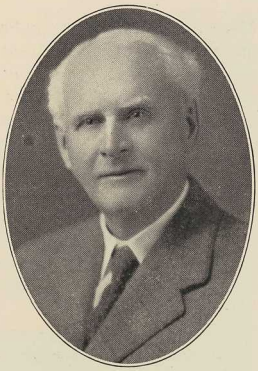
Sir George Simpson greeting Chief Factor William Connolly on lake shore, Fort St. James (Mr. John Gregg, Mr. A. C. Murray, Mr. Wm. Ware, Mr. Chief Factor C. H. French)

Simpson did not only see far ahead. He had the more serviceable quality of putting great ideas into practice. As an administrator, he showed his genius in bringing together the bitterly opposed forces of the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, and turning a wasteful struggle into harmonious co-operation. So grateful did the partners of the former North-West Company feel for these services that in 1828 they presented Simpson with a magnificent service of plate. Fairness and justice inspired his dealings with the natives. Captain Palliser, in a report on the country to the British Government written in the year 1857, quotes the words of an Indian chief: "I do not ask," said the chief, "for presents, although I am poor and my people are hungry; but I know that you have come straight from the great country, and we know that no man from that country came to us and lied." "I want you," this chief went on, "to declare to us truthfully what the great Queen intends to do to us when she takes the country from the Fur Company's people." To have established a reputation among the Indians that "No man from that country ever lied" is to my mind the finest of all possible testimonies, not only to Sir George Simpson, but to all our chief factors and fur traders in their dealings with our good friends the Indians.

And here let me say how glad I am to welcome and with what pleasure and satisfaction I see so many of our Indian friends in this notable gathering. The relations between the Company, of which I happen to be Governor, and the Indian and Esquimaux population of Canada has been for many generations all that both sides could desire. Between us and them there is a common interest in the good of the fur trade, the country, and the people. This spirit of goodwill and friendship has never been broken and I hope will continue long to their benefit and ours. Since we both desire the same good, we shall never quarrel.

In praising the great qualities of Sir George Simpson and his marvellous achievements, I cannot avoid pointing out that his work as empire builder and administrator represented the continuous policy of the Hudson's Bay Company. And here I may be permitted to quote the testimony of the late Sir Sanford Fleming, given before the Royal Society of Canada in the year 1889. He spoke of "the important part played by the Company in the early history of

the western territory;" the "extraordinary energy and perseverance" which it showed; the fortitude and heroism of its servants.



F. H. Simpson, nephew and godson of Sir George Simpson

"It was they," Sir Sanford proceeded, "who took possession of the territory on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, and on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel. They were for many years the only civilized occupants of both sides of the Columbia from its source to its mouth, and it was not their fault that this region is not part of the Dominion. They held their ground in Oregon and Washington territory under the British flag until they were compelled to relinquish their hold by the treaty of 1846. But for the discoveries made under the authority of this fur company, New Caledonia and British Columbia would never have existed, and Canada to-day would have been shut out from access to the Pacific."

George Yale Simpson, Jr., great-great-grandson of Sir George Simpson.

These, gentlemen, are matters of history of which we have a right to be proud. And your right is as great as ours, for I see before me with pleasure the descendants of those whose names are recorded in the annals of Fort St. James and in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company.

I may especially mention Mr. Frank G. Simpson, of Winnipeg, the nephew, and Master George Y. Simpson, of Victoria, the great-great-grandson of Sir George Simpson; also Mr. Colin Fraser, of Fort Chipewyan, who brought with him the bagpipes which have been used to-day. These bagpipes were inherited from his father, Colin Fraser, the piper who led the cavalcade into this fort one hundred years ago.

I cannot conclude without expressing my grateful thanks to His Honour the Governor of the Province,

Mr. R. Randolph Bruce, who suggested this celebration, and who is present here to-day. I need not tell you what you know of him already, nor praise his sense of duty, or his public spirit, always at the service of the people. But I venture of mention an interest we have in common: his deep interest in the history of Canada, as shown by the David Thompson Memorial near Banff in the Rocky Mountains, as well as by his share in the present celebration. No one values more than Mr. R. Randolph Bruce the memory of the empire builders who left us a great heritage; not only does he do honour to their name, but he pays them the more practical tribute of carrying on their work. And in this work we should all seek to share, not only because we all enjoy its benefits but because it is our duty and our privilege.

Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company delivering his address.
Right to left, seated—Rev. Father Coccola, His Honour R. Randolph Bruce, Miss Helen Mackenzie, Mr. G. W. Allan, K.C. Standing—His Honour Judge F. W. Howay, Mr. A. K. Graham, Mr. John Hosie, Mr. Chief Factor Angus Brabant.

Carriers Entering Fort.

Sir George Simpson Greeting Indian Chiefs

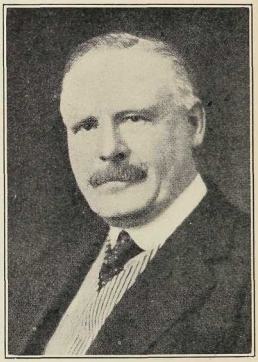
Address

BY

His Honour R. Randolph Bruce,

Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia

GOVERNOR Sale, Ladies and Gentlemen: I know I interpret the feelings of all those present when I express to you, sir, and to your colleagues, our heartfelt gratitude for your invitation to be with you to-day. Like myself, they gladly availed themselves of this opportunity of paying their respectful homage to a great pioneer, Sir George Simpson—not only a pioneer, but a great statesman and empire builder.



It is particularly fitting that I, as a representative of His Majesty for the time being in this province, should be here to-day to pay tribute to his memory; for had it not been for him and his colleagues, for their indomitable courage, self-sacrifice and great statesmanship, it is doubtful whether the Union Jack would now be flying over this part of this great Dominion.

You, sir, have gathered here to-day, with that hospitable and paternal instinct which has always guided your great Company, men from the Red River to the Skeena, and from the Columbia to the Mackenzie, to witness this picturesque pageant—a peageant which is far more than a mere passing show. It brings vividly to all of us a keener sense of the courage, endurance and fortitude of those old pioneers—sentinels of outposts of empire they were, who at great self-sacrifice tenaciously held this great domain.

Remember that peace has its victories no less than those of war. The bloodless victories achieved by those pioneers should receive

from a grateful Empire no less acclaim than that accorded to our Marlboroughs, Wellingtons or Nelsons. They added more to the Empire by peace than was acquired by war.

Perhaps the finest service to empire the Royal Stuarts ever gave was when Charles the Second handed to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay their charter covering the then great unknown lands. He little thought that he was adding to his kingdom a country a score of times bigger than the whole of Great Britain. What a trust that was to hand to that small body of adventurers; but they so faithfully and so well administered that trust that surely they are entitled to rank in the forefront themselves as empire builders. A part of the pleasure of this great gathering here to-day is to add a testimony to the great debt of gratitude that the people of Canada owe to the Hudson's Bay Company—a Company unique in history, and one which administered so well and so wisely that they stood the test of time for two hundred years and were able at the end of that period to hand back unimpaired this great country to the new confederation of provinces now known as the Dominion of Canada. During all that time, they had the respect, not only of the fur traders and voyageurs, but also the confidence of the Indians—at first antagonistic, but by fair treatment and kindness converted into close and loyal friends.

I firmly believe that the Hudson's Bay Company have never been accorded in Canada the full measure to which they are entitled for their safeguarding this great domain, without which Canada would have been shorn of more than half its glory.

You, sir, have followed a long line of distinguished governors, princes and peers. We are happy to-day to welcome you here and to record our appreciation of how worthily you are filling your great and time-honoured position as Governor—nay, more, you have set a new record, for each year since you assumed office you have at great personal sacrifice come to Canada and visited all your leading posts, thereby encouraging not only your own officials but assisting in every way in the material, social, and economic development of the country. We have but to look around where we stand now to witness the benefits of these visits, in this tidy, beautiful and historic old fort at which we are gathered, to note how your example is

already followed by the immediate surroundings. For example, there is now the neat little Indian village; that comfortable hostelry, Douglas Lodge, situated forty miles from a railway and yet equipped with all the modern luxuries of civilization. We warmly thank you for this encouragement, so acceptable in a new land. We will all carry back from this scene many memories of more than a mere holiday. Tacitus wrote that he who did not think of his ancestors would never be thought of by his posterity. It is from the traditions of the past that we gather inspiration and courage for the future. We might well wish that to-day those old pioneers could look down and see this simple ceremony, and realize thereby that their works, their great sacrifice, had not been forgotten and were not in vain.

Sir George Simpson was imbued with great vision. As far as human eyes could see he saw the vision of the world and all the wonders that would be. But I doubt that even he could have foreseen that one hundred years later the handful of men who held these outposts from the Great Lakes to the Pacific would be replaced by three millions of people producing hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat pouring eastward and westward from those lone prairies where cattle now roam by the thousand and where great cities and happy homes prevail.

To-day's pageant gives us courage for the future. And what that future holds for us depends in a large measure on ourselves and on whether we faithfully and courageously play our parts.

The eyes of the world are turning towards this great Northern Empire. A new era is dawning for us, and in that new era I feel confident that the Hudson's Bay Company will continue to play its unequalled part, and will not only co-operate, but will lead the van in the march of progress, thus helping to fulfil that great destiny which a benign Providence has provided for this great and glorious country.

Address

BY

His Honour Judge F. W. Howay

New Westminster, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada

THE historic pageant that we have just witnessed reproducing the arrival of Sir George Simpson at Fort St. James on September 17, 1828, affords an opportunity to say something about the details of that journey. It was the second occasion on which Governor Simpson crossed this continent. On his earlier voyage, of 1824—of which we know but little—he had travelled by the Athabaska Pass, the regular express route to the Columbia region; but in this ot 1828 he followed in great part the original line blazed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie—by way of the Peace River.

Of the journey of 1828 we have only one account in print: that of Archibald McDonald, who was in the party all the way from Hudson Bay to Fort Langley. His journal was published in 1872, and is sometimes referred to as "Malcolm McLeod's Peace River."

Governor Simpson travelled on this occasion at a break-neck speed. Leaving York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, on 12th July, he was at Fort St. James, on Stuart Lake, on 17th September. Most of the journey was upstream, and yet his rate was about fifty miles a day. To accomplish this, the expedition was on the move at two o'clock in the morning. A stop was made for breakfast at about eight o'clock—sometimes the party had then covered eighteen or twenty miles. About one o'clock a stop of ten minutes gave

opportunity to swallow a bit of pemmican and a dram, and then away once more until eight o'clock at night, when dinner, smoke, and sleep came in quick succession. And so, in regular order, day followed day, with, of course, those delays that always arise from accidents and weather. Why Sir George Simpson (or plain George Simpson, as he then was) was making this journey and why he was travelling at this express speed we do not at present entirely understand.

His route was that taken by the expresses and brigades of the Company: From York Factory on Hudson's Bay to Norway House, near Lake Winnipeg; thence up the Saskatchewan to Cumberland House and across Frog Portage to the Churchill, or English River; up that river to Ile à la Crosse, and over the Methye Portage to the Clearwater River; along that stream to the Athabaska and down the Athabaska to Athabaska Lake and Fort Chipewyan; thence to the Peace; up that river to the Pack River, McLeod Lake, and Fort McLeod, and thence eighty-three miles overland to Fort St. James; from that post by Stuart and Fraser rivers to Fort Alexandria; thence overland to Fort Kamloops and by the Thompson and Fraser rivers to Fort Langley, where he arrived on 10th October. The distance covered was about 3,200 miles; the total time spent between York Factory and Fort Langley, three months, less two days; deducting the delays and the detentions at the various posts, the actual travelling time was sixty-five days—making an average of about fifty miles a day. From Fort Langley we do not know (though we may surmise) the route taken by the Governor to the Columbia. Nor do we know when he reached Fort Vancouver, the headquarters on that river. He must, however, have spent the winter there, for we find letters in existence written by him from that post on March 1, 1829.

The Governor's party, which consisted of himself, Dr. Hamlyn, and Archibald McDonald, and Colin Fraser, the Governor's piper, travelled in two light canoes, each paddled by nine men. Here and there on the way temporary additions were made to the party, either for assistance at the portages or for the accommodation of some favoured individual. No sooner had the expedition left York Factory than the Governor ordered his piper (who was a recent arrival from the Land o' Cakes) to play some of his favourite strath-

speys, but, says McDonald, they made "a poor accordance with either pole or paddle." The voyageurs, doubtless preferred the old French chansons so familiar to them. To-day, as we listened to those identical pipes, they seemed to possess a strange, magical power, rolling away in a moment the long century that has intervened since Governor Simpson stood for the first time on this historic spot, the capital of New Caledonia.

At Norway House and Fort Chipewyan he made formal entries; and doubtless too at other places, but we have no details. Perhaps this was because the arrivals by water did not lend themselves to much demonstration. Fort St. James was the only important post to which he came by land. This may account for the description that McDonald has given; and here let me congratulate those who took part in to-day's pageant upon its close adherence to the original entry—only real interest and much study could have produced such a result. But we all know that when the Great Company undertakes to do a piece of work it is always thoroughly done.

At every place along the route where any delay occurred, Sir George was busily occupied in writing letters and reports. We who dictate such documents and rely upon a stenographer for the rest cannot realize what a Herculean task this was. The historian of the future, however, will rise up and bless him for the minuteness with which he considered and set down for the information of the Governor and Committee in London the incidents of his travel, the details of the trade, his plans for the future and their reasons, and the causes which moved him to suggest any particular policy or line of conduct. It is little wonder that his eyesight began to fail him.

Whenever an opportunity offered, Governor Simpson called the Indians together and spoke to them of the trade, congratulating them, if they deserved it, upon their good conduct, or threatening to withdraw the post if they were indolent or criminal. He made them feel that the Company was really interested—as indeed it was—in their welfare, and that co-operation would be mutually beneficial.

The party travelled light, only carrying the essential things and relying upon the various posts through which they passed to supply them with sufficient to enable them to reach the next. There was no time to hunt or fish; only such game reached their larder as could be obtained without any delay. The stand-by was, of course,

pemmican, that indescribable compound of dried buffalo meat, fat, hair, and berries; but which, nevertheless, is without an equal as a condensed food for the north land. The journal speaks of "common pemican" and "fine pemican"; I do not know the difference: it may be that there was a little more hair in the one kind than in the other. At McLeod Lake that eccentric character, John Tod, was in charge. The fish had failed to arrive. Tod knew nothing of the Governor's intention to visit him until he saw the canoes. He gave them a Highland welcome, but naught else, for his cupboard was as bare as that of Old Mother Hubbard. In one of his letters, Tod speaks of the occasion; but to him the matter of interest was the receipt of letters from his old friends. While the Governor was writing, Tod hid himself in order to devour his correspondence, and despite the cries of "Mr. Tod!" "Mr. Tod!" remained concealed until he had finished it all.

From McLeod Lake, the journey by land took four days. The Governor arrived on 17th September at just about the same time at which he arrived to-day.

In conclusion, I would like to express the pleasure I have had in being at this historic spot and viewing this exact reproduction of the event which occurred here one hundred years ago to-day.

Carrier Indian Women and Children Attending the Celebration

Address

BY

Mr. George W. Allan, K.C.

Winnipeg, Member of the London Committee and Chairman of the Canadian Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company

I AM glad indeed to be at Fort St. James to-day with Mr. Charles V. Sale, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Mr. A. K. Graham, a member of the London Committee, to witness the pageant and to join in the ceremony to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the visit to Fort St. James of Sir George Simpson, the Governor of Rupert's Land, on his second journey from the shores of Hudson's Bay to the Pacific Coast.

We who serve the Hudson's Bay Company deeply appreciate the presence here to-day of the Honourable R. Randolph Bruce, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, and the large attendance of citizens from Vanderhoof, Fort St. James, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, Victoria and other points in Canada. The presence of our Fur Trade Commissioner, Chief Factor C. H. French, and of the Indian chiefs and such a large number of their people is indeed a source of satisfaction.

I desire to associate myself very warmly with all that has been said by Mr. Sale, Mr. Bruce and other previous speakers regarding the achievements and outstanding service accorded to the Hudson's Bay Company by Sir George Simpson, Governor of Rupert's Land, during the forty years of his brilliant administration, and with their references to the great history of the Company and the many great men who faithfully served the Company in England and in Canada during its long history.

We who serve the Company, in common with all Canadians, have abundant reason to be proud of its history and its service to the Empire and to Canada. As a resident in Winnipeg since 1879, and as the only member of the London Committee resident in Canada and Chairman of the Canadian Committee of the Company, I trust

I may venture to ask your indulgence to permit me briefly to refer to some of the happenings in the Company's history since the death of Sir George Simpson, with a view of placing before you in general terms the Company's present position and activities and the outlook for the future, as I see it.

As has been stated to-day, for over two hundred years, the Company held sovereign powers in Rupert's Land and, after the amalgamation with the North-West Company, extended its sphere of influence to the Pacific Coast from Alaska to California, and by its occupation and administration of this vast territory, conserved and preserved for the Empire and Canada our four Western Provinces the Yukon and our Northwest Territories.

This great British Company, owned by proprietors in Great Britain, managed from London by a Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee, carried on its fur trade and other business activities in North America, from the granting of its Royal Charter 258 years

Mr. G. W. Allan, K.C., with Indian Chiefs from Hazelton District.

ago, in such a manner that from the start it won and retained the friendship and confidence of the Indians and Esquimaux to such an extent that an Indian war never occurred in British territory west of the Great Lakes and Hudson's Bay, while to the south in the United States Indian wars were recurrent from Oregon to the tip of Florida. During all its history, its fur trade posts and other establishments were distinguished by the high character of its officers for square dealing, for goods of high character, furnished at fair prices.

Following Sir George Simpson's forty years of administration, settlers gradually asserted themselves on the prairie lands west of the Great Lakes, and as and when it became apparent to the Company that a period of change and transition in this particular had arrived, negotiations with Great Britain and Canada finally brought about the Deed of Surrender in which it relinquished its sovereign powers in 1869 and continued as a trading company in the enjoyment of the rights and privileges in that connection under its charter and which were safeguarded under said Deed of Surrender. This change brought about the creation in 1870 of the Province of Manitoba and later of the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, the great Province of British Columbia having previously been brought into existence.

From the time the Company so relinquished its sovereign powers in Rupert's Land, thereby extending the government of the Dominion of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it has ever been loyally and whole-heartedly behind the Government of Canada, that of the various provinces and all forms of constituted authority. Its organization and facilities throughout the Northwest Territories and in the Eastern and Western Arctic have always been at the service of the Dominion of Canada. Since its surrender of sovereign powers, the interests of the Company have been identical with the interests of all Canada, and as Canada grows in population and wealth, and prospers, the Company, in common with all Canadians, will share in that prosperity.

The Company continued its fur trade and, following said Deed of Surrender, became the greatest land company in the Dominion of Canada as the owner of eight million acres of land in the agricultural belt bounded by the International Boundary to the south, by Northern Saskatchewan to the north, by Lake Winnipeg and the

Lake of the Woods to the east, and the foothills of the Rockies to the west.

Following upon the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and other railroads west of the Great Lakes, former fur trade posts, such as Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie, Brandon, Calgary, Edmonton and Victoria, became centres of urban population, and at such points the fur trade posts gradually qualified into departmental stores with accompanying wholesale establishments. Between 1869 and 1924, the population of Canada, west of the Great Lakes, increased by two and a half million people, and by reason of such settlement during that period the fur trade operations of the Company had a constant trend towards the Northwest Territories as now constituted and were greatly extended in the Eastern and Western Arctic.

When, in 1925, Mr. Charles V. Sale became the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, its main business activities had been divided into its Fur trade, its Stores, and its Land departments. His task was to perfect the organization of each of these departments, to co-ordinate all branches of the Company's service in London, Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States, and particularly to inaugurate and bring about a strong forward movement in our Stores department by the construction of a new store in Winnipeg, the enlargement of the Vancouver store, and the improvement and extension of store properties at other points. The Governor, during the years 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1928, has given unreservedly of his time, experience and energy in the management of the Company's affairs from London and, in addition, has spent more than three months of each of said years in Canada, visiting every store and establishment of the Company in the nine provinces of Canada, inspecting fur trade posts and in dealing on the spot in Canada, the United States and Newfoundland with its subsidiary companies. The result of his unceasing labours is to-day reflected throughout Canada in the great progress and development of the Company's Fur, Stores and Land departments. He has completed the establishment of the Company in the nine provinces of Canada, the Northwest Territories of Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States.

As always in the past, to-day men of affairs and wide business experience serve the Company in England on the London Committee, and the Governor in Canada has increased the personnel of the

Start of Indian Girls' Horse Race.

Exhibition of Indian Gambling Game—La Halle.

Canadian Committee, formed a number of years ago, to five members. I desire to bear tribute to the able and devoted officials serving the Company in the various departments of its business activities.

At this great gathering to honour the name and deeds of Sir George Simpson, I put it to you that a country with a great history and a great past can only hope to continue great and to do justice to its destiny by the preservation of its historical records, thereby enshrining its great history and the deeds of its great men in the hearts and minds of its people. And so it is with the family, the community—and so it is with Canada as regards the history of the Hudson's Bay Company and with all those serving the Company to-day.

In the few brief years since Mr. Sale became Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and entered upon the duties of his office, he has organized and systematized the archives and records of the Company for prompt availability in the conduct of our business and to the end that our great history, which bulks large in the history of Canada, may be made available to the British and Canadian people. He is arranging for the preparation of this history with a view of early publication. He has actively been engaged on the work of the preservation of our historic sites, as witness Lower Fort Garry and Fort St. James of to-day. He has taken steps to insure the perpetuation of the unique character of our fur trade posts and that all future posts, as and when erected, shall be in conformity with their well established characteristics.

From Montreal to Victoria he has actively been engaged in arranging for the care and preservation of the graves of our great dead.

He has brought about, throughout the vast territory in Canada covered by our stores, establishments and fur trade posts, with all those who serve the Company, a pride in its history and in its past, a solidarity amongst all those who serve the Company in its various activities as Hudson's Bay Company men, and great *esprit de corps* throughout the service.

I venture to suggest to you that to-day's pageant and ceremony, so ably presided over by our Governor, will not only long abide with you all as a happy memory, but will arouse wide-spread interest throughout Canada and throughout the entire service of our Company. With the Hudson's Bay Company, it has been a case of the

survival of the fittest, and I believe it is generally conceded that it will be in the interest of the Indian and Esquimaux and in the public interest of Canada that our great Company should enjoy a great future of activity and usefulness as it has a great past and that it should subsist as long as grass grows and water runs.

Indian Chiefs Dance—Stephen Morgan, Kitsegula; Abraham Fowler, Kitwanga; Wallace Laknitz, Kitwanga; Alexander Smith, Kitwancool; Belnap, Moricetown; Felix George, Haguelget; Billy Williams, Kispiox; Alfred Danes, Hazelton, Charles Martin, Hazelton.

THE REV. FATHER COCCOLA, O.M.I.

THE Reverend Father Coccola, O.M.I., in the course of his address, said to the Indians: "It is for every one of you to carry on, to commemorate the work started so many years ago and presaged by Sir George Simpson, and it is for all of us to follow the spirit displayed by him. Indians have always admired men of courage and energy, and these were personified in Sir George Simpson. The Company has always been good to you, and has given you the necessary provisions and supplies with which to start out on your winter hunt. You who are faithful men and do not abuse this kindness can always depend on the Company.

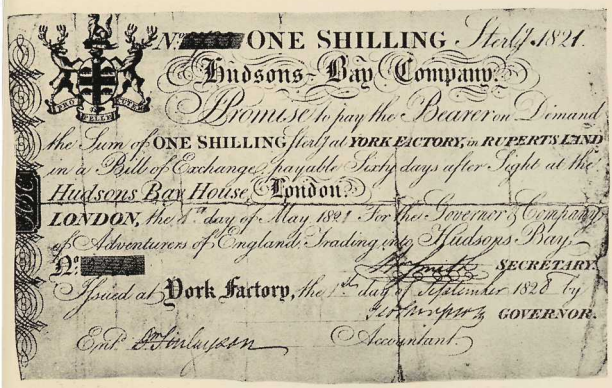
"I express my thanks to all who have honoured us by their visit."

MR. A. N. MOUAT

Comptroller-General for British Columbia

Mr. A. N. Mouat, who served the Company for twenty years, expressed his great pleasure at being at Fort St. James and reminded those present that the men who had led the way had passed on, that some who were present would soon be passing, and that he desired to leave with the younger men in the service a precept which he had learned when serving under his dear old chief, the late Factor Adams:

"To be honest in all one's dealings,
"To be fearless in carrying out one's duties."


No. [redacted] ONE SHILLING Sterlg 1821.

Hudsons Bay Company.

Promise to pay the Bearer on Demand the Sum of ONE SHILLING Sterlg at YORK FACTORY, in RUPERTS LAND in a Bill of Exchange payable Sixty days after Sight at the Hudsons Bay House, London.

LONDON, the 1st day of May 1821. For the Governor & Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudsons Bay.

No. [redacted] SECRETARY.

Issued at York Factory, the 1st day of September 1828 by GOVERNOR.

Entd Accountant.

One Shilling Note, bearing signature of Sir George Simpson.
Original presented by Mr. A. N. Mouat to Governor C. V. Sale.

MR. RODERICK MACKENZIE

M.L.A. for Cariboo

Mr. Roderick Mackenzie brought greetings and the regrets of Premier Tolmie that he was unable to attend in person.

He expressed on behalf of the Premier and the Government of British Columbia their desire and prayer for the continued prosperity of the Company.

Commemoration Medals presented by the Governor

Colin Fraser, son of Sir George Simpson's personal piper who accompanied the Governor of Rupert's Land in 1828

The bagpipes of Colin Fraser's father, used in 1828, were also used in the pageant at Fort St. James in 1928

Sergeant-Major Wishart, piper to Lieut.-Gov. R. Randolph Bruce

Pinché Creek Maggie; 106 years. Oldest person to attend pageant

Mr. A. C. Murray

Late District Manager, New Caledonia

As the oldest white resident and as the chosen representative of the people of Fort St. James and district, it affords me great pleasure to welcome His Honour R. Randolph Bruce, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, Governor Charles Vincent Sale of the Hudson's Bay Company, Judge Howay, and the other noted visitors who are here to-day to do honour to the memory of a great fur trader and a great Britisher, Sir George Simpson, Governor in Rupert's Land of the Hudson's Bay Company one hundred years ago, and to commemorate his visit to the famous old trading post on 17th September, 1828.

We hope that the visit of these gentlemen will prove in every way an enjoyable one and that they will take back with them the memory of this beautiful country and its historic traditions, as well as our hearty and sincere good wishes.

Mr. A. C. Murray as Chief Factor Archibald McDonald

Chief Charles Martin, Hazelton

Chief Charles Martin, during the Chiefs' Dance, in the course of his oration, said: "We always remember the Hudson's Bay Company since the time they came to British Columbia. The Hudson's Bay people came from England to our forefathers and they showed their kindness towards the Indians. King George asked the white people to try and do their best to the Indians as the Indians owned the country. Hudson's Bay people always lifted up the law that King George made in England.

"We will always remember Mr. Douglas, first governor in Victoria. He showed the law which came from England. The law of the King is very kindly towards us and the Hudson's Bay Company were among the first people to come to the Indians of this interior, and they have remained with us. We hope they will always be with us, and are grateful to the Governor for bringing us here to take part in this great celebration."

List of Officers in Charge of New Caledonia from date of Establishment to 1914

Simon Fraser	1805-06	J. A. Grahame	1868-69
John Stuart	1806-24	Peter Ogden	1869-70
William Connolly	1824-30	Gavin Hamilton	1870-79
Peter Warren Dease	1830-34	J. M. L. Alexander	1879-86
Peter Skene Ogden	1834-44	Roderick Macfarlane	1886-89
Donald Manson	1844-45	W. E. Traill	1889-93
John Lee Lewis	1845-46	Alexander C. Murray	1893-97
Donald Manson	1846-56	W. E. Camsell	1897-98
Peter Ogden	1856-68	A. C. McNab	1898-1901
A. C. Murray	1901-1914		

Unveiling of Tablet

IN HONOUR OF

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON

SIMPSON PASS
ON THE HIGH ROAD FROM BANFF TO
WINDERMERE, B.C.

20th September, 1928

Address

BY

Mr. Charles V. Sale

THE Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay are grateful to His Honour Judge Howay and the members of his Committee for the invitation to join with the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in paying homage to the memory of Sir George Simpson.

The Company, I am proud to say, is well used to command the services of brave men; but in the long course of its history since the *Nonsuch* sailed for Hudson's Bay in 1668, it has known none braver, no man of greater vision, no more heroic explorer, no administrator of more energy, tact and ability than he who won for it and the British Empire the outlook on the Pacific from what is now the Province of British Columbia, and so made possible this great Dominion stretching from sea to sea.

To honour such a man is itself an honour and a privilege. And may I say how deeply I realize the justice of the inscription on this beautiful memorial, which I am now permitted to unveil:

"In recognition of the public services of Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories (1821-1860), under whose guidance the 'Far West,' the 'Far North,' and the Arctic coast of Canada were explored, peace with the natives was maintained, trade developed, and British rule strengthened.

"In August, 1841, he was the first white man to cross the Rocky Mountains by Simpson's Pass."

You will be told by speakers deeply versed in the history of your country how these great achievements were carried through. I am relieved, therefore, from the task of retelling the story.

All I need say is to venture the hope that the youth of Canada, when it passes this way, will pause to read this tablet and will be inspired both by the words and the beautiful setting of mountain and river to love and value more their country and the brave men who first brought it under the British flag.

May I, in conclusion, express my admiration for the foresight shown by the Dominion Government in reserving these glorious National Parks for posterity, and for the valuable work undertaken by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board in remembrance of great men and in marking great events.

Address

BY

His Honour R. Randolph Bruce

YOUR Honour Judge Howay, Governor Sale, Ladies and Gentlemen: I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to express to you, Judge Howay, as western representative of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and to your colleagues, our deep appreciation of the great service you are rendering to Canada in erecting these landmarks, these monuments—we might also say these shrines—to the memory of the great trail-blazers who have gone before us. You have made it possible for him who runs to read of the early history of our country. For this we owe you and your Board a debt of gratitude.

We are proud to-day to welcome to British Columbia the distinguished Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Governor Charles Vincent Sale, who follows a long line of very distinguished governors dating back in history to the time of the Stuart kings.

It is difficult for us to realize that the Company was a hundred years old before Captain Cook explored the unknown waters of the Pacific and Captain Vancouver charted Vancouver Island. During all that long period, the Company was quietly and unobtrusively doing most magnificent work in holding together the great lands that the charter conveyed to them.

It is amazing to think that the men who received this charter seemed to grasp the magnitude of their responsibilities from the day it was granted them. They were endowed with a vision that seems to us to-day to be almost miraculous. Their charter covered the great unknown which surrounded the far distant and still little known Hudson's Bay.

We cannot help but be struck with the perspicuity and care with which the Company selected their governors in unbroken succession from Prince Rupert to the present distinguished occupant. Without exception they were more than Princes of Commerce, they were diplomats—statesmen who administered their vast territory with amazing vision.

We realize that such men as Sir George Simpson, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Simon Fraser and David Thompson were true empire builders. We have come from near and far to-day to honour them. But it was in the great traditions of the Company that they successively found the inspiration which enabled them to carry on for two hundred years and finally to hand over intact the great territory, itself an empire, to the but newly formed Dominion of Canada.

Let me repeat, for it is a great achievement, unequalled in history, that after two hundred years of successful administration this Company ceded its vast territories unimpaired and without bloodshed to the confederation that finally developed into the Dominion of Canada, and more than that, voluntarily enrolled themselves as loyal citizens and supporters of the new Dominion. Can we find any parallel in history to this example of service to empire?

Do we in Canada to-day have a proper appreciation of the great work that they accomplished? These monuments must help us to realize what we owe to them and to the Hudson's Bay Company. We honour that Company to-day in the presence of Governor Sale, and we would ask him to convey to his colleagues in London our everlasting appreciation for the part the Company patriotically played in the formation of our great Dominion.

Canada is beginning to realize the full qualities of young nationhood; to realize that to-day she takes her place among the great powers of the world. Let us hope that as her sons we shall never become arrogant, but shall always remember to whom we owe our birthright and do honour to the trail-blazers who have gone before us and whose courage and self sacrifice made it possible for us to be here to-day, in peaceful enjoyment of this beautiful land.

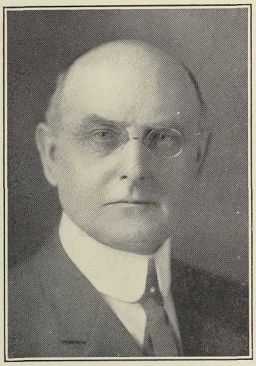
Address

BY

Mr. T. C. Elliott

A Director of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon

I BRING you greetings from the neighbouring states of Oregon and Washington of the Republic across the boundary. It is fitting that we join in honouring the name of Sir George Simpson, for many years governor in North America of the Hudson's Bay Company, because that name appears often upon the pages of any adequate history of the Columbia River and its tributary streams, the larger part of which flow south of the border.



It is not within the limits of this occasion to dwell upon the details of Governor Simpson's goings and comings on the Columbia (1824-41), or his acts of authority there. His was the guiding hand in the conduct of its early commerce. His was the keen mind that attended to every detail of plan and organization, and even at great distance followed the administration of those plans. He was alike commander and servant, for he became executor, trustee and guardian for many officers and men who lived and died on the Columbia. His power was great and his associations were many. The story of it all is for another to tell. Let me refer briefly to the larger place he holds in our common history.

It is said that upon the unfurled flag of the British Empire the sun never sets. America's great orator, Daniel Webster, once gave expression to that wonderful fact in the following words: "A power that has dotted the whole globe with her possessions and military

posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles earth daily with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." The man in whose honour we gather to-day rendered material service in bringing this about. To a certain extent at least Simpson of Canada ranks with Hastings of India and Rhodes of Africa as a builder of empire.

England has always been exceedingly proud and jealous of her commerce. When the English trader pushed his way into unknown lands, he did so with the feeling of assurance that his venture would be protected. The fur trader was in large degree the discoverer and explorer of a large part of North America, and his exploration was scientific, not merely that of the itinerant hunter or trapper. So it came to pass that many of the beautiful and rich hills and valleys of the Pacific northwest, both British and American, now given over to high culture and commercial activity, were first trodden by men from Canada. And the work of those men after 1821 was under the direction of the man we honour here to-day.

When Governor Simpson took control in British North America of the large business of the combined Hudson's Bay Company and North-West Company, legal title to the Columbia River country, or Oregon country as it was also called, was undetermined. It was realized at once that permanent investment must depend upon future ownership, and the attention of the foreign office at London was forcibly called to the situation. At that time (1818-26), American diplomacy was under the direction of the astute John Quincy Adams, and British under that of George Canning, equally astute. Lines of permanent demarcation between the two nations were quickly laid down, the course of the Kootenay and Columbia by Canning and the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude by Adams.

To conform to this decision of the foreign office it became necessary to remove the principal depot or place of business of the Hudson's Bay Company from Fort George (now Astoria) to a new location north of the Columbia. That important errand, as well as the re-organization of the Columbia district, first brought Governor Simpson across the Rocky Mountains (by the Athabasca and Columbia route) in 1824, in company with the new executive for the district, the well known Dr. John McLoughlin. The lower reaches and mouth of the Fraser were first surveyed and it was Simpson who

selected the site for Fort Vancouver on the Columbia and Fort Colvile in the interior as the principal factories for trade, agriculture and export.

About 1840 another situation had developed in relation to permanency of the business. Final determination of the boundary was still pending under joint occupancy agreement. The supply of fur bearing animals was rapidly diminishing under competition with American traders from St. Louis. The missionary and the pioneer had begun to arrive in the Willamette Valley (and elsewhere) from the Missouri country. Possession was beginning to become a factor in diplomacy. Expansion to California had been authorized and reciprocity arrangements with the Russian fur traders were needed to prevent aggression from the North. These considerations brought Governor Simpson again to the Columbia (1841), this time by the land route over the nearby mountain pass and the trail near which we now stand. His visit was followed, among other things, by the examination of the harbour that became Victoria and plans to gradually develop there another location for the main business of the Company. This decision soon served a valid excuse for the reservation of all of Vancouver Island under the boundary treaty of 1846 and minimized danger from the American cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight," a demand not really dangerous then but certain to have become so had the existing *laissez faire* doctrine of both nations been continued until the mining excitement in the valley of the Fraser ten years later.

Thus did the vision and wonderful insight of Governor Simpson exert an influence in the preservation of a part of the British Empire. His monument in this remote and distant spot stands west of the continental divide in the "Old Oregon" country and within the watershed of the Columbia, a significant location. It will indicate to the passers-by that Canada and the Mother Country do not forget their men of action and vision.

Address

BY

His Honour Judge F. W. Howay

I AM here to-day to represent officially the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Department of the Interior, the two bodies that are jointly responsible for the existence of this memorial. I might explain that the Historic Sites Board is an honorary body appointed by the Dominion Government to advise the department as to those events in the story of Canada that are worthy of commemoration because of their national importance. I bring the greetings of the Board and the Department and the expression of their hope that this memorial may aid in increasing the interest of the people in the history of Canada and in the lives of those whose names are written large in the record.

To-day we are paying tribute to the memory of a remarkable man, Sir George Simpson, for forty years the head of the Hudson's Bay Company on this continent. It is sixty-eight years since his death and over one hundred and seven years since he undertook the responsibility of representing the great Company in North America.

The tablet which has just been unveiled by Mr. Charles V. Sale, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, bears testimony to the varied abilities and interests of Sir George Simpson. It says:

> "In recognition of the public services of Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories (1821-1860), under whose guidance the 'Far West,' the 'Far North', and the Arctic coast of Canada were explored, peace with the natives was maintained, trade developed, and British rule strengthened.
>
> "In August, 1841, he was the first white man to cross the Rocky Mountains by Simpson's Pass."

This I take as my text. I would not for a moment suggest that when Sir George Simpson was doing the deeds that have justified this inscription he had solely the interests of Canada in mind. Primarily he aimed at the strengthening of his Company, the broadening of its trade area, its sphere of influence.

When Sir George Simpson came to the West he was an untried young man. He had early shown marked ability in the management of men and keen understanding of business conditions, which had

attracted the attention of Andrew Colvile, one of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a relative and executor of the Earl of Selkirk. The long struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company was nearing an end—an end filled with much personal antagonism and bitterness. When Simpson arrived in the Athabaska country in 1820 as governor of the northern part of Rupert's Land, his total unacquaintance with the trade called forth the jeers, or at any rate the jibes, of the Nor'westers. One of these, William Ferd. Wentzel, writing in March, 1821, said:

"Mr. Simpson, a gentleman from England last spring, represents their (the Hudson's Bay Company's) business. His being a stranger and reputed a gentlemanly man will not create much alarm, nor do I presume him formidable as an Indian trader."

His estimate was far astray, as he acknowledged within three years.

On the union in 1821, Simpson became the head of the amalgamated companies—the new Hudson's Bay Company—in America. He faced a task calling for the judicious combination of firmness and sternness with tact, courtesy, and diplomacy. For years McDonnell had glared at McDonnell over the barriers of the rival companies, and McLeod had striven to gain advantage by fair means or foul over McLeod in the interests of the opposing concerns; now, under his guidance, they were to be welded into loyal co-workers for the good of the new organization. The heated struggle had not only embittered the traders of the two companies; it had impoverished the fur regions; it had degraded the natives, and it had reduced the two competitors to the verge of bankruptcy. The two complete sets of trading outfits, with their equipment in men and materials, he must reduce to one, and that without stirring up the old jealousies and ill-feelings, and more than that, in such a way as to induce confidence in his fair dealing and create a spirit of harmony and co-operation amongst those who had been bitter personal enemies—in a word, to make the united companies one not merely in name but in reality. As McLean says, p. 313:

"To harmonize these elements of discord, to reconcile the different parties thus brought so suddenly and unexpectedly together into one fold was a task of the utmost difficulty to accomplish; but Sir George was equal to it. . . . At his suggestion the whole business was re-organized, a thousand abuses in the management of affairs were reformed, and a strict system of economy was introduced where formerly boundless extravagance had prevailed."

This is, indeed, high praise coming from a man like McLean, who was no friend of Sir George.

The Emperor Augustus is said to have boasted that he had found Rome brick and left it marble. In like manner Sir George Simpson could well have claimed that he had found the fur trade disorganized and left it unified and prosperous—that he had found the Hudson's Bay Company national and had left it international. The itinerant Boston vessels—the "Boston pedlars"—who had for more than two decades monopolized the trade of the northwest coast, disappeared under his energetic opposition; the trade of the coastal strip of Alaska formerly held by the Russians passed into the control of the Hudson's Bay Company; under his leadership the natural resources of the land were spied out and utilized; agriculture and stock-raising were added—strange auxiliaries—to the regular work of the fur trade. Prior to his time the Hudson's Bay Company had been confined to the region east of the Rocky Mountains; under his energetic and farseeing government, its activities expanded to the Pacific coast of Canada, northward into Alaska and southward as far as San Francisco and far beyond to that paradise of the Pacific, the Hawaiian Islands.

And these results could only have been obtained with a strong man at the helm—one who knew men, who knew how to be genuinely considerate and conciliatory and yet who realized well where and when the point was reached at which the silken glove must give way to the strong arm. For though diplomacy has its place, so too has determination. And while Sir George brought order out of chaos, while he re-established the fur trade and re-organized the service—and while he placated and conciliated—he never forgot that he was ruler, and he ruled. Little wonder that Wentzel sang a different tune in 1824 from that of 1821, and wrote: "In short the North-West is now beginning to be ruled with an iron rod."

On one of his early transcontinental voyages—that of 1828—it is recorded that on the Athabaska River he summoned the Indians to meet him and addressed them at some length on their good behaviour since the trade had come entirely into the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, touched upon the good policy of so continuing, defended his determination to discontinue the use of spirituous liquors as an item of barter, and ended by pointing out to them

the necessity of conserving the supply of beaver in their lands. Then, in honour of the occasion and as a sort of farewell to John Barleycorn, he gave them a little rum diluted with a great deal of water.

He took care to see that the treatment of the Indians was always scrupulously fair, that the plighted word was ever kept. And when an Indian committed an offence, he made the punishment to fall upon the individual transgressor and not upon his tribe, thus teaching the—to the Indian—new doctrine of personal responsibility. And thus the native was taught that his crime was his own and to be answered for by him alone. I do not suggest that Governor Simpson was the first one to adopt this line of conduct. All that I claim for him is that he made every effort to see that the employees followed it in their dealings with the Indians. This treatment accounts in a large measure for the spirit of goodwill that always marked the relations of the Company and the natives, and the peace that prevailed. The contrast between the atmosphere of the land trade under the Hudson's Bay Company and the maritime trade under the Boston vessels is illuminating; in the one there was confidence and continual peace; in the other distrust and continual mutual aggression.

One of our Canadian poets (John E. Logan) in a doggerel poem, called "The Injun," stresses this good feeling in the Hudson's Bay Company's trade. He relates that during the Minnesota massacre of 1862, a Hudson's Bay trader with his wife ventured into the very heart of the disaffected region with his Red River cart, flying a Union Jack. A band of murderous Sioux found the trail and followed it. I quote a few verses not for their poetry, but for their sentiment.

The Injun

"But when they seen that little flag
  A stickin' on that cart,
They jes' said: 'Hudson Bay. Go on
  Good trader with good heart.'

Fer thar' that cussed little rag
  Went floatin' through the State,
A flappin' in the face of death
  An' smilin' right at fate.

What give that flag its virtoo?
  What's thar in red an' blue
To make that man and woman dar'
  What others darsn't do?

Jes' this—an' Injuns know'd it—
  That whar them cullers flew
The men that lived beneath 'em
  Wuz mostly straight an' true.

That when they made a bargain
  'Twas jes' as strong an' tight
As if 'twere drawn on sheep-skin
  An' signed in black an' white.

That's how them Hudson traders done
  For mor'n two hundred year;
That's why that trader feller crossed
  Them plains without a fear."

Perhaps the best work for Canada done under the guidance of Sir George Simpson was in the exploration of the "Far North." The Nor'westers had founded Fort Chipewyan and traced under Sir Alexander Mackenzie the northward flowing waters from Lake Athabaska to the Arctic Ocean. They had sent out *en derouine* traders and had built temporary houses along that waterway, but they do not appear to have placed there any permanent post. It fell to Governor Simpson to occupy the land, and Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake and Forts Liard, Simpson, Norman and Good Hope all bear witness to his effort.

The discoveries of Sir John Franklin on his two land voyages were rendered possible by the zealous and effective co-operation of the Company and the personal interest and assistance rendered by the Governor, especially in placing at Franklin's right hand on his second voyage of 1825-26 the veteran and able Chief Factor, Peter Warren Dease.

To complete the knowledge of the northern coast line of the American continent, the directors of the Company determined in 1836 to dispatch an expedition under Thomas Simpson, a relative of the Governor, and Peter Warren Dease. The instructions for their government were drawn up by Governor Simpson himself and are dated from Norway House, July 2, 1836. From the mouth of the Mackenzie River, they, in 1837, in Esquimau canoes and on foot, traced the coast westward as far as Point Barrow. Returning, they spent the winter at Fort Good Hope, and in the spring of 1838 travelled eastward to Hearne's Coppermine River. Continuing eastward they discovered and took possession of Victoria Land. The next year was spent in the examination of the land still further

eastward to connect with other explorations. In those three years the expedition accomplished more than had been the lot of any other party of explorers. For his part in this work the Governor was, very properly, rewarded with knighthood.

In the early forties, under the instructions of Sir George, Robert Campbell traced the Liard, a tributary of the Mackenzie, to its source and crossed over to the Yukon, opening up the vast region westward of the Mackenzie to the trade of the Company and to the knowledge of the arts of civilization. Frances Lake, at the far sources of the Yukon, bears witness to Campbell's loyalty to his chief and his charming wife.

Between the furthest point reached by Dease and Simpson in 1839, and the furthest point west of Hudson's Bay—the straits of Fury and Hecla—stretched a *terra incognita* of two hundred or three hundred miles. To set at rest the question of what lay there hidden —and incidentally thereby to set at rest the question of a northwest passage there—the Hudson's Bay Company sent out an expedition in 1846-47 under Dr. John Rae. Again the instructions for the exploration were drawn by Sir George Simpson. The last clause of those instructions ran:

> "In conclusion, let me assure you that we look confidently to you for the solution of what may be deemed the final problem in the geography of the northern hemisphere. The eyes of all who take an interest in the subject are fixed on the Hudson's Bay Company; from us the world expects the final settlement of this question that has occupied the attention of our country for two hundred years; and your safe and triumphant return will, I trust, speedily compensate the Hudson's Bay Company for its repeated sacrifices and its protracted anxieties, which may God in his mercy grant."

Dr. Rae was a fine selection for the task. He was surgeon, astronomer, steersman, and leader of the party. His years of service with the Company had made him acquainted with the privations of life in the wilds.

Into the details of Dr. Rae's explorations I do not intend to enter. It is sufficient to say that in June of 1847, overcoming all difficulties, he had reached to within a day or two's travel of the Straits of Fury and Hecla. This unfortunate circumstance was due to the failure of provisions. The joint result of the voyages of Dease and Simpson and Rae was to leave but a small bit of about one hundred miles of the northern coast unexplored. Those two expeditions under

Governor Simpson's instructions cleared away practically all of the doubt and uncertainty as to the northern coast line.

The duties of Sir George Simpson called for the supervision of the Company's varied interests from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In their performance, he crossed the barrier range of the Rockies on numerous occasions. His first voyage, in 1824, was by way of the Athabaska Pass and the Columbia River. On that journey he saw the utter futility of carrying all the trading goods for and all the furs from New Caledonia thousands of miles across the body of the continent when the open waters of the Pacific lay only a few hundred miles to the westward. We need another Sir George Simpson to-day to teach us that lesson in regard to the grain of the prairies. The Hudson's Bay Company had then only one post—Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River—on the coast. All the remainder was controlled by the Boston traders. He resolved to wrest that trade from them and obtain it for his Company. Out of that determination came Fort Langley, the commencement of agriculture and fishing in British Columbia, and the foundation of the coast establishments, and last but not least, the historic steamer *Beaver*, which played for forty years a prominent part in the development of the Pacific coast. On his second voyage, in 1828, he travelled express by canoe, crossing the mountains by way of Peace River. He covered the whole distance between York Factory and Fort Langley, some 3,200 miles, at the rate of fifty miles a day. He travelled in state, with his piper in highland costume and himself in official garb. Behind this ostentation lay the practical view that it impressed the natives with a salutary opinion of the greatness and power of the Company.

The third voyage, in 1841, was a part of his journey around the world, the complete story of which is told in his well known book. On this crossing of the Rockies, he travelled by way of the Simpson Pass and, first of white men, passed over the very ground on which we stand. He left Edmonton on 28th July, 1841, and travelled southward, passing west of Wetaskawin to Gull Lake. Thence he continued his course, following in a general way the Red Deer River and its tributary, the Little Red Deer River, and through Devil's Gap by Ghost River to Lake Minnewanka, which he called Peechee Lake, after his guide. His route led thence by Cascade River to Banff, crossing the Bow, continued up Healy Creek. Seven hours

after the traverse of the Bow River, he reached the pass, which in his honour has ever since been known as Simpson Pass. He then descended Simpson River, also named in his honour, to its junction with the Vermilion at the spot where we now stand, and from this point his line of travel was practically the same as that taken by the Banff-Windermere road over Sinclair Pass on the local divide to Lake Windermere. According to Simpson, this route through the mountains was one used by the Assiniboines. They and his guide Peechee were the only persons who prior to Simpson's journey had attempted this pass of the mountains. Simpson spent the night of August 2-3, 1841, at the very summit of the Simpson Pass. He says (p. 119, vol. 1):

"We breakfasted on the level isthmus, which did not exceed fourteen paces in width, filling our kettles for this our lonely meal at once from the crystal sources of the Columbia and the Saskatchewan, while these feeders of two opposite oceans, murmuring over their beds of mossy stones as if to bid each other a long farewell, could hardly fail to attune our minds to the sublimity of the scene. But, between these kindred fountains, the common progeny of the same snow wreaths, there was this remarkable difference of temperature, that the source of the Columbia showed 40°, while that of the Saskatchewan raised the mercury to 53½°, the thermometer meanwhile standing as high as 71° in the shade."

Sir George estimated the height of the pass at between 7,000 and 8,000 feet. It is in reality 6,914—not a bad guess. But in grandeur he thought it inferior to the Athabaska, owing to the absence of glaciers and the presence of that unique lake—the Committee's Punchbowl. It had a redeeming feature to a Scotsman: he found a plant that much resembled his native heather. He noted the difference in the climate and the trees after he had crossed the pass. He complains of lack of game; a hedgehog was the only fresh food to compensate for crossing the Simpson River twenty-three times in one morning, though they saw tracks of many animals, yet, the noise of the cavalcade scared them beyond reach.

And here I leave the subject. I have tried to show the high lights in the life of this remarkable man, but it is no part of my intention to attempt a biography. I have merely striven to indicate some of the reasons which justify—which require—the memorial which to-day we officially unveil to the world to a man who in doing his duty to his Company did a noble work for this Canada of ours.

I cannot, however, close without expressing the particular gratification of our Board that we have with us to-day and taking part

in the ceremonies, Mr. Charles V. Sale, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who amidst the activities of a busy life has found time to step aside for a moment from the responsibilities of his position to join with us to-day in doing honour to a man who for forty years was the Governor of the Company's territories in America. We appreciate greatly his presence as representing the oldest existing chartered company in the Empire; but we appreciate it still more as an outward and visible sign of his deep personal interest in all that relates to the history of this western land with which is so intimately connected the great Company over which he presides. To those who are specially interested in the history of this fair Dominion, the work which Governor Sale is doing—witness the wonderful pageant at Stuart Lake last Monday depicting the entry of Sir George Simpson into Fort St. James during his journey of 1828—is most gratifying and enheartening, and from it they feel that there will come a broader and more intelligent understanding of this intensely attractive subject. Governor Sale: In the name of our Board, the Department of the Interior, and this large audience, we thank you.

I desire also to thank His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor of this province, Mr. R. Randolph Bruce, for his kindness in being here to-day and in speaking to us on the history of our province. It is only another proof of the deep interest which he has always taken in that subject, out of office and in office.

To Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, our thanks are also due. We appreciate greatly his attendance to-day, not only personally but as representing the people of the neighbouring states. Sir George Simpson and his work form a part of their history as they do of our own.

And lastly, I thank Mr. Wardle and his officers for the careful arrangements which they made for this event and which have enabled it to be carried through in such a pleasant manner. And I thank you all for your attendance at this somewhat remote spot—well realizing that you have all made some personal sacrifice to be here to assist us in doing honour to the name of Sir George Simpson.

MR. Howard Sibbald, Superintendent of the Kootenay Park, performed the duties of chairman during the unveiling ceremonies.

Mr. J. M. Wardle, Chief Engineer of the Parks Engineering Service, was responsible for the arrangements.

Telegram received from the Hon. Charles Stewart, Minister, Department of the Interior, to His Honour Judge F. W. Howay:

"Kindly convey to Governor Sale the Department's appreciation for his kind co-operation in arranging to be present at the unveiling of memorial to perpetuate the memory of Sir George Simpson and his services in connection with the development of Western Canada."

THE CHINOOK WIND

By

T. C. ELLIOTT

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THE CHINOOK WIND[1]

By T. C. Elliott

The name Chinook is of wide recognition, almost world-wide. A returned missionary has told of the use of royal chinook salmon (canned) as a luxury on his table in the interior of India, and London tea rooms serve the same delicacy. The distinction of royalty (on the label) comes from the descriptions of King Comcomly of the Chinook tribe by Washington Irving and other writers of the Astor enterprise on the Columbia River, and thus the name has a vogue in literature. Then there is the Chinook jargon, the accepted trade language of the Pacific northwest during its early commerce. The Indian tribe named Chinook occupied the north side of the Columbia at its mouth when navigators and traders first arrived on the coast, but the Chinookan linguistic family embraced a number of tribes on both banks of the river as far inland as The Dalles. Now the name may be carried on the wings of the wind to the farthermost part of the earth. This brief discussion concerns the name of the wind, not the wind itself.

Winter season in the Walla Walla Valley, where the writer has resided some 45 years, is often accompanied by a remarkable climatic phenomenon. The ridges of the Blue Mountains, 10 or more miles east of the city and rising 2000 and 3000 feet above the level of the valley, are sometimes denuded of their snow blanket overnight, while fields, highways and byways of the valley retain that covering. Then again the valley snow disappears sooner than that on the mountains; or, both are affected at the same time. This actually happens more often at night than during daylight. The brisk warm wind that brings it about was first described as a high or low "chinook," blowing inland through the gorge of the Columbia River from the Willamette and the coast and the warming in-

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[1]Paper read before the American Meteorological Association at meeting of Pacific Coast Branch of American Association for Advancement of Science, at Pullman, Washington, June 16, 1932.

fluence of the Japanese current.[2] The absurdity of this explanation, though given seriously and still a rather common belief, was soon understood, but the question of when and how the name came into use has long been unanswered. The story, as far as it can be written, is not without interest.

It may be stated by way of definition, in the language of a layman, that the Chinook wind, so-called, is known to meteorologists as the foehn wind, is a winter wind common only to regions to the leaward of a mountain range, blows in the Walla Walla Valley from the southward, is a sudden transition of air from a high to a low barometric area, and its warmth and dryness are caused by the compression which is a resultant part of descending air movement. Otherwise stated an atmospheric vacuum near the earth to the north must suddenly be filled by a rush of air from a high level at the south. In the Walla Walla Valley it is often preceded by a distinctly bluish haze on the foothills, from which the Blue Mountains probably took the name.

Naturally enough, initial inquiry seeks the mouth of the Columbia River where the Chinook tribe resided and where their name is still geographically preserved. Weather bureau stations have been maintained there for many years and the writer has had intimate personal contacts with the locality both in summer and winter over a period of 30 years. We find that no warm dry wind from the south, southeast or southwest, prevails there. On the contrary, in summer a wind blows from the northwest over the land of the Chinooks toward Astoria, and the Willamette Valley; cool, not warm. This wind has been graphically cited by the late Harvey W. Scott, pioneer editor of the *Oregonian* at Portland for nearly 50 years, in an editorial on January 31, 1909, as follows:

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[2]It is scientifically stated that the Japan current flows southward at distance of more than 100 miles from the Washington-Oregon coast, is less than one mile in width, carries a temperature only two degrees warmer than the adjoining ocean, becomes indistinguishable off the California coast, and exerts practically no influence on the climate of the Pacific coast; see B. S. Pague, *Mild Temperature of the Pacific Northwest and the Influence of the Kuro Siwo*, published by the weather bureau of Portland, and other similar discussions.

THE CHINOOK WIND

In the present acceptation, a Chinook is the equatorial trade wind that blows during the winter months from the southwest, and, laden with moisture, strikes the Pacific coast from the northern boundary of California to the Alaskan archipelago. It is now the local name for the soft, balmy south wind. But it is a misnomer. In early days in Oregon, and even as late as the early 1870s, our summer wind from the northwest was called a Chinook, so named because it blew into the Willamette Valley from the coast region inhabited by the Chinook Indians north of the entrance of the Columbia. Among the pioneers and their descendants, a Chinook wind was a "clearing-up" wind. Now it signifies precisely the opposite, i.e., a wind from the south followed by rain.

Within the past 25 years the word has been grafted into the speech and the written language of vast territory east of the Cascade Mountains, and circulates freely throughout Wyoming. It has been carried into western Nebraska. In recent years it has crept into Boston newspapers, with local application. Any soft, balmy wind that springs up in winter is called a Chinook. Thus we see, in an age of high civilization and universal knowledge, the vicissitudes of written words. Within 30 years the word Chinook has been turned "end for end."

Mr. Scott penned this editorial out of the abundance of his knowledge and experience. He was familiar with the climate and with certain previous contributions to the *Oregonian* on the subject in 1890 (by P. W. Gillette and A. B. McKean) and with the explanation (impossible as far as the region east of the Cascade Range is concerned) by Silas B. Smith, a well known resident of Clatsop County, Oregon, in 1899, printed in *Proceedings* of the Oregon Historical Society, 1899. It is not necessary to repeat those utterances here, as Mr. Scott has clearly summarized and adjudicated the case. He described the term as a primitive one of the Oregon pioneers. He was writing in particular of the influence of such a wind in the Willamette Valley.[3] In that connection it may be remarked that there seems to be an absence of mention of any Chinook wind by the press of Astoria, Portland and Salem later than 1870, and in the literature of the missionary and fur trade periods.

We now turn to a region quite distant and distinct from the habitat of the Chinookan family and not mentioned by Mr.

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[3]At the present time in the Chehalis-Tacoma region the name is applied to a wind from the south and southwest when it blows in late winter and early spring at time of the winter break-up. On Whidbey Island, north of Seattle, a similar wind is recognized and so named.

Scott in his extensive field of survey. The following data comes from a man well known in meteorological circles, C. F. Tallman, librarian at the headquarters of the United States weather bureau, Washington, D. C., in a communication to the writer under date August 31, 1931, as follows: "The earliest example of the term Chinook applied to a wind, with which I am acquainted, is found in a paper by G. M. Dawson, published in the *Report of Progress,* 1879-80, of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada (Montreal, 1881) page 76 B. He is speaking of the warm dry winds of the Peace River region, which he correctly identifies as foehns, and says that 'further south these southwesterly winds are known as Chinook winds.' "

G. M. Dawson was an engineer of high standing in Canada, personally connected with the geological surveys of the Rocky Mountain region. His observations would have covered the country now embraced within Alberta and Montana, and antedated the building of the transcontinental railways, when merchandise and foodstuffs were freighted in large quantities from Fort Benton on the Missouri River north into Alberta. Within our own country Montana may be cited as the real home of the Chinook or foehn wind. In Montana the weather bureau at Havre is quoted as being the most freakish station in the service. The town of Chinook near Havre was so named by a man connected with the construction of the Great Northern Railway because of the prevalence of this wind there. Montana has been pointed at by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the Arctic sojourner, as the country where one needs to wear heavier underwear than within the Arctic circle. There are many remarkable records of the influence of this wind (which blows from the west and southwest) in that region. One in particular reports a change in temperature of more than 40 degrees in January within a period of 20 minutes. Warm winds in winter are now and then hailed as Chinooks even as far east as Minneapolis.

When was the name first used in that region east of the Rocky Mountains? Trading posts of the American fur trading companies existed many years along the Missouri, Fort Union and others; also United States military posts. It is possible that literature of that period of our history may yet reveal some data.

General Isaac I. Stevens, the first governor of Washington Territory, was commissioned in 1853, when coming west to assume office, to make a preliminary reconnoissance for a northern route for a railroad to the coast. He left parties of surveyors in Montana for the winter of 1853-54, but as yet examination of their reports shows no mention of the name, although one of those reports does give a very clear description of the wind. Mining first drew population to Montana in any numbers, beginning with 1862-63. There was considerable movement into the territory then, and merchandise and supplies were "packed" from Columbia River points. A number of well known and successful business men from the Walla Walla country moved into and obtained their commercial start in Montana during those years. The inference is more than plausible that the name Chinook was imported at that time.

White settlement there began in 1859-60, immediately after the Indian wars, and the movement was from the Willamette. It was accelerated greatly by the discovery of gold in the Idaho mountains in 1860. The first newspaper published east of the Cascades was the *Mountaineer*, at The Dalles, of which no file is now available. This was soon followed by the *Washington Statesman* at Walla Walla, Rees and Northrup, editors, in November, 1861. These editors came from Portland. The weather furnished a natural item of news and under date of December 10, 1861, A. B. Roberts, who homesteaded part of the land upon which the city stands, presented his ideas for the edification of the public, and his letter will be of special interest to meteorologists. It reads, in part, as follows:

> You will then naturally expect long, cold, dry winters, and why don't we have them? To understand this properly we must be made acquainted with the location and quality of the land on this side [of the Cascades]. The Blue Mountains, branching off from the Cascades, or rather taking rise near the Cascades, nearly opposite the Klamath Lake country, run northeast, or nearly so, to Snake River near the mouth of Clearwater. Nearly all the country north and west of this range, between it and the Cascades, and north to the Simcoe Mountains, is low and sandy, covered in the most part with grass. But, what say you, has this to do with the warmth of this climate? It has a great deal to do with it; for you must remember that it is over this plain that we have our prevailing winds; and I will here remark that we always have warm weather when the wind blows. This vast plain of sandy soil and sand

deserts is kept warm by the almost continual presence of the sun, and the short duration of cloudy weather is not sufficient to allow the earth to become entirely chilled, and consequently when we have a breeze from over these plains it is warm and melts everything before it. Such a wind would melt by warmth, not by force, two feet of snow on the tops of the Blue Mountains in 24 hours. Now it is a universal thing here when the snow goes off by wind, which is usually the case, that on the Blue Mountains, from the height of 1500 or 2000 feet upwards, the snow, although much deeper, always disappears first, and leaves the hill looking brown and grassy, while the valley is yet white with snow; and it is frequently two or three days before the wind reaches the valley with its warming influences. This phenomenon is very common and contrary to the rule anywhere I ever heard from before, and can only be accounted for on the grounds above given. A. B. R.

This letter was printed in the issue of December 20, 1861, and it happened that just then began one of the most severe and destructive periods of winter weather the Walla Walla Valley has ever experienced. The loss of cattle, which was then the principal wealth of the valley, was terrible. This condition of affairs brought to the editors of the *Statesman* another letter from a subscriber living on Dry Creek, not far from the city, who took issue with Mr. Roberts. After reporting about three-fourths of his cattle already dead he said: "Besides, the idea of the Chinook wind being warmed by passing over the sands between here and The Dalles—the said sands being at the same time covered with snow—is worse than— . . . Now let me give you my theory. Everybody knows that until this winter, except the winter of 1856, that while it was wet in the Wallamet it was dry here; consequently the dry rarified air rising formed a vacuum, and the damp atmosphere from the Wallamet rushed over here to fill the vacuum, and its dampness melted off whatever snow it found here. Now I've been on the frontiers 40 years, and lived with Indians, and they always say 'white man brings climate with him.' Now that this climate changed temporarily in 1856 by the Willameters coming up here to fight the Indians; coming from their moist climate and stopping here they produced a temporary equilibrium; consequently *that* hard winter; now they are so thick here a permanent equilibrium is produced. So good bye Chinook; there is no more vacuum for you to rush in and fill."

The date of publication of this letter was February 8, 1862.

Its writer used an assumed name and style and may not have been as old as he pretended to be. At this late day we cannot establish his identity, but he advanced the theory of atmospheric vacuum long before any trained meteorologist in Walla Walla or Portland explained whence and how the Chinook wind blows.

The leading editorial in the *Washington Statesman* of December 20, 1862, reads as follows:

> The Chinook wind, the cause of which our readers will remember was explained last winter by a scientific correspondent and which failed to visit us from December till March by reason of the sand in the great basin of the Columbia becoming so deeply covered with snow that it couldn't attract, seems determined that a like interference with its annual "airs" shall not occur again. During the week it has been acting well its wonted part, causing the snow which fell to skidaddle and whistling a "grand anthem" among the eaves of the houses, making the loose shingles and signboards beat time to its tune, and playing all the pranks in the way of invading the sanctity of indoors that Jack Frost did the "night before Christmas." Verily the Chinook wind is a great institution. Today the ground is covered with snow; tonight it comes and blows it off, leaving the ground covered with mud and water, and tomorrow it comes again and dries that up.

This brings us to the conclusions of this whole matter, to date. The term Chinook was used by the Oregon pioneers in the Willamette during the years prior to 1870; perhaps the invention of some fertile mind but more likely picked up from the Indians or from some fur trader at Fort Vancouver. It was brought to the Walla Walla country by these same pioneers or their descendants and in turn carried across the Rocky Mountains during the first movement of settlers into Montana. West of the Cascade Range it meant a cool wind of summer, but east of that range, and of the Rockies, a warm wind of winter. In both localities it meant a "clearing-up" wind. Scientifically, the Chinook is no longer recognized in the region of its conception, but has a distinct place in the meteorological reports of many weather bureau stations in the great inland empire and east of the Rocky Mountains.

SPOKANE HOUSE

By

T. C. ELLIOTT

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SPOKANE HOUSE

Spokane, as the commercial center of a considerable area of the Inland Empire of Washington and northern Idaho, is the logical successor of what was known in fur-trading days (more than one hundred years ago) as Spokane House, which then was a trade-center for eastern Washington, northern Idaho and western Montana.

Spokane House had its beginning in the extension of the fur-trade. Barter for furs was the first item of commerce in many parts of North America. Detroit and St. Louis, Winnipeg and Edmonton were founded on that barter. The Hudson's Bay Company, chartered in 1670 is the oldest commercial organization in America today. Between 1780 and 1820 its most active rival was the North West Company, owned and controlled in Montreal and London, with field-headquarters at Fort William on Lake Superior. This North West Company built a famous trading post on the headquarters of the North Saskatchewan in Canada, and in 1807 sent traders thence across the continental divide to the Columbia River near its source. Soon these traders pushed southward into the valleys of the Kootenai, Pend 'Oreille and Flathead Rivers and next into the Spokane valley. So in July, 1810, to the Indians of the Spokane country came the opportunity to purchase at home tobacco, calico, beads, powder and ball and the like, brought from Fort William 2000 miles away. This happened during the year preceding the building of famous Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia. Then began commercial Spokane of today.

Spokane House stood on the level flat between the Spokane and the Little Spokane, near their junction. This, the most historic spot in the Spokane valley, is reached by an easy and beautiful drive over Northwest Boulevard and along the bank of the Spokane, a little distance beyond Nine-Mile Bridge. Here, according to tradition, the Spokane and other Indians used to gather in great numbers to catch and dry salmon-trout and, of course, to gossip and gamble. Hence it was a proper place for a trading-post, and here the first white men ever in the Spokane valley foregathered.

The men who had a part in building Spokane House were unique in personality and achievement. Chief in authority was David Thompson, a *bourgeois* (partner) in the North West Company, whose name is now acclaimed as one of the greatest land-geographers the British race has ever produced. He discovered the source of the Columbia and had charge of the first business ever transacted by white men in this Inland Empire. In the spring of 1810, when starting on his annual trip to Fort William, he ordered a supply of trading-goods to be brought to this site, and building commenced. The men who received the instructions were Jacques Raphael Finlay and Finnan MacDonald, who had been assisting him in trade with the Flathead (Saleesh) and the Pend 'Oreille (Kullyspel) Indians. Finlay was familiarly known as Jaco of Joco rather than by his more artistic name and carried a considerable amount of Indian blood in his veins. MacDonald was born and bred in Scotland, a man of remarkable courage and physical strength, and both had native wives. These two men were first here, and building had begun when Thompson himself arrived, set his instruments and established the latitude and longitude of the site scientifically and accurately. Thus (1810-1811) began Spokane House.

Thompson had now done his work of exploration and surveying and establishing contact with the natives and the winter of 1812 brought another partner of the North West Company to Spokane House as chief executive. His very name, John George McTavish, suggests vigor and shrewdness. To him had been assigned the difficult task of elbowing out or buying out the new contestants for the field just establishing themselves at Astoria. Their old rivals, the Hudson's Bay Company, remained east of the Rockies but John Jacob Astor's new Pacific Fur Company had come into the country by way of the mouth of the Columbia. That contest belongs to another story. It was planned at Spokane House, and MacTavish was successful, but not until a rival trading-post flying the American flag had been built about an eighth of a mile away on this historic flat and maintained for a year and a half. (It was the custom in the fur-trade to build trading-posts alongside each other.) The goods bartered at that trading-post called Fort Spokane had been shipped by John Jacob Astor from New York in the ship *Beaver* to Astoria and represented American capital. The importance of this event lies in its influencing British statesmen toward placing their extreme claims for the boundary-line between the United States and Canada at the line of the Kootenai and Columbia Rivers. Partly be-

cause of Spokane House and Fort Spokane the Spokane country was never in danger of becoming a part of Canada.

After MacTavish there appeared at Spokane House a galaxy of men prominent in the history of the establishment and of the Columbia River; McMillan, Ross, Kittson, Ross Cox, Birney, Peter Skene Ogden, John Work (and others) and always the ubiquitous Finnan MacDonald. More prominent than any was Donald MacKenzie, Astorian and Northwester, who managed the business in the interior field for many years.

MacKenzie is not yet properly recognized in our history. He is described as physically a large man weighing more than 250 pounds but very active, a sure shot with the rifle, and remarkably able to deal with the natives. It was he who first recognized and developed the rich trade for furs in the Snake country i.e. southern Idaho.

One of these has left a brief account of the establishment and its location as follows: "Spokane House was a retired spot; no hostile natives were there to disquiet a great man. There the *Bourgeois* who presided over the company's affairs resided, and that made Spokane House the center of attraction. There all the wintering parties, with the exception of the northern district, met. There they were all fited out; it was the great starting-point; although six weeks' travel out of the direct line of some and more or less inconvenient to all. But that was nothing; these trifles never troubled the great man.

"At Spokane House too there were handsome buildings: there was a ball-room even; and no females in the land so fair to look upon as the nymphs of Spokane; no damsels could dance so gracefully as they; none were so attractive. But Spokane House was not celebrated for fine women only; there were fine horses also. The race-ground was admired, and the pleasures of the chase often yielded to the pleasures of the race. Altogether, Spokane House was a delightful place, and time had confirmed its celebrity."

The system in vogue was as follows: Merchandise was brought annually from London by ship into the mouth of the Columbia, usually arriving in June or July. There it was transferred to large canoes or *batteaux* for carriage up-river, against current and over portages, about six hundred miles, to the mouth of Spokane River, and thence on pack-animals to Spokane House. The wintering traders and free hunters then made up their assortments and departed to the Kootenai, Flathead and Snake-river districts, to be gone all winter and return with furs they had gathered in trade and by trap-

ping the streams. Accounts were then balanced and the furs sent to the mouth of the Columbia for transport to the China market by the returning ship. (After the Hudson's Bay Company took over the business the furs were shipped to London instead of to China.)

The picture painted by Alexander Ross (quoted above) must not be taken too literally. He was really emphasizing the inaccessibility and inconvenience of the location of Spokane House, which had been the view of Donald MacKenzie. In 1821 the rival companies in Canada, after disastrous competition, came together in what we should now call a merger under the name of the older company, and in 1824 Spokane House was inspected by two distinguished men, Governor (afterward Sir) George Simpson and Chief Factor Dr. John McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose names are both written large in the history of the Pacific Northwest. They immediately decided that the location was impracticable, being sixty miles off the line of travel and transportation then by water up and down the Columbia. So in the spring of 1825 Governor Simpson personally selected a site for a new trading-post just above Kettle Falls on the Columbia to be known as Fort Colville. Building was begun there, and in the spring of 1826 all property and merchandise had been moved to the new establishment. Thus ended Spokane House.

As a designation, Spokane House signified the usual complement of buildings necessary for a frontier trading-post. These were surrounded by a stockade with bastions at one or two corners, construction being of logs. At trading-posts among the roving tribes of the prairies east of the Rocky Mountains these stockades were very strongly built and guarded, but among the more quiet and peaceful Indians of the Flathead, Kootenai and Spokane countries they served more as a warning and to prevent petty thieving than to protect against hostile attack. The North West Company used the name House in distinction from that of Fort, more common to the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company.

No sketch or picture of Spokane House is known to exist, but the general plan and dimensions of such trading-posts are known. Entrance was by gates at front and rear, the front gate evidently having been toward the rushing current of the Spokane close by. All that remained to mark the exact site to the present generation were the cellar-holes of some of the buildings, but as late as 1835 one of the bastions excited the interest of Samuel Parker, who camped here while on his way to Fort Colville and made note of

it in his journal. Jaco Finlay and his numerous family evidently were allowed to use the place as a home after its abandonment. David Douglas, the famous English bontanist, visited him in the spring and summer of 1826 and found the family subsisting upon a vegetable diet of camass and moss cakes, cooked *a la Indiene.* A burying-ground not far away among the trees is mentioned by Douglas. According to tradition Finlay died in 1828 and presumably was buried there.

The trails from all directions converged at this spot. Governor Stevens, when first arriving in the Territory of Washington in 1853, used one of these in traveling from Antoine Plante's to Camp Washington on the Colville-Walla Walla road, where he conferred with Lieutenant George B. McClellan. The trail leading to the ford below the falls at Spokane did not follow the road as it now runs via Northwest Boulevard, but went across "Five-Mile Prairie," and according to tradition the race course mentioned by Ross was on that prairie.

Life at Spokane House was secluded and monotonous. As it was headquarters, all the bookkeeping was done here with care and accuracy and goods and furs passing in and out listed by competent clerks, to whom the English E. & O.E. doubtless was well known. But there also were rest and recreation and conviviality. Forest and stream abounded in game and fish, the garden furnished vegetables in season and for winter, and the packs from Fort William and Fort George (Astoria) brought the officers flour, sugar, tea and some of that which cheers as well as exhilarates. There were books to read, and the express twice a year brought letters from friends and relatives elsewhere. The traders returning from the field told tales of hardship, adventure and life-escapes. The hunters and servants were volatile and happy, and the officers were men of intelligence and good family-connections at home. There were no white women at the post. Limitations of this brief narrative permit only mention of these activities and personnel.

History and romance linger around this quiet and sheltered spot where the commerce and culture of Spokane had beginnings more than one hundred years ago; the most historic spot in the Spokane valley.

T. C. Elliott.

From Oregon Hist. Qly
vol XXXVI, p. 1 f.

RICHARD
("CAPTAIN JOHNNY")
GRANT

By T. C. ELLIOTT

THE OLDER section of beautiful Mountain View cemetery at Walla Walla, Washington, contains a grave and small headstone bearing the name Richard Grant. The grave having hitherto been unmarked, the stone was erected without ceremony some years ago (about 1923) by the Oregon Historical Society. The date of death has since been established as June 21, 1862,[1] when Walla Walla was young as a city and burials were being made in the block now facing Birch and Fourth streets in the said city. The body was later moved to the new city cemetery by Charles Frush, prominent in Walla Walla in early days, at the request of the late Christopher Higgins, of Missoula, Montana, who had married Julia, one of the daughters of Grant. Death occurred in a lodge or tepee on the banks of Mill Creek. A daughter named Helena, aged about 16 years, died at the same time and was laid beside her father. Burial was probably conducted by the priest then in charge of the Catholic church at Walla Walla. Grant at the time was returning home from The Dalles, where he had purchased a year's supplies for his family and cattle ranch, located on what is known yet as Grant Creek, a few miles northwest of present day Missoula, which did not then exist. Many of the preceding facts, which are not generally known, were related to the writer by Charles Frush, himself, and by the late Mrs. William Sinclair, of Victoria, British Columbia, stepdaughter of Grant, who also was present at the time of his death.

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[1] *Washington Statesman*, June 28, 1862, contained the following notice: "Died—Grant. Near this city on the 21st instant Richard Grant, formerly of the Hudson's Bay Company, aged 68 years and 5 months."

Richard Grant's burial at Walla Walla seems an item of small importance, *per se,* but it has historic relevancy. Walla Walla, the pioneer city of eastern Washington and Oregon, had its beginning in 1859. Settlement was by the pioneers and sons of pioneers who had traveled the Oregon trail in their trek across the plains and mountains to the Willamette Valley. The most important supply point on that journey was Fort Hall, a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, located on Snake River, about 15 miles northwest of the present city of Pocatello, Idaho. The officer in charge there during the years 1842-51, inclusive, was none other than Chief Trader Richard Grant, the subject of this brief sketch. Journals and later writings of travelers and emigrants passing Fort Hall mention experiences there and contacts with "Captain Grant," as he was incorrectly but commonly designated by many. Of more interest are Grant's extended career in the fur trade, his forebears and his family relationships. These have been assembled by the husband of his great-granddaughter,[2] with a view to future publication. So this humble grave may become a spot of more than mere passing inquiry to residents and visitors in Walla Walla.

The fur trade in North America attracted men of distinctive ability and high family connections to its management. In this Columbia district were, among others, Dr. John McLoughlin and Peter Skene Ogden, men of real culture, willing to endure the isolation, hardships and associations of the life. To this class, though not so high in rank, belongs the subject of this sketch.

Richard Grant was, according to baptismal record, born at Montreal, Canada, January 20, 1794, son of William and Marguerite Grant, the former of Scotch and the latter of French descent. Richard's grandfather was a British officer who had taken part in the battle on the Plains of Abraham, before Quebec in 1759. His two uncles on the father's side were prominently connected with the fur trade, and it probably was through their influence that he entered the service

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[2]Annie Florence (Grant) Shaw, granddaughter of Stanislas Grant.

of the North West Company in 1815, and in 1821, under the amalgamation, became a clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company. For 20 years he served in the Saskatchewan, Athabasca and Peace River districts, being at Edmonton several years. In 1836 he was advanced to the rank of chief trader and in 1841, transferred to the Columbia district, arrived at Vancouver in September. In 1842 he took charge at Fort Hall, replacing Francis Ermatinger. In 1851 he was granted a furlough by the company, and in 1853, full retirement, ill health (rheumatism) being assigned as the reason.

Grant was married at Montreal in 1821 to Mary Ann Berland; she died there in 1834. Two sons by that marriage, Stanislas Richard and John F., remained in Montreal with their grandmother until her death in 1849, and then joined their father at Fort Hall. Stanislas brought with him a wife of French descent, who is said to have been of remarkable mental and physical ability, and one son, Joseph Richard. Another son, Louis Joseph, was born at Fort Walla Walla in 1851, became a resident of California and married and died there. Stanislas Grant died and was buried at Soda Springs, Idaho, in 1853 or 1854. John F. Grant, the other son, after coming to Fort Hall, married into the Shoshone tribe, went into the livestock business with his father and later moved to Montana. He was well known near Deer Lodge, where he became a prominent rancher. Still another son, James Cuthbert Grant, born to Richard Grant while in the Indian country of Canada, joined the family at Fort Hall, afterward moved to Montana and was killed near Browning in a fight with Blackfeet Indians some years later. He was known in the Bitter Root country as Jim Grant. Many other items of biographical data of more than usual interest concerning the members of the Grant family have been gathered, but they do not come within the scope of this sketch.

We are able to look in on the Grant family at Fort Hall through the eyes and pen of a traveler[3] in 1850, who wrote as follows:

> When I reached the Fort . . . Mr. Grant, the commander, was basking on the shafts of a wagon in front of his portals. His grey head and beard, portly frame and jovial dignity were a

[3]Coke, *Ride over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California*, 218.

> ready-made representation of Falstaff, and would have done justice to that character on the boards of any theatre. . . . A more satisfactory specimen of the "old country" could not be wished for. He shook my hand as if he had known me half a century, and conducted me to the sanctum of his castle. Here we met a family party, consisting of Mrs. Grant, apparently a most serviceable woman, two grown sons and two or three very pretty little daughters. At supper I imagined that my prairie appetite would alarm the domestic circle, for I ate new-laid eggs and drank new milk until I almost astonished even myself; but when the second course appeared, and I was expected to keep pace with my worthy host in demolishing hot rolls and duck-pies, I felt quite ashamed of my own incapacity, and could only applaud with veneration an example I could not imitate. When the repast was over, and we had chatted and smoked to a latish hour, I took my leave, sighing at the remembrance of my hospitable reception, and walked back to my camp.

This picturesque incident opens another chapter in the marital relations of Richard Grant, for the traveler speaks of three beautiful daughters. And there was another, the stepdaughter already mentioned, Jemima Kitson, by name, who later married William Sinclair of the Hudson's Bay Company service and moved to Victoria, British Columbia, spending the remainder of her life there. She once told the writer of her pet beaver as playmate on the bank of Snake River, when a girl at Fort Hall.

It was the custom, born somewhat of necessity, of fur traders and their employes while in the Indian country to acquire wives of full or of part Indian blood, and, to their credit be it said, in very many instances, children born under such alliance were educated and recognized in the property distributions of the fathers.[4] So Grant in his career at the distant trading post of Fort Hall, took unto himself a wife at Fort Vancouver.[5] She was Helene Kitson, widow of William Kitson.[6] Jemima was her daughter. Helene was a second wife of Kitson, who had come to the Columbia as early as 1818 as a Northwester;

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[4]These alliances often resulted in real love and affection, see letter of Peter Skene Ogden to his daughter, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI, 266.

[5]The parish register of Saint James Catholic church, Vancouver, Washington, shows that Richard Grant and Helene McDonald, widow of William Kitson, were married there March 29, 1845, by Father Jean Nobili. The witnesses signing the register were James Douglas, Forbes Barclay and Thomas Lowe. Grant signed the register, but his wife's signature was made by a cross.

[6]Died at Vancouver, Washington, December 25, 1841.

her father was Finan McDonald, associate of David Thompson on the Columbia, and as full-blooded, faithful and ubiquitous a Scotsman as ever carried a rifle in the fur trade in this Pacific northwest; his alliance was with a woman of the Pend Oreille tribe, according to tradition, the daughter of a chief. So there was royal and sturdy blood in the veins of her children both by Kitson and by Grant, and her descendants ought to be proud of it. Her bones lie under an appropriate stone in the cemetery of Saint Ignatius mission, near Ravalli, Montana; she died on August 7, 1863, at the ranch on Grant Creek. The oldest of her daughters by Grant died at Walla Walla, as already mentioned, and the two others became wives in well known families in Montana.

Another intimate look at the Grant family at Fort Hall appears in a narrative[7] of Judge John R. McBride, who was in the immigration of 1846. It is as follows:

> Captain Grant was now in charge, and his man of affairs was one McDonald. Both were Scotchmen and gentlemen. They treated our party with great courtesy, and we visited the post without any restrictions. They furnished us with a written guide for the journey westward, with all the camping places specified; the distance from each to the next, with information as to wood, water, and grass, good and bad roads, which was of exceeding value. Captain Grant had an Indian wife, and two of his children appeared in his office. The older was a daughter of fifteen. She wore the Indian frock of dressed deer skin, but it was scrupulously clean and neat, and she was strikingly beautiful, with her long dark hair falling around her bare neck and shoulders. She had sewing materials at the time in her hands and seemed to be engaged in embroidering some garment made of deer skin. The boy was evidently the pride of the Captain. He was about 10 years old, spoke good English, and took me all over the quarters and was full of fire and energy as live boys are. Johnnie Grant is now, I believe, a citizen of Montana, his father having died long ago.

The girl of 15 was Jemima Kitson; the boy was Jimmy, not Johnny (James Cuthbert Grant, already mentioned). The Scotsman was Angus McDonald, later in charge of Fort Colville and of Fort Connah in the Flathead country.

Richard Grant as chief trader evidently enjoyed the confidence of Governor George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company. In connection with the granting of his furlough there are intimations of a transfer back to a post in western Canada.

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[7]Unpublished ms. from contemporaneous memoranda, in files of Oregon Historical Society.

Advancing years, impaired health and the presence of his grown sons and their families at Fort Hall, seem to have caused a preference for resignation or retirement at the end of the furlough. At any rate, we next find Grant located at Cantonment Loring, four or five miles northeast of Fort Hall, engaged with his sons in trade with the Indians and travelers and in the livestock business. Evidently this arrangement was entirely satisfactory to the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company. Fort Hall was left in charge of Neil McArthur and William Sinclair until abandonment in 1856. Its trading goods were then transferred to Fort Connah in the Flathead country nearer the Canadian border. Cantonment Loring was established in 1849, by Colonel W. W. Loring of the Oregon rifle regiment, and occupied by one or two companies only during one winter season. Its location was much more favorable for water, gardening and the like, and was on the emigrant road before it reached Fort Hall.

Lieutenant John Mullan, one of the United States engineers under Governor Stevens of Washington Territory, visited Cantonment Loring in the fall of 1853, and the following excerpt is copied from his reports:[8]

> At sunset we reached Cantonment Loring, situated in a beautiful prairie plain where the grass is excellent, and with its numerous springs and brooks running through it, it is an excellent pasture of any kind. Arriving at Cantonment Loring, we were most kindly received by Captain Grant, formerly of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Hall, who invited us into his house, and spread before us all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life, and gave us a comfortable bed under his hospitable roof . . . all of which none more than ourselves could appreciate, and thus we passed the night . . . once more in the abodes of civilization. Here Captain Grant is comfortably situated, surrounded by a happy family; with all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life he lives as happily and contentedly as he so well deserves.

Facts not readily available to readers of history of old Oregon relate to the early settlement in Montana west of the continental divide, especially the beautiful valleys of the Bitter Root and Flathead rivers. Trade with the Flathead Indians and stock raising were the attractions and soon the gold rush followed. That settlement began from Salt Lake and Fort

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[8] *Pacific Railroad Reports*, XII, Book I, 170.

Hall. John Owen, who came west with the "Oregon rifles," and who left them at Cantonment Loring, took a wife from among the Bannocks and settled in 1850-51 at Saint Mary's mission, where he built what was known as Fort Owen[9] (now Stevensville). He was selected as one of the first three commissioners of Walla Walla County, Washington Territory, the county for several years (1854-59) including all the country between the Cascade Range and the main range of the Rocky Mountains. Toward that promised land in 1856 Grant turned his wagons or pack trains, but stopped awhile near the source of Jefferson River. Of his journey thither we have the following account taken from journals of Granville Stuart:[10]

> October 24th, 1857. Crossed the high ridge of Blacktail creek. We selected a camping spot in the Beaverhead Valley at the mouth of Blacktail creek. Plenty of game. Here we remained until Christmas. Fifteen miles further down the Beaverhead river at the mouth of Stinkingwater was the camp of Captain Richard Grant, an old Scotch gentleman formerly with the Hudson's Bay Company, with his family, John F. Grant and family, Thomas Pambrun and family, L. R. Maillet, John Jacobs and family, Robert Hereford and family, John W. Powell, John Saunders, Ross, Antoine Pouttier, and several men in the employ of Hereford and the Grants. Captain Grant built a good, three-room log house for his family to live in, but the others occupied Indian lodges made of dressed elk skins. The Herefords and the Grants had considerable quantities of goods to sell and trade to the Indians. . . . On Christmas Day Captain Grant invited Reece Anderson, Ross, James Stuart, Jacob Meek and myself to dine with him. The menu consisted of buffalo meat, boiled smoked tongue, bread, dried fruit, a preserve made from choke-cherries, and coffee. This was an elaborate dinner for those days. Supplies were scarce and hard to get, and most of us were living on meat straight. . . . Just after Christmas we moved from the Beaverhead over on the Big Hole River a short distance below where Brown's bridge now stands, about 30 miles north of what is now Dillon. We lived there some weeks. We four visited Captain Richard Grant's camp. The Captain was getting ready to move camp to Bitter Root Valley by way of Deer Lodge Valley and on down through it and Hell Gate Canyon to the junction of the Hell Gate River and the Bitter Root River.

Grant established residence in what was known as Hell Gate Ronde, which, curiously enough, then was within the boundaries of Walla Walla County, Washington Territory. There he was in the fall of 1860, when Christopher P. Higgins and Frank

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[9]Major John Owen, in his *Journals and Letters*, I, 228, mentions Grant and his family at the Christmas festivities, 1860, at Fort Owen.

[10]Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier*, I, 125-30.

Worden, founders of Missoula, moved their merchandise from Walla Walla and began business at Hell Gate. There Grant wrote and executed his last will and testament prior to his death at Walla Walla. This will was probated in London, England, by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, and his property, consisting of savings with the company, was distributed to the family.

This narrative is not a history of Fort Hall, but it was there that Grant became a figure in Oregon history, and some data as to his career there are necessary as a final chapter in this condensed biographical sketch. Occasion for this is the ridiculous theory advanced by some writers that the Hudson's Bay Company, up to the time of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain in June, 1846, maintained the policy of preventing, or at least, of retarding settlement of the Oregon country by Americans and sent Chief Trader Grant to Fort Hall to enforce such policy. No seriously and intelligently written history in recent years has contained such a direct statement, but there is a sort of inherent delight in the American mind in "twisting the British lion's tail" now and then, and writers of historic fiction[11] and even of some local histories[12] so assert. Thus "Captain Johnny Grant" (they did not even know his correct name) has been represented as playing a part at Fort Hall, and this chapter becomes fit and proper and entertaining perhaps, as illustrating how history "is writ" under certain inspirations.

Before coming to the Columbia district, Grant's field of service had been in the plains country of western Canada, where communication was almost entirely by the waterways, in canoes and batteaux. Crossing Athabasca pass and down the Columbia with the annual express from York Factory in the early fall of 1841 was a new experience for him. Either then, or in the following spring, he outfitted at Fort Walla Walla on the way to Fort Hall. The trail led over the timbered Blue Mountains to Snake River and thence across the dry and dusty sagebrush plains of southern Idaho, a journey of 600 miles at least, and

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[11]For instance, Dye, *McLoughlin and Old Oregon.*

[12]For instance, Brown, *Fort Hall on the Oregon Trail,* 299; Ghent, *Road to Oregon;* Penrose, *Whitman, an Unfinished Story.*

requiring two dangerous crossings of Snake River. He rode a horse, and under his care and responsibility was a pack train carrying the flour, sugar, tobacco and other goods for the Indians and the trappers trading at Fort Hall. These goods had been transported by batteaux 250 miles up the Columbia from Fort Vancouver to Fort Walla Walla. Nearly a month was necessary for the journey. Anyone conversant with the journals of the explorers and fur traders know what can happen to a pack train over night in the way of stolen or strayed horses or damage to the packs by rain or neglect. This also was new experience to him, but it was all in the life.

Grant had scarcely become established at his new station when along came the first organized migration to Oregon—that of 1842—numbering about 130 people. Lansford W. Hastings, a member of that party, in 1845, published *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California,* and on page 20 said:

> Upon arriving at this fort we were received in the kindest manner by Mr. Grant, who was in charge; and we received every aid and attention from the gentlemen of that fort, during our stay in their vicinity. We were informed by Mr. Grant and other gentlemen of the company, that it would be impossible for us to take our wagons down to the Pacific; consequently a meeting of the party was called for the purpose of determining whether we should take them further . . . Mr. Grant purchased a few of our wagons, for a mere trifle, which he paid in such provisions as he could dispose of without injury to himself. He could not, of course, afford to give much for them, as he did not need them, but bought them merely as an accommodation.

Elijah White, well known member of that party, wrote even more favorably.[13] Grant advised honestly according to his best judgment at the time. The party continued to Oregon, using horses and pack animals.

The summer of 1843 brought the first large migration. It comprised between 800 and 1000 men, women and children, with wagons, cattle and other outfit. They were well organized, had been piloted thus far by Captain John Gantt, and Dr. Marcus Whitman acted as guide the remainder of the way. There is abundant evidence of kindly treatment at Fort Hall. Peter H. Burnett, one of the leaders, afterwards governor of California, has left the following record:[14]

> I consulted Mr. Grant as to his opinion of the practicability

[13]White, *Ten Years in Oregon,* 164.

[14]Burnett, in *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* V, 77.

> of taking our wagons through. He replied that, while he would not say it was impossible for us Americans to make the trip in our wagons, he could not himself see how it could be done. He had only traveled the pack trail and certainly no wagons could follow that route, but there might be a practical road found by leaving the trail at certain points.

Another member of that party was James W. Nesmith, then a young man traveling alone on horseback. He afterward became United States senator from Oregon. He kept a brief journal as he traveled, and his comments at Fort Hall were as follows:[15] "Aug. 28, 1843. Here the company has considerable trading with Mr. Grant, manager here for the Hudson's Bay Company. He sells at an exhorbitant price; flour 25 cents a pint,[16] sugar 50; coffee 50; rice 33 1/3. Part of the company went on with pack animals, leaving their wagons."

In 1844 the migration was not as numerous. It included John Minto, who became one of Oregon's most highly respected citizens, and from his story of the journey the following excerpt is taken[17]

> He [a Mr. Cave] then asked whether we could get to the Columbia River with wagons, Grant's reply was in substance: "Mr. Cave, it's no use my answering your question. It's just about a year since a lot of your people came here just as you have done and asked me the same question. I told them No, that we found it very difficult to pass the narrow trails with our pack ponies. They went on just as you will do; just as if I had not spoken a word, and the next I heard of them they were at Fort Walla Walla. You——Yankees will do anything you like."

The migration of 1845, very large in numbers, was provided at the fort with everything needful. Among the emigrants was Joel Palmer, who obtained prominence in Oregon in many positions of trust, a Mason of high degree. Here is what he said of the treatment they had at Fort Hall:[18]

> August 8 [1845] . . . Fort Hall. Captain Grant is now the officer in command; he has the bearing of a gentleman. The garrison was supplied with flour, which had been procured from the settlements in Oregon, and brought here on pack horses. They sold it to the emigrants for $20 per cwt., taking cattle in exchange; and as many of the emigrants were nearly out of

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[15] Nesmith, in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, VII, 349-50.

[16] Flour purchased today (1935) at Vancouver and shipped in less than car-load lots to Pocatello, Idaho, would cost there approximately $7 per cental, about one third of the Hudson's Bay Company price.

[17] Minto, in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, II, 217-18.

[18] *Journal of Travels*, 42.

flour and had a few lame cattle, a brisk trade was carried on between them and the inhabitants of the fort. In the exchange of cattle for flour an allowance was made of from $5 to $12 per head. They also had horses which they readily exchanged for cattle or sold for cash. The price demanded for horses was from $15 to $25. They could not be prevailed upon to receive anything in exchange for their goods or provisions, excepting cattle or money.

Among the several thousands of emigrants who passed Grant's door during those five years there were, of course, some self-important individuals, who liked to talk. The following excerpt from the autobiography of W. H. Rector speaks for itself:[19]

> [1845] I called on Capt Grant who was then in charge of the place for the purpose of geting som information in relation to the caractor of the country through which we had yet to pass. I found Capt Grant a very clever and obligeing gentleman from whom I got some valuable information. he spoke of the rude behavour of one of our felow travelers that called on him but it seemed to amuse him rather thern ofend. I will give it as he related it to me. he first asked if I was a british subject and if I was not aware that this property belonged to the united states that would soon have to leave the premises Will you be kind enough to let me know who you are. I am a freeborn son of america the land of liberty, at the same time he took a seat on my bed still talking in the same strain soon he layed down on the bed with his dirty boots on. I walked up to him and asked him if this was the liberty that you speak of, to get on a mans bed boots and all with that he left but not without thretening me with a speedy removal.

The evidence here recited, including that of Judge McBride, of the 1846 immigration, is that of men of sound judgment and known ability and character. It quite clearly shows what actually happened at Fort Hall between the emigrants and the Hudson's Bay Company.[20] It is true of course that among so many travelers during those years some others imagined themselves ill-treated and overcharged, and these have left somewhat different records, but in most of such instances, reasons of weariness, poor health, uncertain memory or prejudice were accountable.[21]

Propaganda in support of opinions in controversy as to who

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[19]Rector, "Autobiography," in Lockley, *History of the Columbia River Valley*, I, 1072.

[20]There was at Fort Hall during some years an influence toward travel to California by emissaries from there, but not by the Hudson's Bay Company.

[21]For instance, Nesmith in 1875, in failing health, expressed somewhat different views, see *Oregon Pioneer Transactions*, 1875, 47.

was most influential in the acquisition of Oregon by the United States was also responsible. Out of this came the derisive designation "Captain Johnny Grant," which, it will be noted, was not used by any of the pioneers already quoted. Just who first uttered that name the writer has not taken the trouble to trace, but his present suspicion is that its author was an elderly, kindly, literary journalist of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* who, in 1895, published one of the most inaccurate and misleading books[22] on this subject ever put into print, and sincerely believed every word he put in it.

In the year 1823, George Canning,[23] then foreign secretary in the British cabinet, advised the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company to move their headquarters in the Oregon country from Fort George (Astoria), on the south side of the Columbia, to some location on the north side of that river. In 1824, Governor Simpson journeyed across the continent to put that order personally into effect. Fort Vancouver was built in the winter of 1824-25. From that time the British made no diplomatic claim to any of the Oregon country lying south and east of the Columbia. But under the treaty of joint use or occupancy of 1818, the Hudson's Bay Company had a perfect right to trade and trap for furs in any part of old Oregon, and the business in the Snake country was profitable and was continued until 1846 and later, under their possessory rights, until driven out by the Indian wars of 1855. Any student or teacher of history wanting most authoritative proof of the above statement is referred to the recent book entitled *Fur Trade and Empire* (Macmillan Company, New York) and to the report entitled "Snake Country Expedition, 1824-25," printed in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* June, 1934, both edited by Professor Frederick Merk of Harvard University. Access to this source material directly from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company is very opportune and important to those seeking for truth in history.

The ashes of Richard Grant lie near those of men and women who took part in the migrations to Oregon, a fitting resting place. This brief sketch will serve to perpetuate his memory.

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[22]Nixon, *How Whitman Saved Oregon.*

[23]See *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* XIX, 277.

Captain Cook's Approach to Oregon.

by T. C. Elliott

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CAPTAIN COOK'S APPROACH TO OREGON

Nineteen hundred and twenty-eight is commemorative in Oregon history. Friendly greeting from Oregon was sent across the water to the Hawaiian Islands during the sesqui-centennial celebration there (August 15th-19th) in honor of Captain James Cook, acclaimed as the discoverer of those islands. It cannot be said that Captain Cook discovered Oregon. Sir Francis Drake many years earlier had affixed here the name New Albion, and Spanish navigators had passed by, affixed other names, and perhaps had landed. But the contact of these earlier navigators remains somewhat obscure.

It can be said that Captain Cook first established the permanent connection between Oregon and the commercial world, and to a large extent the scientific world. After the return to Europe of his expedition people knew with scientific accuracy where the coast of Oregon was on the geographic map, and where a safe harbor (Nootka) from which it could be explored. Entrance of the Columbia river and the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and trade along the Oregon coast followed in a few years.

The story of Captain Cook's approach to the coast of Oregon is available at many public and private libraries on a few pages of an extensive scientific narrative. It seems fitting that some small recognition of his place in Oregon history be made by reproducing those few pages in this official publication of the state of Oregon. The story is not exciting, but it reveals the responsibilities and vicissitudes of early navigation along the coast, and the natural and necessary caution when sailing into uncharted waters, and many scientific facts.

Cook's journal shows that he first sighted land a little south of Yaquina Bay on the morning of March 7th, 1778. The weather was, and continued to be, unpleasant, and he could not anchor or heave to safely near the coast. When off Cape Arago on the 11th of March his ships were driven out to sea by storms and his next landfall was above latitude 47 on the coast of Washington. His examination of Oregon then was limited to five days during not very clear weather,

over a range of about one hundred and fifty miles of the coast line but was never nearer than three leagues, or about ten miles, to the shore. During that time he fixed two permanent names, Cape Foulweather and Cape Perpetua, and a third not so permanent, Cape Gregory now Cape Arago. He also recognized the Cape Blanco of d'Aguilar and negatived the presence of any large bay or river north of that cape where the d'Aguilar chart placed one.

Captain Cook was one of England's maritime heroes. The occasion for his voyage to the northwest coast of America was the mooted existence of a northwest passage from the Atlantic. Though he actually missed seeing the Strait of Juan de Fuca he asserted that no such passage was here. His career and the story of his tragic death on one of the Hawaiian Islands are well worth the attention of the growing generation in Oregon.

The foot notes designated by stars are a part of the original text of the journal, which has been copied from Vol. 2 of the second edition of *Cooks Voyage to the Pacific Ocean,* London, 1785.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN

By JAMES COOK

1778
FEBRUARY
THURSDAY 19

On the 19th, being now in the lattitude of 37 degrees North, and in the longitude of 206 degrees East, the wind veered to South East; and I was enabled again to steer to the East, inclining to the North. We had on the 25th, reached the lattitude of 42°30′, and the longitude of 219°; and then we began to meet with the rock-weed, mentioned by the writer of Lord Anson's voyage, under the name of sea-leek, which the Manilla ships generally fall in with. Now and then, a piece of wood also appeared. But, if we had not known, that the continent of North America was not far distant, we might, from the few signs of the vicinity of land hitherto met with, have concluded, that there was

none within some thousand leagues of us. We had hardly seen a bird, or any other oceanic animal, since we left the Sandwich Islands.

MARCH SUNDAY 1

On the 1st of March, our latitude being now 44°49′ North, and our longitude 228° East, we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a wind from the North, with which I stood to the East close hauled, in order to make the land. According to the charts, it ought not to have been far from us. It was remarkable, that we should still carry with us such moderate and mild weather, so far to the Northward, and so near the coast of an extensive continent, at this time of the year. The present season either must be uncommon for its mildness, or we can assign no reason, why Sir Francis Drake should have met with such severe cold, about this latitude,[1] in the month of June.* Viscaino, indeed, who was near the same place, in the depth of winter, says little of the cold, and speaks of a ridge of snowy mountains, somewhere on the coast, as a thing rather remarkable.** Our seeing so few birds, in comparison of what we met with in the same latitudes, to the South of the line, is another singular circumstance, which must either proceed from a scarcity of the different sorts, or from a deficiency of places to rest upon. From hence we may conclude, that beyond 40° in the Southern hemisphere, the species are much more numerous, and the isles where they inhabit also more plentifully scattered about, than any where between the coast of California and Japan, in or near that latitude.

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[1]Francis Drake according to one record reached Lat. 43 and according to another reached Lat. 48; possibly a typographical error. This may explain the cold weather he reported.

*See the account of Sir Francis's voyage, in Campbell's edition of *Harris*, Vol. I, p. 18, and other Collections.

**See Torquemada's Narrative of Viscaino's Expedition, iin 1602 and 1603, in the second volume of Vanegas's *History of California*, English translation, from p. 229 to p. 308.

MONDAY 2. During a calm, on the morning of the 2d, some parts of the sea seemed covered with a kind of slime; and some small sea animals were swimming about. The most conspicuous of which, were of the gelatinous, or *medusa* kind, almost globular; and another sort smaller, that had a white, or shining appearance, and were very numerous. Some of these last were taken up, and put into a glass cup, with some salt water, in which they appeared like small scales, or bits of silver, when at rest, in a prone situation. When they began to swim about, which they did, with equal ease, upon their back, sides, or belly, they emitted the brightest colours of the most precious gems, according to their position with respect to the light. Sometimes they appeared quite pellucid, at other times assuming various tints of blue, from a pale sapphirine, to a deep violet colour; which were frequently mixed with a ruby, or opaline redness; and glowed with a strength sufficient to illuminate the vessel and water. These colours appeared most vivid, when the glass was held to a strong light; and mostly vanished, on the subsiding of the animals to the bottom, when they had a brownish cast. But, with candle light, the colour was, chiefly, a beautiful, pale green, tinged with a burnished gloss; and, in the dark, it had a faint appearance of glowing fire. They proved to be a new species of *oniscus*, and, from their properties, were, by Mr. Anderson (to whom we owe this account of them), called *oniscus fulgens;* being, probably, an animal which has a share in producing some sorts of that lucid appearance, often observed near ships at sea, in the night. On the same day, two large birds settled on the water, near the ship. One of these was the *procellaria maxima* (the *quebrantabuessos*), and the other, which was little more than half the size, seemed to be of the *albatross* kind. The upper part of the wings, and tip of the tail, were black, with the rest white; the bill yellowish; upon the whole, not unlike the sea-gull, though larger.

On the 6th, at noon, being in the latitude of
FRIDAY 6. 44°10′ North, and the longitude of 234½°
East, we saw two seals, and several whales;
and at day-break, the next morning, the long-looked for
coast of New Albion* was seen, extending from North East
to South East, distant ten or twelve leagues.
(SAT. 7TH) At noon, our latitude, was 44°33′ North,[2] and
our longitude 235°20′ East; and the land ex-
tended from North East half North, to South East by South,
about eight leagues distant. In this situation, we had
seventy-three fathoms water, over a muddy bottom, and
about a league farther off found ninety fathoms. The land
appeared to be of a moderate height, diversified with hills
and vallies, and, almost everywhere, covered with wood.
There was, however, no very striking object on any part of
it, except one hill, whose elevated summit was flat. This bore
East from us, at noon. At the Northern extreme, the land
formed a point, which I called *Cape Foulweather*,[3] from the
very bad weather that we, soon after, met
FRIDAY 6. with. I judge it to lie in the latitude of 44°55′
North, and the longitude of 235°54′ East.

We had variable light airs and calms, till eight o'clock in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at South West. With it, I stood to the North West, under an easy sail, waiting for day-light to range along the coast. But at four,
next morning, the wind shifted to North
SUNDAY 8. West, and blew in squalls, with rain. Our
course was North East, till near ten o'clock,
when finding that I could make no progress on this tack,
and seeing nothing like a harbour, I tacked, and stood off
South West. At this time, Cape Foulweather bore North
East by North, and about eight leagues distant. Toward
noon, the wind veered more to the Westward, and the

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*This part of the West side of North America, was so named by Sir Francis Drake.

[2]At noon when about off mouth of Alsea River. Cook's observations of latitude differ slightly from those taken on land in later years.

[3]See *Coast Pilot* for 1869 for fine description by George Davidson, a high authority on the subject.

weather became fair and clear; so that we were enabled to make lunar observations. Having reduced all those that we had made since the 19th of last month to the present ones, by the time-keeper, amounting, in the whole, to seventy-two sets; their mean result determined the longitude to be 235°15′26″ East, which was 14′11″ less than what the time-keeper gave. This longitude is made use of for settling that of the coast; and I have not a doubt of its being within a very few miles of the truth.

Our difficulties now began to increase. In the evening, the wind came to the North West, blowing in squalls with hail and sleet; and the weather being thick and hazy, I stood out to sea till near noon the next day, when I tacked and stood in again for the land, which made its appearance at two in the afternoon, bearing East North East. The wind and weather continued the same; but in the evening, the former veered more to the West, and the latter grew worse; which made it necessary to tack and stand off till four the next morning, when I ventured to stand in again.

MONDAY 9.

At four in the afternoon, we saw the land, which, at six, extended from North East half East, to South East by South, about eight leagues distant. In this situation, we tacked and sounded; but a line of a hundred and sixty fathoms did not reach the ground. I stood off till mid-night, then stood in again; and, at half past six, we were within three leagues of the land, which extended from North by East, half East, to South, half East; each extreme about seven leagues distant. Seeing no signs of a harbour, and the weather being still unsettled, I tacked and stretched off South West, having then fifty-five fathoms water over a muddy bottom.

TUESDAY 10.

WEDNES. 11.

That part of the land, which we were so near when we tacked, is of a moderate height, though, in some places, it rises higher within. It was diversified with a great many rising grounds and small hills; many of which were entirely covered with tall, straight trees; and others, which were lower, and grew in spots like coppices; but the interspaces,

and sides of many of the rising grounds, were clear. The whole, though it might make an agreeable summer prospect, had now an uncomfortable appearance; as the bare grounds toward the coast were all covered with snow, which seemed to be of a considerable depth between the little hills and rising grounds; and, in several places toward the sea, might easily have been mistaken, at a distance, for white cliffs. The snow on the rising grounds was thinner spread; and farther inland, there was no appearance of any; from whence we might, perhaps, conclude, that what we saw toward the sea, had fallen during the night; which was colder than any we had experienced since our arrival on the coast; and we had sometimes a kind of sleet. The coast seemed every where almost straight, without any opening or inlet; and it appeared to terminate in a kind of white sandy beach; though some on board thought that appearance was owing to the snow. Each extreme of the land that was now before us, seemed to shoot out into a point. The Northern one was the same which we had first seen on the 7th; and on that account, I called it

WEDNES. 11. *Cape Perpetua.*[4] It lies in the latitude of 44°6′ North, and in the longitude of 235°52′ East. The Southern extreme before us, I named *Cape Gregory.** Its latitude is 43°30′[5], and its longitude 235°57′ East. It is a remarkable point; the land of it rising almost directly from the sea, to a tolerable height, while that on each side of it is low.

I continued standing off till one in the afternoon. Then I tacked, and stood in, hoping to have the wind off from the land in the night. But in this I was mistaken; for at five o'clock it began to veer to the West and South West; which obliged me, once more, to stand out to sea. At this time, Cape Perpetua bore North East by North; and the farthest land we could see to the South of Cape Gregory, bore South

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[4]This cape evidently was sighted on the morning of March 7th, 1778, earlier than the naming of Cape Foulweather at noon of that day.

*In our calendar, the 7th of March is distinguished by the name of Perpetua M, and the 12th by that of Gregory B.

[5]Now Cape Arago, Lat. 43°18′15″. See page 52 of *Oregon Geographic Names* by McArthur for this and also for Cape Blanco.

by East, perhaps ten or twelve leagues distant. If I am right in this estimation, its latitude will be 43°10′, and its longitude 235°55′ East, which is nearly the situation of Cape Blanco, discovered or seen by Martin d'Aguilar, on the 19th of January, 1603. It is worth observing, that, in the very latitude where we now were, geographers have been pleased to place a large entrance or strait, the discovery of which they take upon them to ascribe to the same navigator; whereas nothing more is mentioned in the account of his voyage, than his having seen, in this situation, a large river, which he would have entered, but was prevented by the currents.*

The wind, as I have observed, had veered to South West in the evening; but it was very unsettled, and blew in squalls with snow showers. In one of these, at midnight, it shifted at once to West North West, and soon increased to a very hard gale, with heavy squalls, attended with

WEDNES. 11. sleet or snow. There was no choice now; and we were obliged to stretch to the Southward, in order to get clear of the coast. This was done under courses, and two close-reefed topsails; being rather more sail than the ships could safely bear; but it was necessary to carry it to avoid the more pressing danger of being forced on shore. This gale contined until eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th; when it abated, and

FRIDAY 13. I stood in again for the land. We had been forced a considerable way backward; for at the time of our tacking, we were in the latitude of 42°45′, and in the longitude of 233°30′.

The wind continued at West, and North West; storms, moderate weather, and calms, succeeding each other by turns, till the morning of the 21st; when, after a few hours calm, a breeze sprung up at South West. This

SATURDAY 21. bringing with it fair weather, I steered North Easterly, in order to fall in with the land, beyond that part of it where we had already so unprofitably been tossed about for the last fortnight. In the evening,

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*See the *History of California*. Eng. trans. Vol. II, p. 292.

the wind veered to the Westward; and, at eight o'clock, the next morning, we saw the land, extending from North East to East, nine leagues distant. At this time we were in the latitude of 47°5′ North, and in the longitude of 235°10′ East.

SUNDAY 22.

I continued to stand to the North with a fine breeze at West, and West North West, till near seven o'clock in the evening, when I tacked to wait for day-light. At this time, we were in forty-eight fathoms water, and about four leagues from the land, which extended from North to South East half East, and a small round hill, which had the appearance of being an island, bore North three quarters East, distant six or seven leagues, as I guessed; it appears to be of a tolerable height, and was but just to be seen from the deck. Between this island or rock, and the Northern extreme of the land, there appeared to be a small opening, which flattered us with the hopes of finding an harbour. These hopes lessened as we drew nearer; and, at last, we had some reason to think, that the opening was closed by low land. On this account I called the point of land to the North of it *Cape Flattery*. It lies in the latitude of 48°15′[6] North, and in the longitude of 235°3′ East. There is a round hill of moderate height over it; and all the land upon this part of the coast is of a moderate and pretty equal height, well covered with wood, and had a very pleasant and fertile appearance. It is in this very latitude where we now were, that geographers have placed the pretended strait of Juan de Fuca. But we saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed.*

I stood off to the Southward till midnight, when I tacked, and steered to the North West, with a gentle breeze at South West, intending to stand in for the land as soon as

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[6]Capt. Cook was viewing Tatoosh (Tatooche) Island and Cape Flattery from the southward and could not look into the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and did not see that strait at all.

*See Michael Locke's apocryphal account of Juan de Fuca, and his pretended strait in *Purchas*, Vol. III, p. 849-152, and many later Collections.

daylight should appear. But, by that time, we were reduced to two courses and close-reefed top-sails, having a very hard gale, with rain, right on shore; so that, instead of running in for the land, I was glad to get an offing, or to keep that which we had already got. The South West wind was, however, but of short continuance; for, in the evening, it veered again to the West. Thus we had perpetually strong West and North West winds to encounter. Sometimes, in an evening, the wind would become moderate, and veer to the Southward; but this way always a sure prelude to a storm, which blew the hardest at South South East, and was attended with rain and sleet. It seldom lasted above four or six hours, before it was succeeded by another gale from the North West, which, generally, brought with it fair weather. It was, by the means of these Southerly blasts, that we were enabled to get to the North West at all.

MONDAY 23.

At length, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 29th, as we were standing to the North East, we again saw the land, which, at noon, extended from North West by West, to East South East, the nearest part about six leagues distant. Our latitude was now 49°29′ North, and our longitude 232°29′ East. The appearance of the country differed much from that of the parts which we had before seen; being full of high mountains, whose summits were covered with snow. But the valleys between them, and the grounds on the sea coast, high as well as low, were covered to a considerable breadth with high straight trees, that formed a beautiful prospect, as of one vast forest. The South East extreme of the land formed a low point, off which are many breakers, occasioned by sunken rocks. On this account it was called *Point Breakers*. It lies in the latitude of 49°15′ North, and in the longitude of 233°20′ East; and the other extreme in about the latitude of 50°, and the longitude of 232°. I named this last *Woody Point*. It projects pretty much out to the South West, and is high land. Between these two points, the shore forms a large bay, which I called *Hope*

SUNDAY 29.

Bay;[7] hoping, from the appearance of the land, to find in it a good harbour. The event proved, that we were not mistaken.

As we drew nearer the coast, we perceived the appearance of two inlets; one in the North West, and the other in the North East corner of the bay. As I could not fetch the former, I bore up for the latter; and passed some breakers, or sunken rocks, that lay a league or more from the shore. We had nineteen and twenty fathoms water half a league without them; but as soon as we had passed them, the depth increased to thirty, forty, and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom; and farther in we found no ground with the greatest length of line. Notwithstanding appearances, we were not yet sure that there were any inlets; but, as we were in a deep bay, I had resolved to anchor, with a view to endeavor to get some water, of which, by this time, we were in great want. At length, as we advanced, the existence of the inlet was no longer doubtful. At five o'clock we reached the West point of it, where we were becalmed for some time. While in this situation, I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out to tow the ships in. But this was hardly done, before a fresh breeze sprung up again at North West, with which we were enabled to stretch up into an arm of the inlet, that was observed by us to run into the North East. There we were again becalmed, and obliged to anchor in eighty-five fathoms water, and so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. The wind failed the *Discovery* before she got within the arm, where she anchored, and found only seventy fathoms.

SUNDAY 29.

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

[7]Nootka Sound.

ing handfuls of feathers towards us;* and some of his companions threw handfuls of a red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator, wore the skin of some animal, and held, in each hand, something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet; and then others took it, by turns, to say something, though they acted their parts neither so long, nor with so much vehemence as the other.

SUNDAY 29. We observed that two or three had their hair quite strewed over with small white feathers; and others had large ones stuck into different parts of the head. After the tumultuous noise had ceased, they lay at a little distance from the ship, and conversed with each other in a very easy manner; nor did they seem to shew the least surprize or distrust. Some of them, now and then, got up, and said something after the manner of their first harangues; and one sung a very agreeable air, with a degree of softness and melody which we could not have expected; the word *haela,* being often repeated as the burden of the song. The breeze which soon after sprung up, bringing us near to the shore, the canoes began to come off in greater numbers; and we had, at one time, thirty-two of them near the ship, carrying from three to seven or eight persons each, both men and women. Several of these stood up in their canoes haranguing, and making gestures after the manner of our first visiters. One canoe was remarkable for a singular head, which had a bird's eye and bill, of an enormous size painted on it; and a person who was in it, who seemed to be a Chief, was no less remarkable for his uncommon appearance; having many feathers hanging from his head, and being painted in an extraordinary manner.** He held in his hand a carved bird of wood,

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*The natives of this coast, twelve degrees farther South, also brought feathers as presents to Sir Francis Drake on his arrival. See an account of his voyage in Campbell's edit. of *Harris*, Vol. 1, p. 18.

**Viscaino met with natives on the coast of California, while he was in the harbour of San Diego, *who were painted or besmeared with black and white, and had their heads loaded with feathers. History of California, Vol. II, p. 272.*

as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled as the person first-mentioned had done; and was no less vociferous in his harangue, which was attended with some expressive gestures.

Though our visiters behaved very peaceably, and could not be suspected of any hostile intention, we could not prevail upon any of them to come on board. They shewed great readiness, however, to part with any thing they had, and took from us whatever we offered them in exchange; but were more desirous of iron, than of any other of our articles of commerce; appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal. Many of the canoes followed us to our anchoring-place; and a group of about ten or a dozen of them remained along-side the *Resolution* most part of the night.

SUNDAY 29.

These circumstances gave us a reasonable ground of hope, that we should find this a comfortable station to supply all our wants, and to make us forget the hardships and delays experienced during a constant succession of adverse winds, and boisterous weather, almost ever since our arrival upon the coast of America.

John Meares' Approach to Oregon,
by T. C. Elliott
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JOHN MEARES' APPROACH TO OREGON

By T. C. Elliott

In 1778 Captain James Cook sailed into and charted Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and that harbor soon became the rendezvous for all navigators engaged in discovery, exploration or trade on the northwest coast of America. Spanish navigators had previously been at its entrance and others followed. An acrimonious dispute as to legal rights there nearly caused war between Great Britain and Spain. Mixed in that controversy, was one John Meares, who had been at one time a lieutenant in the British navy and was one of the early fur traders on this coast. Meares is rated by historians as more or less of an adventurer, and his reputation for truth and veracity is not considered very good.

In the summer of 1788 Captain Meares, so-called, sailed south from Nootka in a small vessel named the *Felice* to trade and explore in the recently found Strait of Juan de Fuca, and along the coast of Washington and Oregon, with special intent to enter a certain bay and river the Spanish navigator Bruno Heceta had reported at about latitude forty-six. After returning to England in 1791 Meares published the narrative of his voyage, and from that the following extract is drawn, beginning with his sighting and naming Mount Olympus in Washington. Since three permanent geographic names remain on our maps as an inheritance from Meares his story is interesting, although its details confirm the reputation already cited.

On July 5th, at noon when in latitude 47°1′ Meares saw a considerable "sound or opening," which he approached and examined during the rest of the day, at times from a distance of two or three miles. The southerly point of land at the entrance he named Cape Shoalwater. Two Indians paddled out and traded otter skins for some trinkets. At dusk he drew off shore for the night and on the following morning at nine o'clock he again observed his Cape Shoalwater and a long line of sandy beach extending south from it to a headland approximately the same distance from

his position. This headland he proceeded to examine and gave it the name Cape Disappointment.

The writer, from an intimacy of twenty-five years with the entrance to our Shoalwater Bay (now better known as Willapa Bay) and the twenty-two miles of sand-beach boulevard southward to the headland of Cape Disappointment, is of the opinion that on July 5th Meares was looking into Grays Harbor (Lat. 46°59′) and on the 6th was looking at Point Leadbetter, the southerly point of entrance to Willapa Bay, having been carried southward during the night by the ocean currents common to the coast. The appearance from the ocean of the low sandy points at the entrance to both harbors is much the same. There is absolutely no headland which is "high and bluff" at the entrance to either harbor. According to the *Pacific Coast Pilot* (official government publication) the distance between the two points of entrance at Shoalwater Bay is two and one-half miles and at Grays Harbor one and two-thirds miles: distance from North Head to Point Brown (Grays Harbor) is thirty-seven and one-half miles and to Shoalwater Light is twenty-five and one-fourth miles.

As to the mouth of the Columbia river it is incredible that Meares could have "doubled" the cape he named there or sailed about off the bar on a day of clear weather, and failed to see the prominent physical features on both sides of the river, such as Scarboro Head, Point Ellice, Tongue Point or Point George at Astoria. Nor did he observe any indications of a river at a time when its flood waters were pouring into the ocean. Four years later Captain Vancouver noted such an indication and also named Mount St. Helens from an anchorage further out than where Meares sailed to and fro. Either the weather was NOT clear on that day or Meares misrepresented the facts in his willingness to discredit the Spaniard, Heceta.

Continuing along southward and at a distance of two miles from the coast he failed to make any note of Tillamook Rock or Tillamook Head, but did see Tillamook Bay which for some unapparent reason he called Quicksand

Bay. He also saw various capes in the vicinity and placed the name Lookout on the one last reached in his voyage.

This happened in July, 1788. Late in August of the same year came to this same part of the coast the daring Captain Robert Gray of Boston in the sloop *Lady Washington,* who sailed into Meares' Quicksand Bay and named it Murderers Harbor because of certain unpleasant experiences there. The narrative follows:

EXTRACT FROM
"VOYAGES TO THE NORTH WEST COAST OF AMERICA"
By JOHN MEARES

1788 JULY THURSDAY 3.

On the 3d at noon, we had a glimpse of the sun, and the latitude was 47°46′ North. The wind shifted to the South West, on which we tacked and stood to the South South East, immediately in for the land. We now were at about the distance of twenty leagues from Cape Flattery.

FRIDAY 4.

During the night the weather was moderate and clear, and on the 4th the wind shifted to the South East; when we again tacked and stood to the East North East, in order to near the land. We stood thus till six o'clock in the evening, when the land was seen bearing from North to North East. In the Northern quarter it was of a great height, and covered with snow. This mountain, from its very conspicuous situation, and immense height, obtained the name of Mount Olympus. We computed it to be in the latitude of 47°10′ North, and longitude 235° East of Greenwich. In the North East it stretched itself out to a point, which we judged to be in the latitude of 47°20′ North. We kept standing in for the land, during the night, with a light breeze from the South East; and at sun-rise on the 5th, it bore from North by West, to East by North, our distance off shore being 12 leagues; so that in the night we had been affected by a considerable current, which had set us from the land.

SATURDAY 5.

At noon the latitude was 47°1′ North,[1] and the lofty mountains seen on the preceding day, bore East North East, distant seven leagues.—Our distance might be four leagues from the shore, which appeared to run in the direction of East South East, and West North West, and there appeared to be a large sound or opening in this direction.

By two o'clock, we were within two miles of the shore, along which we sailed, which appeared to be a perfect forest, without the vestige of an habitation. The land was low and flat, and our soundings were from fifteen to twenty fathoms over an hard sand. As we were steering for the low point which formed one part of the entrance into the bay or sound, we shoaled our water gradually to six fathoms, when breakers were seen to extend in a direction quite across it, so that it appeared to be inaccessible to ships. We immediately hauled off the shore until we deepened our water to sixteen fathoms. This point obtained the name of Low Point,[2] and the bay that of Shoal-water Bay; and an head-land that was high and bluff, which formed the other entrance, was also named Cape Shoal water.[3] The head-land we judged to be in the latitude of 46°47′ North, and the longitude 235°11′ East of Greenwich.

The distance from Low Point to Cape Shoal-water[4] was too great to admit of an observation in our present situation. The shoals still appeared to run from shore to shore; but when we were about midway, we again bore up near them, in order to discover if there might not be a channel near the cape; we accordingly steered in for the mouth of the bay, when we shoaled our water to eight fathoms. At this time the breakers were not more than three miles from us, and appeared to extend to Cape Shoal-water, when it was thought prudent again to haul off. From the masthead it was observed that this bay extended a considerable

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[1]A little north of Grays Harbor. (Lat 46°59′)

[2]Probably Point Brown (now locally called Damon's Point) on Grays Harbor, Washington.

[3]Probably Point Hanson (or Chehalis Point) Lat. 46°58′, the south cape of Grays Harbor.

[4]It is impossible to reconcile this description with the entrance to either Grays Harbor or Willapa Bay.

way inland, spreading into several arms or branches to the Northward and Eastward. The back of it was bounded by high and mountainous land, which was at a great distance from us. A narrow entrance appeared to the North West, but it was too remote for us to discover, even with glasses, whether it was a river[5] or low land.

We had concluded that this wild and desolate shore was without inhabitants, but this opinion proved to be erroneous; for a canoe now came off to us from the point, with a man and boy. On their approach to the ship, they held up two sea otter skins; we therefore hove to, when they came alongside and took hold of a rope, but could not be persuaded to come on board. We then fastened several trifling articles to a cord, and threw them over the side of the ship, when they were instantly and eagerly seized by the boy, and delivered by him to the man; who did not hesitate a moment to tie the two otter skins to the cord, and waved his hand as a sign for us to take them on board,—which was accordingly done, and an additional present immediately conveyed to him in the same manner as the former.

These strangers appeared to be highly delighted with their unexpected treasure, and seemed, at first, to be wholly absorbed in their attention to the articles which composed it; but their curiosity was in a short time entirely transferred to the ship, and their eyes ran over every part of it with a most rapid transition, while their actions expressed such extreme admiration and astonishment, as gave us every reason to conclude that this was the first time they had ever been gratified with the sight of such an object.

We endeavoured to make ourselves intelligible, by addressing them in the language of King George's Sound, which we had found to prevail from thence to the district of Tatootche; but they did not comprehend a word we uttered, and replied to us in a language which bore not the least resemblance or affinity, as far as we could form a judgment, to any tongue that we had heard on the coast of America.

On a particular inspection, we observed that the fashion

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[5]Possibly the mouth of Chehalis River at Aberdeen.

of their canoes differed from those of their more Northern neighbours. In their persons and cloaths, indeed, they resembled the people of Nootka; but we observed no ornaments about them which could lead us to suppose that they had ever before communicated with Europeans; nevertheless, their first holding up the otter skins, and the manner in which they conducted themselves afterwards, plainly proves that they had an idea of trade; indeed, it is more than probable that some of the natives of Tatootche's district may have occasionally roamed thus far, and communicated the intelligence of strangers arriving in ships to trade for furs. But there is every reason to believe that these people are of a different and distinct nation from those of King George's Sound, Port Cox, and Tatootche; nor is it improbable but that this very spot might be the extreme boundary of their district on the North. In this persuasion we became doubly anxious to find some place of shelter,—some harbour or port where the ship could remain in safety, while the boats might be employed in exploring this part of the coast.

During the time we had been lying to for these natives, the ship had drifted bodily down to the shoals, which obliged us to make sail,—when the canoe paddled into the bay. It was our wish to have sent the long-boat to sound near the shoals, in order to discover if there was any channel; but the weather was so cloudy, and, altogether, had so unsettled an appearance, that we were discouraged from executing such a design.—Nothing, therefore, was left for us but to coast it along the shore, and endeavor to find some place where the ship might be brought to a secure anchorage.

We therefore continued our course; and, by seven o'clock, we were at no great distance from Cape Shoalwater, when we again had a clear and distinct view of the bay and shoals.—Our depth of water was sixteen fathoms, over a sandy bottom, and the land extended to the East South East, from the Cape, from which we were distant three leagues. The land to the Southward made like

islands, but that circumstance was attributed to the fog, which now came thick upon us. As night came on the ship was hauled off shore and hove to, to await the return of day-light.

1788
JULY
SUNDAY 6.

The morning of the 6th was very unfavourable to the business of making discoveries; the wind blew very strong, with a great sea; —Cape Shoal-water bore East by North six leagues; and the land was every where covered with a thick mist; we therefore did not bear up till nine o'clock, when the mist cleared off the land.—As we approached it our soundings were very regular, from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a sandy bottom—At half past ten, being within three leagues of Cape Shoal-water,[6] we had a perfect view of it; and, with the glasses, we traced the line of coast to the Southward, which presented no opening that promised anything like an harbour.—An high, bluff promontory[7] bore off us South East, at the distance of only four leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoal-water, we should find some sort of harbour. We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape Saint Roc of the Spaniards,[8] near which they are said to have found a good port.

By half past eleven we doubled this cape, at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious Easterly swell rolled on the shore, and the soundings gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a hard, sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay,[9] as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation.

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[6]Probably Point Leadbetter, Lat. 46°42′, the south cape of Willapa Bay.
[7]North Head on Cape Disappointment.
[8]Bruno Heceta on August 17th, 1775.
[9]Columbia river, from three to ten miles wide for distance of twenty miles inland.

The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay, was at a great distance, and a flat level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck, right a-head; and, from the mast-head, they were observed to extend across the bay. We therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port.

The name of Cape Disappointment was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title of Deception Bay. By an indifferent meridian observation, it lies in the latitude of 46°10′ North, and in the computed longitude of 235°34′ East. We can now with safety assert that no such river as that of Saint Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts; to those of Maurelle we made continual reference, but without deriving any information of assistance from them.

We now reached the opposite side of the bay, where disappointment continued to accompany us; and being almost certain there there we should obtain no place of shelter for the ship, we bore up for a distant head-land,[10] keeping our course within two miles of the shore.

The face of the country, however, assumed a very different appearance from that of the Northern coast. Many beautiful spots, covered with the finest verdure, solicited our attention; and the land rose in a very gradual ascent to the distant mountains, skirted by a white, sandy beach down to the sea.[11] As we sailed along, spacious lawns and hanging-woods everywhere met the delighted eye,—but not an human being appeared to inhabit the fertile country of New Albion.

As we thus pursued our course along the shore, observing every part of it with the most minute attention, a large opening appeared a-head, which once more animated

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[10]Tillamook Head.
[11]Seaside, Gearhart, Columbia Beach etc.

our hopes, and formed a new source of disappointment. In the offing it blew very strong, and a great westerly swell tumbled in on the land. By seven o'clock we were a-breast of this opening, the mouth of which, to our great mortification was entirely closed by a low, sandy beach, nearly level with the sea, which appeared to flow over it, and form an extensive back-water:—beyond it an open champaign country extended to a considerable distance, where it was confined by a boundary of lofty mountains.

The bay was named by us Quicksand Bay,[12] and an adjoining headland Cape Grenville;[13]—the distant Southerly head-land, we called Cape Look-out.[14] This cape is very high and bluff, and terminates abruptly in the sea. At about the distance of two miles from it there rose three large rocks, which were very remarkable, from the great resemblance they bore to each other. The middle one has an archway, perforated, as it were, in its centre, through which we very plainly discovered the distant sea. They more particularly attracted our notice, as we had not observed between King George's Sound and this place, any rocks so conspicuously situated from the land: their distance from each other might be about a quarter of a mile, and we gave them the name of the Three Brothers.

By eight in the evening we were within three leagues of Cape Look-out, which we judge to lie in the latitude of 45°30′ North, and in the longitude of 235°50′ East of Greenwich. We were now convinced that there was no opening between the Cape and Quicksand Bay.

As we had met with nothing but discouragement, we here gave up all further pursuit, and closed our progress to the Southward: we therefore hauled our wind, in order to proceed again to the Northward.

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[12]Tillamook Bay.

[13]Perhaps Cape Falcon, Lat. 45°45′46″, but consult *Oregon Geographic Names* (McArthur) for this and all other capes on the coast.

[14]A quite accurate description of Cape Meares, so named in 1857 by George Davidson, of the U. S. Coast Survey. Cape Look-out is more prominent and ten miles further south at Lat. 45°20′30″, a little beyond which Meares sailed the following day.

We had now obtained no inconsiderable knowledge of the coast of America, from King George's Sound to Cape Look-out: that is, from the latitude of 45°37′ North, to the latitude of 49°37′ North. We had not only traced every part of a coast which unfavourable weather had prevented Captain Cook from approaching, but had also ascertained the real existence of the Strait of John de Fuca, which now renewed its claim to our attention. We most anxiously wished to have continued our inquisitive course to the Southward, as far, at least, as latitude 42°, where it is said Captain Caxon found a good harbour; but the season was already so much advanced, that had we gone so far to the Southward, we should not have been able to return to King George's Sound before the equinoctial gales set in.

* * * *

MONDAY 7. At sunrise of the 7th, Cape Look-out was seen, bearing East by South, at the distance of twelve leagues. Our latitude at noon was 45°12′ North, and the variation of the compass only 16°10′ East.

THURSDAY 10. It was the 10th of July before we again made the land, when at noon we discerned the high land forming the Eastern shore in the Straits of de Fuca; and, at sun-set, we saw the Easternmost head-land of the large sound near Port Cox, which obtained from us the name of Cape Beale; this head-land bore North by East, distant ten leagues.

Captain Robert Gray's First Visit to Oregon,
by T. C. Elliott

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CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY'S FIRST VISIT TO OREGON

By T. C. Elliott

The statement is made now and then, at post-prandial, civic and even educational occasions, that had the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the coast of Oregon or Puget's Sound instead of in Massachusetts the New England States would have been the outposts of civilization and never would have equaled the progress of the Pacific Northwest in commerce and culture. This grandiloquence is usually coupled with Mrs. Heman's beautiful verse:

> The breaking waves dashed high
> On a stern and rock-bound coast,
> And the woods against a stormy sky
> Their giant branches tossed.

The document here presented describes the coast the Pilgrims would have found in this part of North America, and the word-picture is that of a Yankee sailor from Boston, writing more than one hundred and fifty years after the landing at Plymouth.

In the story of discovery and exploration the name always mentioned in Oregon is that of Captain Robert Gray, who guided the destinies of the vessel which first sailed into the mouth of the Columbia River and into Gray's Harbor in 1792. Comparatively little attention however has been directed to events of four years previous—1788—when this same Captain Gray anchored his vessel in one of the harbors of Oregon.

The writer of these introductory notes has previously remarked that commerce, not religion, first brought the American flag to the Pacific Northwest. The fur of the sea otter, first item of commerce in Oregon, was the magnet. On that first voyage of American fur traders to the Northwest coast of America Captain Gray commanded the sloop *Washington*, consort of the *Columbia*, a small vessel carrying a crew of less than a dozen officers and men. One of his officers, Robert Haswell, kept a journal, which has already been published in the first volume of H. H. Bancroft's

History of the Northwest Coast, but not literally. The text there printed was abbreviated, and some interesting details were omitted. The entire text will now be open to study and interpretation, and available to the educational program of the state. Such use will be greatly aided by reference to pages 51-58 of *Oregon Geographic Names,* recently published by L. A. McArthur of the Oregon Historical Society. Reference is also directed to the journal of John Boit *(Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 22),* of the ship *Columbia* while on the Oregon coast in the spring of 1792. And it is the purpose to follow this with the publication of a journal of Capt. Bishop of the ship *Ruby,* from Bristol, England, along the same coast in the early spring of 1795.

Another motive for more popular access to this journal is the early completion of the Roosevelt Highway, which follows the coast line from California to the Columbia River, and is already described as one of the most scenic routes of travel in the entire United States. The opening of this highway should awaken an interest in the history of the communities along the coast.

The text herewith produced is an authenticated copy of the manuscript in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California, which is described as a fair copy of the original. Where Mr. Bancroft obtained access to the original is not disclosed in his history. The entire journal is not reprinted herewith; only that part, following the colorful page of introduction, which covers the voyage from the coast of California to the joining of the ship *Columbia* with the sloop *Washington* at Nootka. It is a genuine source of the history of Oregon, and valuable in its suggestion and incentive for further study.

The annotations to the text are to be regarded as suggestive only, because written at long range. A personal acquaintance with the headlands, bays and harbors of the coast is necessary to enable the student or reader to locate with accuracy the daily position of the vessel. Observations taken by Mr. Haswell are reasonably accurate as to latitude but those for longitude must be disregarded as too far east;

an error common to other navigators also. These observations were usually taken at noon each day and the position at other hours must be estimated. Slow or rapid progress, and failure to mention some of the real landmarks and harbors, must be explained by head winds, thick weather, the strong currents from the north, and fair winds at night.

Residents of Tillamook County will find especial interest in the most active scene of the story, for it is reasonably certain that this journal records the first tread of the feet of white men on the shore of Oregon. Such statement must be taken with reservations, for Spanish navigators had sailed along this coast years before 1788 and a record may yet be found of their presence. The attitude of the natives along the coast, as described by Haswell, suggests some previous contact with whites. It is very generally agreed that Sir Francis Drake did not land as far north as Oregon.

Captain Gray had no charts of the coast and was sailing boldly into unknown waters. The term boldly is used by way of contrast with the caution of Captain George Vancouver, when along the coast four years later. Every navigator is justified in being very careful of his vessel in uncharted waters, but this habit of boldness brought fame to Captain Gray. His ignorance of the coast is indicated by the placing of Cape Mendocino in Oregon where Cape Blanco actually is. This is the only cape named in the journal. What information he had was drawn from the reports and observations of Captain James Cook. The first landfall of Cook on the Pacific Coast was at this same Cape Blanco in March, 1778, one hundred and fifty years ago. This then is an anniversary year in Oregon history, and the publication of this Haswell journal, appropriate on that account.

HASWELL'S LOG OF A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD ON THE SHIP COLUMBIA REDIVIVA AND THE SLOOP WASHINGTON

Early in the fitting of the *Columbia* for a Voyage round the World, I was employed as Thurd Officer; Great expedition was used to forward our departure and on the 1787 SEPR.

the Ship was hauled off from the wharf and anchored in the Harbour; here numberless articles of her provisions stors &c were received onboard and on the the Pilot came onboard and we were removed down to the Castle roads where we anchored with the small bower and mored with the Strum anchor.

Friday the the Sloop Washington Captain Robt Gray, who is to be our consert, anchored in the Roads.

Saturday ye I took my Baggage onboard and in the afternoon Mr. Jo. Ingraham the second Mate came onboard with his bagage &c for the first time. till late in the evening all hands were employed clearing the deacks which were much lumbered, and getting in readiness for sea.

On Sunday morning being the day we were to sail we were thronged with the friends of allmost all our people and about Noon Capt Kendrick, Lieut't Howe his clerk Mr. Trut the furier Mr. Roberts our Serjon & Mr. Nutting the Astronimer came on board with the pilot accompanyed by a great number of the Merchints, Gentlemen and others of Boston.

The Ship was got under way and pro-proceeded down as far as Nantaskit roads where we anchored it being nearly calm in Company with the Washington.

The evening was spent in murth and glee the highest flow of spirits animating the whole Company Jovial songs and animating sentiments passed the last evening we spent on that side of the Continent, our friends parted not with us until late in the evening, nor then without the most tender expressions of Friendship and there wishes for our prosperity resounded from every tongue.

Early on Monday morning we weighed and came to sail and by sunrise were out of the Harbour. 1787 OCT R

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The first of august we had strong brezes and blustering weather this day the water was coloured of a greenish hue and we passed a great deel of kelp of a remarkable size the Clouds had a strong appearance of our high aproach to the American Continent this day I observed in Latitude 41:16 N and in Longitude West. AUGUST 1788

On the second at 10 A M to our inexpressable joy we saw the Coast of New Albion rainging from N N E to S S E dis't about 7 leagues, we tried for soundings in a hundred fathoms without finding bottom we sett a pressing sail in With the Land I observed in Latt 41:28 N Sunday the 3 we struck soundings in 50 fathom water over a bottom of fine black sand at this time we were 6 leagues distant from the Continent at meridian I observed in Latt'd 41°38′ N and Longitude 121°29′ W.[1] SAT'Y 2ND

On Monday the 4th we had fresh brezes & pleasant caruing a press of sail in with the land at 5 P M the breze grew light and weather foggy we sounded in 45 fm water over a bottom of black mud wore ship and stood to the westward dewering [during] the first part of ye night with a light breze at 2 A M tacked and stood to the Eastward with a fresh breze at 8 A M in 15 fm water distant from the shore about 2 miles and a half it died away calm we were at this time within a quarter of a mile of a ledge of rocks in shore of us we were neceseated to Anchor but it was scarse to the ground when it began to blow a stiff Breze at North veared away ½ a Cable and it ridd her at this time we discovered a canoe with ten natives of the countrey paddling towards us on there nigh aproach they made very expressive seigns of friendship.

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[1]Arrival off California about sixty miles north of Cape Mendocino, which lies at about 40°30′ north.

These were the first inhabitance we had seen here I must add that a regular account of People manners &c customs &c of this vast coast is a task equell to the skill of an able Historian and what I am totaly inadequate to however as there are some few remarkable occurences I mention them without rule or form.

These people were in a canoe of a most singular shape it was hued from a tree of vast bulk it was very wide and caried its bridth nearly equell fore & aft its head and stern were but little different boath ending abruptly as flat as a board they rose some inches above the side of the boat in an arch which was neatly worked over with straw of various coulers the boat tho' of the most clumsey shape in the world yet so well was it finished that it looked very pasable there paddles were very rough wrought of ash wood, they were cloathed chiefly in deerskins and they were ornemented with beads of European manufactor. MONDAY 4

I am apt to think they have sometimes intercorse with the Spaniards at Monteray which is but three or four degrees to the Southward of them they smoak tobacco out of a small wooden tube about the size of a Childs wistle they had some sweet sented Herbs—the countrey from whence these people came to me appeared the most pleasant I had ever seen the men in the Boat appeared to be well limed [limbed] people about the middle size there [their] bodies were punctuated in maney forms in all parts.

Capt. Gray made them several preasants but our attention was called another way the wind by this time b[l]ew a gale. we hove up and stood off shore upon a wind to the westward.

The 5th was accompaneyed with no remarkable occurence we coasted the shore along but saw no place where there was shelter even for a boat this Countrey must be thickly inhabited by the many fiers we saw in the night and culloms of smoak we would see in the day time but I think they can derive but little of there subsistance from the sea but to TUESD'Y 5TH

compenciate for this the land was beautyfully diversified with forists and green verdent launs which must give shelter and forage to vast numbers of wild beasts most probable most of the natives on this part of the Coast live on hunting for they most of them live in land this is not the case to the Northward for the face of the Countrey is widly different. I was in Lat'd 42°3′ N the Variation 13°50′ E't.[2]

WEDNESDAY 6TH

On the 6 favourable brezes and pleasant in ye morning about 8 oclock we were abrest a cove where tolerable good shelter from a northwardly wind may be had it is formed by a small bay to the Northward and a little Island to the Southward here wood and water may be procured but what sort of anchorage remains unknown the people were very ancious to come onboard they paddled after us an amazing distance with great alarcity waving somthing I supose skins but we had at this time a good wind and pleas't weather and it was judged best to seek a harbour while they continued we ran along shore with a Cloud of sail passing within a Quarter of a mile of a Bould sanday shore in 5 and 6 fm water above the beach appeared a delightfull countrey thickly inhabited and Cloathed with woods and verdure with maney charming streems of water gushing from the vallies most of the inhabitance as we passed there [their] scatered houses fled into the woods while others ran along shore with great swiftness keeping abrest of us maney miles Cape Mendocin[3] bore North distant about 5 leagues we now ran for a place that looked like an inlett this place was

THURSDAY 7TH

in a large deep bay to the Southward and Eastward of Cape Mendocin having ran in within about a Mile of a small Island we hove the Jolley Boat out and sent her to sound the Channel between the Island and Main and explore the Harbour if aney she soon made a signal that there was plenty of water within the Island we then followed her but soon discovered what we

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[2]Now off the Oregon Coast.

[3]Cape Blanco, 42°50′, the most westerly point in Oregon, most likely to have been Haswell's Mendocino. Boit made the same error four years later.

supposed to be an inlett to be no other than two hills separated by a deep valey, we wore ship within ½ a Mile of the Land and found no bottom with a long scope of line we now took the boat in and stood out on the other side the Islana which could be compared to nothing else but a hive with the beeas sworming the birds were so numerous. they were of maney speces but most of them Pelicons at 4 P M foggy at 6 Cape Mendocin bore N N E't distant about 6 or 7 Leagues a long and very dangerous Reef of Rocks ran out 6 Leagues westward of this promontory we stood of a proper distance to give this Ledge a proper Berth, and then stood in to the North for the Land obs'd in Latitude 43°20′N.[4]

There is a very deep Bay to the Northward of the Cape in which probably there may be some deep sound and rivers but in the night we were imperceptabley drifted by a current from the Eastward far from the Shore this prevented us from exploring this part of the Coast a knoledge of this Situation might be esential for if there should bee a harbour here no doubt there would be great numbers of sea otter skins its situation is by no meens too far to the Southward for these animuls to exist in abundance of the Spanish misionares send anualy several thousand skins that are collected on the Coast of California to China by the way of Manilla.

About ten or eleven Leagues to the Northward of ye Cape we hoisted our boat out to more minutely examin the Coast while we sailed in the Sloop within a mile of the shore at ½ past 12 the 9th we passed a bared inlett where tho' there appeared not to be suffisent water for our vessell yett I am of opinion it is the enterence of a very large river where great commersial advantages might be reeped in a small vessell about 18 or 20 Tuns this harbour is in Lat'd 44°20′[5] No and Lon'd 122°0′W from Greenwich. The long boat in the evening returned alongside they had seen noth-

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[4]This observation taken one-half degree or thirty miles north of Cape Blanco is confusing and seems to contradict the narrative itself. The inlet further south may have been our Port Orford.

[5]Have passed Coos Bay without notice and now off the Alsea River and Cape Perpetua.

ing remarkable except vast numbers of the natives they appeared to be a very hostile and warlike people they ran along shore waving white skins these are the skins of moose deer three or four thicknesses compleatly tanned and not penetrable by arrows these are there war armour they would some times make fast there bows and quivers of arrows to there spears of considerable length and shake them at us with an air of defyence every jesture they accompaneyed with hideous shouting the Coast tunted [tended] by the Compass N b W at 8 P M we hove too with our head to the northward at 2 wore ship and stood in shore at 4 A M Made sail along shore at 11 A M there came alongside two Indians in a small canoe very differently formed from those we had seen to the Southward it was sharp at the head and stern and Extreemly well built to paddle fast they came very cautiously toward us nor would they come within pistol shot untill one of them a very fine look'g fellow had delivered a long oration accompaneying it with actions and jestures that would have graced a European oritor the subject of his discorse was designed to inform us they had plenty of Fish & fresh water on shore at there habitations which they seemed to wish us to go and partake of we made them understand that skins was the articles we most wanted these as well as we could understand them they would bring the ensuing day we could proceve there Language was entierly different from those we had first fell in with to the Southward—after viewing the vessell attentively some time they departed well pleased with some trifling preasants they had received the place these people came of from is in Lat'd 45°0' No.[6]

SUNDAY 10TH

The first part of the tenth was pleasant. but the wind hauling to the Northward it came in foggey and disagreable weather insued the middle part calm at 4 P M wore ship and stood in with the land at 9 we hove the boat out and she went in surch of a landing place during her absence there came alongside two Indion Canoes the one contaning two and

[6]Have passed Yaquina Bay without mention, and off Cascade Head and the Nestucca country on both the 10th and 11th.

the other 6 People among them were our yesterdays friends they brought with them several sea otter skins and one of the best peces I ever saw. They were a smart sett of active fellows but like all others without one exception on this coast are addicted to thefts and we allways found those who were the most mistrustfull were the most addicted to commit the offence.

They were armed with bows and arrows they had allso spears but would part with none of them they had both Iron and stone knives which they allways kept in there hands uplifted in readiness to strike we admited one of them onboard but he would not come without this weepen two or three of our visiters were much pitted with the small pox.

They were dexterous in the manegement of there canoes they paddled with great velosity and tho' there canoes were long would turn them in there length there paddles were neatly made of Ash they run down of an equel bredth to the ent the Corners are pointed and End arched up like a swallows tail they departed promising to return again soon. I observed in Lat'd 45°2'No. The 11th was marked by no singular event we had light airs to the Northward & Westward and frequently calm we had the small boat out and hoged the ship the Coast we were abrest of looked pleasant I obs'd in Latitude 44°58' No having made 5 Miles Southing.

1788 AUGUST MONDAY 11TH

The 12th being pleasant weather at 3 P M we came to anchor within half a mile of the shore hoisted the longboat and went to a small inlett where there was not suffishant water for the Sloop to enter we took of two loads of wood and then hove up and came to sail with the wind favourable we saw while the boat was onshore[7] one of the Natives who were of on Sunday last, the place had been inhabited but was deserted no doubt as late as when they saw the boat coming onshore. Light brezes to the Southward and drizling rain all the latter part.

TUESDAY 12TH

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[7]An interesting event in Tillamook County, but where? Here landed the first white men to stand on the shore of Oregon.

WEDNESDAY 13TH

Wednesday the 13th there came alongside twelve Natives in a Canoe they had nothing to trafic but seemed enticed by curiosity off to view the vessell there Chief was the only person that was allowed to come onboard he observed everything with great attention and was presented with a fue preasants and departed well pleased with there entertainment at Noon I observed in Latitude 45°56′[8] N about this time the wind hauled from the Northward with so rappid a current from the same quarter that we could not make aney way to the Northward on the contrary we could not hold our own. Between the hours of 5 and 6 Last evening we passed a tolerable harbor but having a bar where it broke pretty high all a thort it looked as tho' we could with ease git into it. this harbour was now 10 Leagues to leeward but in the afternoon it was determined to bear away and at 1 P M we lay her head to the Southward at 6 we hove too off and on and a 6 came too with the small bower in 7 fm water distant from the shore about 2 miles over a bottom of sand, we now hoisted the boat out man'd and armed her and sent her to explore the Harbour and sound its enterence taking proper bearings and marks for sailing into it at 10 the boat returned with an account that the Harbour was tolerably Commodious and suffishent water for us in the proper Channel we immediately hove up with a commanding breze and went in without coming into less than two fathom and a Quarter water we anchored half a mile distant from the shore in 3 fm in the Anchoring place I observed my Lat'd to be 45°27′ N and Longi'd 122°19′ W the variation by Azmith was 14°26′ E't in the afternoon it was pleasant with a moderate breze to the Northward twas with great persuasion late in the Afternoon that one of there small canoes came alongside and received maney trivial preasants this soon enticed maney others off and Each canoe brought with them large quantities of berries and crabs ready boiled these they liber-

THURSDAY 14TH

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[8]Nearly as far north as Tillamook Head and Seaside on the 13th but turned back to enter Tillamook bay on the 14th.

aly handed onboard as preasants seemingly without an Idea of payment and these were the most acceptable things they could have brought to most of our seamen who were in a very advanced state of the scurvey and was a means of a restoration of health to 3 or four of our Companey who would have found one months longer duration at sea fatal to them so advanced were they in his malignant distemper.

1788 AUGUST FRIDAY 15TH

Trafic on a very friendly footing being thus established befor Evening we had purchased a number of Good Sea otter skins for knive axes adzes &c but had we had Copper a pece two or three inches square would have been far more valuable to them, they would hand there skins onboard without scruple and take with satisfaction whatever was given in return; this we very seldom found the case in any other part of the coast, the nesecery operations of wooding and watering were the pri[n]saple objects of our attention the watering place was situated at a very considerable distance from the Sloop and totaly out of the protection of her guns for this reason one turn of water was Judged suffishent to serve till some more safe place might be discovered at some other part of the Coast we took off several boat load of wood which was handey to the vessell & of a very good quality the natives while we were at work onshore behaved with great propriety frequently bringing us frute but they allways kept themselves armed and never ventured nigh us but with there knives in there hands uplifted reddy to strike this we imputed to there being such total straingers to Europeans.

On the 16 we had pleasant weather with a moderate breze to the eastward at this time an amazing number of the natives were alongside with boiled and roasted crabbls for sale which our people purchased for buttons &c they had allso dryed salmon and berries in abundance.

SAT'D 16

At noon we weighed and came to sail with a very moderate breze which soon died away to a purfect calm and the

flud tide still setting strong swept us on a reef of rocks, the water was smooth as glass and the tide still flowing the vessell could receive to metereal Damage we run out our Kedge with a small worp and hauled off the sea breze cuming in prevented our getting out we veared a scope and moared with our two bowers.

About this time the old chief who came onboard of us on the 13 about 6 Leagues to the Northward he had a great number of the natives with him all armed and they had no skins with them tho' they were well convinced it was them alone we wanted and he had promised to supply us with some however tho' he had not fulfilled his engagement he mett with a very polight reseption.

* * * *

SAT. 16

Having nothing else to do but wate for the next days tide to depart, Earley in the Afternoon I accompaneyed Mr. Coolidge onshore in the long Boat to amuse ourselves in taking a walk while our boat was loaded with grass and shrubs for our stock we took all the people in the Boat who were affected by the scurvy our number in all amounted to seven the disposition of the people seemed so friendly we went worse armed than ordinary we had two Muskets and three or four Cutlasses we boath took our swoards and each of us a pistol on our first landing we visated there Houses and such vietles as they eate themselves they offered to us but they are so intolerably filthey there was nothing we could stumac except the frute.

They then amused us shewing there dexterity with there arrows and spears they then began a war dance it was long and hedious accompaneyed with frightfull howlings indeed there was something more horrid in there song and the jestures which accompanied it than I am capable of describing it chilled ye blud in my vains. The dance over we left the natives to themselves and walked along the beach to the boat where the people were cutting grass and only one or two of the Natives with them we went past ye boat a little way but within call to a small sand flatt in

1788 AUGUST SATURDAY 16TH

hopes to find some clams while we were digging for these shell fish a young Black man Markus Lopeus a native of the cape de Verd Islands and who had shiped Captain Grays servant at St. Jago's being employed careing grass down to the boat, had carelessly stuck his cutlas in the sand one of the natives seeing this took a favourable oppertunity to snatch it at first unobserved and run off with it one of the people observing him before he was quite out of sight called vehemently thretening to shoot him in hopes he would abandon the stoln goods and make his escape but I had given posative orders to our people not to fier but in cases of the most absolute immergence when for self defence it might be nesecery.

'Twas the hollowing of our people that first roused our attention and we immediately flew to know the cause, we were informed of the sercumstances adding that the Black boy had followed him in spite of everything they could say to the contorary.

I was struck by the daingerous situation the ladd was in and feared its concequences doubting of there being a posability of saving him from the impending dainger but resolving no project should go untried without hesitation ordering the boat to keep abrest of us we ran toward the village we mett several chiefs persons whose friendship we had taken every oppertunity to obtain by kinde youseage and liberal preasants Indeed it seemed before this period we had fully effected it, to these people Mr. Coolidge offered several articles to them of great value to bring back the man unhurt, this they refused intimating there wish for us to seek him ourselves, I now remarked to Mr. Coolidge that all the natives we saw were unusually well armed having with them there bows arrows & spears however we proceeded still further and on turning a clump of trees that obstructed our prospe[c]t the first thing which presented itself to our view was a very large groop of the natives among the midst of which was the poor black with the thief by the colour loudly calling for assistance saying he had cought the thief, when we were observed by the main boddy of the Natives to haistily approach them they instantly drenched there knives and

spears with savage fuery in the boddy of the unfortunate youth. He quited his hold and stumbled but rose again and stagered towards us but having a flight of arrows thrown into his back and he fell within fifteen yards of me and instantly expiered while they mangled his lifeless corse.

We were now by our passing a number whom as I remarked before we supposed to be our friends situated between two formidable parties those we had passed being reinforsed by a great number from the woods they gave us the first salutation by a shower of arrows Our only method was to get to the boat as fast as posable for this purpus we turned leaving the dead body, for it would have been the highth of imprudence as our Number was so small to have attempted its rescue we made the best of our way for the Boat assaulted on all sides by showers of arrows and spears and at length it became absolutely nesecery to shoot there most dairing ringleaders which I did with my pistol Mr. Coolidge and one man who was with us followed my example and Mr. Coolidge ordered those who were in the boat to fier and cover us as we waided off for the boat could not come within a considerable dis't of the shore. But undaunted by the fate of there Companions, they followed us up to the middle in water and slightly wounded both Mr. Coolidge and myself in the hand and totaley disabled the person who was with us onshore who fainting with loss of blud lay lifeless several hours and continued to bleed a torrant till the barb of the arrow was extracted, we jumped into the boat and pushed of and were soon out of arrow shot when we found this they launched there Canoes intending to cut us off indeed they were well situated for it but some were timid some were bold and not half paddled but keeping a constant fier from the boat they came bairly within arrow shot before we were nigh the sloop, and they returned towards the shore as soon as we got onboard we discharged two or three swivel shot at them and in a few moments not one Canoe was to be seen all having fledd duering the whole of the night it was dismal to hear the hoops and houlings of the natives they had fiers on the beach near

the spot where the ladd was killed and we could see great number of them passing too and froo before the blaze.

I must confess I should not have lett them enjoy there festervile so peaseabley had I been Cap Gray but his humanity was commendable.

Murderers Harbour, for so it was named, is I suppose the enterence of the river of the West it is by no meens a safe place for aney but a very small vessell to enter the shoal at its enterence being so aucwardly situated the passage so narrow and the tide so rapid that it is scarce posable to avoid the dangers. It is probable whenever a vesell goes there they may procure twenty or thurty good sea otter skins, We know but little of the manours and customs of these people our stay among them was so short, the men ware no cloathing but the skins of animels well dressed, the women wore nothing but a petticoat of straw about as long as a highlanders kilt, there hutts were very small made of boards and a matt on the flore they appeared to be very indolent and were intolerably filthey, there canoes were very well shaped for paddling and every yousefull purpus there language we attained no knoledge of and I am of opinion it was very Hard to lern.

I am posative it was a planed affair, which first gave rise to our quarrel seeing how fue we were they had hopes of overpowering us and making themselves masters of our Cloths and arms and had we been taken it would have been no difficult jobb to have made a prize of the Sloop for Captain Gray had but three people left onboard. It was folly for us to go onshore so ill armed but it proved a suffishent warning to us to allways be well armed ever afterwards.

Indeed I think it prudent no boat should land among the midst of such numerous tribes without another well armed boat to protect her landing.

SUNDAY 17TH

On Sunday the 17th having a moderate breze to the Eastward at 4 A M we hove up and came to sail making a second attempt to gett to sea haveing passed the sand point of the Harbour and Middle ground the wind died and the tide

setting with great rapidity over the outer shoal we were obliged to lett go our anchor in two fat'm water, the tide ebbed and the surf rose to so vast a size that we struck a great maney times so violently hard we could scarce stand the Deack the surf breaking over our taffle stove in our cabin windows and allmost filled it with water as soon as the tide began to slack we hoisted the long boat out and run a small anchor to the eastward which when hove taut on kept us clear of the ground till still water when we hove up and worped into deep water and came too with the small bower for the flud tide began to run so strong we could not get out till the ebb returned while we lay on the bar we saw a large war canoe go out of the Harbour keeping at as great a distance from us as posable.

We received no damage from this accident except having the pindles and gudgins of our rudder bent so they would not admit it to come down into its proper berth.

MONDAY 18TH

Monday the 18th was calm and foggey. the natives of the Harbour all came down to the beach that was situated nearest our vessell with all there Canoes we continualy heard them shouting and it was answered by maney voises on the outside of the barr and at ½ past twelve we saw three large war canoes each containing upwards of thurty armed men it was so foggey that we did not see them untill they were within half a musquet shot we becken'd to them to keep there distance but they continued to paddle towards us and we could plainly see that the better part of them satt with there bows reddy bent and there spears in there hands there behaviour being very suspicious three swivels were discharged at them and they paddled off with great speed we then hove up and worped[9] out without aney further difficulty.

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[9]Good-by to the Tillamook country. When on the coast in 1792 Captain Gray did not go near or mention this harbor.

1788 AUGUST TUESDAY 19

Tuesday was moderate and pleasant but having had a good run from Murders Harbour we had passed a considerable length of coast which no doubt afords maney valuable furs we were 4 or 5 miles from a strait coast tunding N W b N in 18 and 20 fathoms water observed in Latitude 47°11′ No.[10]

WEDNESD'Y 20

The twentieth the winds were light and weather fair at ten A M two canoes with four people in each came alongside we purchased several sea otter skins of them at a very reasonable rate for iron but they expressed a great desire for copper.

The 21st the breze was light from the southward and a very strong currant setting in shore at 2 A M we had shoaled our water from 17 to 7 fatm water we came too with the small bower at 5 two Indion Whaleing canoes each having 6 people they had nothing to dispose of except four or five beaver skins. There whaling utentials were very curious but they would part with none of them at 6 weighed and came to sail at 7 Green Island[11] bore North distant 4 Miles Quenelth[12] (for that is the indion name for the village where these Whalemen belong) bore N N E distoant 7 miles. Tacked and stood in with the land I observed in Lat'd 47°30′ N the land we were now abrest of at a distance inland rises to exceeding high mountains covered with snow.[13]

Friday the 22nd the 23 and 24th the wind were contorary and the weather unpleasant, tho we endeavoured to beat along shore we scarcely held our own I observed on sunday in 47°43′ N Longitude 123°50′ W the variation by azmuth 15°44′ E't.

We had moderate brezes N N W on the 25th with foggey disagreeable weather plying to windward very near the Land in from 40 to 19 ft water at ½ past 11 A M the fog

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[10]Now north of Gray's Harbor, Washington, and on a coast where English traders had been.
[11]Destruction Island.
[12]Quinauilt Indian villages.
[13]Olympic mountains.

cleared away and discovered a number of craggey and detached rocks[14] and reefs laying at a considerable distance from the shore at meridion we sounded in 22 fm water over a bottom of Rocks and shells Tacked ship and stood off Observed in 47°57′ N.

TUESDAY 26TH

The 26 was fogey and it was but impurfectly that we saw the land and our distance from it was very considerable having been forced off by a current however I am of opinion the Straits of Juan de Fuca exist tho Capt Gray posatives assurts it does not for in the very Latitude where it is said to lay the coast takes a bend which very posabley may be its Enterence I observed in Lat'd 48:5 No and Longitude 124°50′ W and to the ENE lay a very deep Bay in the enterence of which lay a great maney Islands to this was given the name of Companeys Bay[15] and there is but little doubt but it affords Good Harbours.

WEDNESD'Y 27

The 27th on the first part was calm with a very large swell from the westeward Earley in the morning a light breze sprung up from the southward we made sail standing off West North West untill day light and then North West the Coast tunding Northwest by West the coast is low near the sea and rises one step after another into excessive high mountains covered perpetualy with snow I observed in Lat'd 48°43′ N Longitude 124°54′ W the variation 17°6′ E't.

Calm allmost all the 28th all hands employed mending sails at 6 In the morning two canoes came off with two men in each they looked at us a little while with an air of great indifference and then paddled farther out to sea when they hove too to fish. My Latitude by observation was 48°53′ No in the afternoon we visated by 3 canoes containing 46 people from among the islands in Companeys Bay as soon as they came within Muskit shott of us they paddled with exceeding great hast singing an agreable air and keeping stroke

1788 AUGUST THURSD'Y 28

[14]Flattery Rocks.
[15]Probably meaning Neah Bay inside the entrance to Straits of Juan de Fuca.

in time to the tune with there Paddles and at the end of every cadence all together they would point there paddles first aft and then forward first hooping shrill and then horce. They went three times round the vessell performing this manual exersize and then came alongside without further seremoney the principle Chief in the Canoes came onboard on the first invitation they had no sea otter skins and but fue of aney other sort it's beyond a doubt some English must have visated here this season for they plainly articulated several English names they were very extravagant in there demands for everything we wished to purchase in concequence of which but little commertial intercourse took place it was late in the afternoon when they Departed but they first sang a song the air of which was very agreable, the remainder of the day was moderate & Cloudy and we gained only 5 miles to the Northward the 29th the Wind to the Northward and westward beating to windward Moderate brezes and pleasant in the Morning but in the affternoon it became foggey and unpleasant at 2 P. M. it died away calm and a very large swell going with the currant setting to the southward drew us nearer in with the shore than we were aware of and the first thing that discovered itself to us thro' the fog was a wide spredding rock laying nearly level with the waters edge over which the surf broak with violent rage not further distant from us than a hundred fathum and in a few moments we saw several others equelly dangerously situated it being a purfect Calm we even hove along by the swell on a direct line towards them we had seventeen fm water sharp corral rocks we maned our sweeps and providentialey a light air sprung up which wafted us clear and we had but little to spare for there was scarce the hollow of one swell betwixt us and a watery grave.

FRIDAY 29TH

SATURDAY 30TH

While we were in this pittiable situation several canoes came of having with them maney sea otter skins they would not come alongside the swell was so great and our vessell had so much motion but by sines gave us to understand that a little to the Eastward there was a harbour which they

called Nootka wether this name was applied to it to delude us in or it is the name of a harbour the great number of sea otter skins they were possessed of operated strongly in a determination to go in and it enterence was by this time fare in view the long boat was hoisted out to tow in which she was asisted by the Native in there Canoes and late in the afternoon we came too with the small bower in 7 fm water over a bottom of sand in a tolerable well sheltered roadsted soon after sunsett the natives all left the vessell and retired to there habitations the night was exceeding pleasant.

Sunday the 31 the weather was exceeding pleasant earley in the morning a great maney of the Inhabitants came of Bringing with them an abundance of skins but greatly to our mortification there was nothing in our vessell except muskits would perchase one of them but that was an article of commerce we were not supplied with having scarce arms enough for our defence copper was all there cry and we had none for them, the principle or superior Chief of this tribe's name is Waukananish he visated us accompaneyed by one of his Brothers compleetly Dressed in a genteel sute of Cloths which he said Capt Mears had given him Capt Mear's name was not the only one they mentioned for they spoke of Capt. Barkley Capt Hannah Capt Dunkin and Capt Duglas what they said of them we now knew so little of there language we could not comprehend.

The natives had left there summer habitation which is situated on the West side of the Roads & followed the fish up the rivers at 7 in the morning we maned armed the long boat and an officer went in her in surch of a good watering place this she easily found with a most excellant Harbour land locked and sheltered from all winds anchorage in 7 fathum water good holding ground its enterence is narrow and the tides rapid, the roads is a good place of shelter and is by no means wild or dangerous while at anchor I observed in Lat'd 49°9′ N the Longitude of the anchoring place in 125°26′ W at Meridion we weighed and sailed from Hancocks Harbour.

SUNDAY 31ST

A good maney vessells having been at this port all in the fur trade there can be no doubt a great number of skins have been purchased and even now were possessed of Copper or Muskets or even chizles made in a proper form fifty or sixty excellent skins of sea otters might be purchased in a fue hours and very probabley five times the number, for these tribes who have intercourse with the European traders extend there trafic to those more remote collecting skins for the next vessell that may come, the shortness of our tarey prevented me from taking a sketch of the Harbour but I expect are long to see it again.

We were scarce out of the Roads the boats in and anchor stowed when it began to blow a gale of wind at West nor west nor did it discontinue till the Second late in the day we stretched off shore and at Meridion we were as far to the southward as 48°9′ No and the wind still continued strong at Norwest all the 3d, the fourth was nearly calm and so fogey we could not see the land the fifth a light breze to the Westward we claued [?] along shore to the Northward as fast as posable and were at Meridion in Latitude 48°50′ No and Longitude 125°15′ W. the 6th and 7 when ever there was a breze it was very light from the westward but it was generaly calm with a very long swell from the Southeast we were on soundings from 30 to forty fathum water over a rockey bottom and so near the Land and Reefs that we could plainly hear the surf but it was so fogey we could not see the quarter of a mile the 8 at 10 P M the fog clearing off we saw the Land which appered to be Islands two or three Miles distant a light breze sprung up from the South'd and we stood off till 8 when the weather was more clear and we saw the land being Cloudy we had no observation nor was it posable to calculate our Latitude with any degree of acuracy having been drifted about at a great rate in maney directions by strong Currants for several days we stood in with the land

SEPTEMB'R TUESDAY 2

WEDNESDAY 3RD

with a moderate breze and when about 3 Miles distant from it when we had 40 fm water the coast trending W N W with a greate maney Cragey Barron Cliffs that looked like no land we had seen before; and before the late gale and fogs we could planely see as far as Point Breakers which is the southeast extreem of hope Bay of which Nootka Sound is the head consequently being strange land must be to the Northward and Westward of our intended port I imparted my opinion to Cap't Gray hinting I thought it best to hove too till we might get the altitude of the sum and determin our latitud but Captain Gray supposing us to the Southward and Eastward of the port caried a pressing sail along shore to the Northward till Meridion when we observe in Lat'd 50°22′ this confurmed my conjectures beyond a doubt.

MONDAY 8

Our Long'd 128°30′ W we hauled our wind stretching off shoar to the Southward.

TUESDAY 9TH

On the 10th blew a perfect gale of wind and the sea was greatly agitated observed in 49°53′ No the Wind S W stretching in for the Land.

Heavy gales of adverce winds and very thick Disagreable weather untill the 15th when the wind was moderate at W N W we stood alongshore in hope bay and 5 oclock in the afternoon we were Disagreably situated in shole water among large Beds of kelp we were in as shole water as 3 fm with a very rockey Bottom but we were lucky enough to dissengage ourselves before Dark at sunsett the north point of the enterence of Nootka Sound bore East distant 5 Miles.

MONDAY 15TH

The night of the 16 was calm at 5 A M we had a moderate breze of the land we made sail and stretched towards ship Cove the place where Captain Cook Lay when he was in this Sound intending to lay there till we could discover some more commodious situation here we expected to meet the Columbia and we were all posative within our minds that she must be in the sound when we saw a Boat under sail cuming round north point we hove in stays and stretched for

TUESDAY 16TH

that side of the Sound but it was nearly calm, 'twas not before the boat came very near that we discovered it to belong to some strange vessell as soon as they came onboard the boat was ordered to assist our in towing we lernt that there were two Snows laying in a cove on the west side the sound at the village where Capt Cook visated and mett with so friendly a reseption. thither these Gentlemen offered to conduct us and Captain Gray complied with there obliging request. it was the commanders of the two vessels and the chief officer of the smallest that were now onboard they breakfasted with us and about 9 A M there sprung up a light Sea breze that caried us into the cove by ½ past 11 and we anchored with the small bower in 5 fm Water over a Bottom of sand and moared with the kedge to the westward we found riding here the Felles Adventurer, John Mears and the Efagenia Nubiana, Wm Duglas Commanders, fitted from Macao in China and under Portugees Coulers both belonging to the same merchents one vessell had made the Coast to the Northward and the other to the Southward and mett at this plaic having betwixt them collected a very valuable cargo of Furs Captain Mears arriving here some time before Captain Douglas landed his second officer Mr. Funter and a party of artifisers who first bult a tolerable strong garison or place of Defence and then went to work building a small schuner about 30 Tuns while Captain Mears cruzed the Coast collecting skins we found this vessell nearly compleet and they purposed to launch her in a fue days.

1788 SEPTEM.
TUESDAY 16

We found the natives had quitted there village and removed far up the sound the Commanders of all three of the vessells and the Chief mate of Cap't Mears Mr. Duffin Dined with us in the course of conversation we lernt that Captain Mears would depart for Macao in two or three Days leaving Capt Douglas to compleet rigging &c for the Schuner then hee allso would leave the Coast to winter at the Sandwich Islands. All the time these Gentlemen were onboard they fully employed themselves falsicating and rehursing vague and improvable tales relative to the coast of the vast

danger attending its navigation of the Monsterous Savage disposition of its inhabitants adding it would be madness in us so week as we were to stay a winter among them Cap't Mears protested both vessells 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 and 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 an notorious falsity. The fact was they wished to frighten us off the Coast that they alone might menopolise the trade but the debth of there design could be easily fathemed. They very polightly offered to aford us every assistance that lay in there power.

1788 SEPT. 17TH WED'SD'Y

Disapointed at not finding the Columbia in the sound and at our geting no intercorse with the Natives not even to obtain the supplies of Fish and vegetables that were nesecery for the vessells youse, Captain Gray in the longboat maned and armed went over to the other side of the sound in surch of some of there villages and by conversing with the inhabitants convince them of the friendly intention of our visate to the sound but they saw not one of the natives all hands were employed onb'd prepairing to haul on the ways to the grave.

Friday the 19th we hauled onshore and payed her bottom Captain Mears polightly alowed his blacksmith to repair our rudder Irons which had been damaged on Murderers harbour bar. this day they launched there schooner and named her the North West America on this occasion the ships saluted and the Day among the English was spent in festivity and mirth the 20th at high water hove off and moared ship. all hands were kept constantly emp'd prepariting for sea cutting wood and filling water.

An intimacy on a very friendly footing subsisted between the English gentlemen and ourselves and Captain Mears offered to be the bearer of aney letters he wished to communicate to China this offer Capt Gray accepted and

giving him a packet on the 22 assisted in towing her out of the harbour, wishing him a good voyage returned before Captain Douglas but how great was his surprise when Capt. Douglas returned, at finding his letters inclosed in a note from Captain Mears apologiseing for not returning them saying he was not certain to what part of India he should go therefore could not insure a safe Delivery of them. This scheem was well consurted he was fearfull that through the letters to our connections some information would be communicated relative to ye trade on the Coast that would be disadvantage to the interest of his company. he knew had he refused to carey our letters we would have prevailed on some of his officers or people to convey them for us therefore (for I take him to be a man of Deep penetration) he seemed obleaging on that score that he might make sure of no letters going by aney other conveyance. this ungentlemanlike maner of behaviour gave us an unfavourable opinion of Captain Mears. this gentleman is a Lieutenant in the British Navy had been several years in India and about three years ago he was fitted by a company of Gentlemen at Bengal in the Snow he is now in and a small schuner for this coast he met with maney diffi[c]utys his small vessell was cast away on the Alaskion Islands and in his snow he wintered at Prince Williams Sound, where by the riger of the climate and the scurvey he lossst allmost all his seamen and Officers he left the coast without exploring aney great extent of it and tuched at the Sandwich Islands, from whence he took a young Chief of rank and went to Macao. Tiana the young Chief accompaneyed him to the Northwest coast, and from hear he is to be caried to his native Islands by Captain Douglas. these vessells were very indifferently fitted for provision and cordage tho' they had plenty of the princaple articles for trade (copper and iron) all the provisions Capt Mears could spare reserving only a scant proportion to last him to China united to that Cap Douglas had before was bearly enough to preserve existence till they could reach the Sandwich Islands. and but for the provisions we supplied them with they would have had maney a scanty meel.

MONDAY 22ND

Our people were employed constantly in the nesecery Duties of prepairing for sea our water filled and wood cut the hold and rigging overhauled, some of our Gentlemen were onshore and saw a sail in the offin which by our glasses we soon knew to be the Columbia I concluded at first sight her people were in an advanced state of scurvy for tho very moderate and pleasant her topsails were reefed and her topg't mast down on deack. Captain Gray in the long boat immediately went out to render them all the assistance that lay in our power. and about 5 oclock in the afternoon she anchored within forty yards of us.

They had been so unfortunate as to loose two of there people with the scurvey and most of the rest of the Crew were in an advanced state of that malignant Distemper. after we parted with the ship off Cape Horn they encountered maney very heavy gales of wind they tuched at Masafuero But finding it would be attended with great difficulty to wood and water they immediately went to Juan Fernandies and arrived about the 29th of May. when we in the sloop were in 12° North Lat'd near 46 Degrees of Latitude to the Northward of them. They met with a very polight reseption from the Governor of the Island and were plenteously suplied with all things that were nesecery and departed after a stay of about seventeen days.

WEDNESDAY 24TH

As Captain Kendrick had now arrived everything must of course wate for his orders and as frequently as he was ask'd what he would have Done to forward the expedition, he as frequently said we can do nothing till these Englishmen have left the place.

Accordingly Captain Kendrick set his Carpenters caulkers Blacksmith &c at work to fasilatate there Departure suplying them with provision naval stores &c while they menopolized all the skins nor could we get intercourse with one of the Natives even for the purchase of fish or deer.

The John Boit Log and Captain Gray's Log of the Ship Columbia

Annotations by
F. W. HOWAY AND T. C. ELLIOTT

Introduction by
F. G. YOUNG

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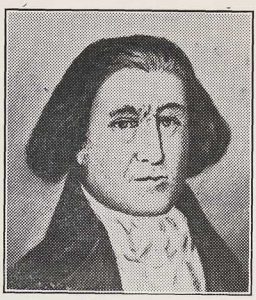
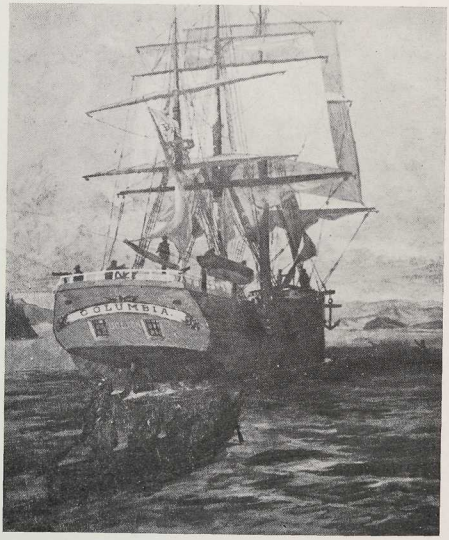


CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY



SHIP COLUMBIA

May 11, 1792, Captain Gray, in command of the ship "Columbia," sailed into the Columbia River and anchored a short distance from what is now known as Chinook Point, opposite Astoria. He named the river after his vessel. The "Columbia" was built near Boston in 1773 and was broken to pieces in 1801. It was the first vessel to carry the Stars and Stripes around the world. It is believed this was the original flag made by Mrs. Betsy Ross, according to the design adopted by Congress on June 14, 1777. Taken from the photograph of a large oil painting by an eastern artist for C. S Jackson, publisher of the Oregon Daily *Journal*, and used for the first time in a Souvenir Edition of that paper in 1905. The photograph was presented to the Portland Press Club.

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The Massachusetts Historical Society early in 1919 received as a bequest from Robert Apthorpe Boit the journals and logbooks of his grandfather, John Boit. Among these was a journal kept of the *Columbia's* second voyage from Boston to the northwest coast of America for the collection of furs from the Indians for the markets of China. The *Columbia's* first voyage is memorable as the first circumnavigation of the globe by an American ship. Captain Robert Gray was in command of the vessel on this first voyage from the time of her departure from the northwest coast to China and retained command throughout the second voyage. This second voyage of which the Boit journal gives an account outshines the first in renown through the fact that in course of it the Columbia river was first entered and was named for the vessel.

Not only thus is the Boit journal a record of probably the most memorable of American voyages but it is also unique in being the only record extant of this voyage as a whole. And of none of the parallel voyages in these furtrading activities of this period by Americans is there a similar complete record. Of the official log of the *Columbia* only a remnant is preserved, covering the days from May 7th (1792) to May 21st, or from the time Gray first approached the entrance to Gray's harbor, to be discovered and by him named Bulfinch harbor, to his return to that vicinity after having entered and named the Columbia river. This portion of the official log is reprinted in this number of the Quarterly with the Boit document.

This journal of John Boit was published in volume 53 of The Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. That portion of it recording the movements of the *Columbia* while on this coast was reprinted in The Washington Historical Quarterly, volume XII, No. I. The Oregon Historical Society would here express highest appreciation of the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society in granting it the privilege of reprinting this document. To the Washington State University Historical Society it is indebted for the use of the annotations made by Professor Edmond S. Meany in his reprint. The items of bibliography in Professor Meany's Introduction are exceedingly valuable.

The considerations that compel the reprinting complete of the Boit log of the *Columbia* in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society are connected primarily with the specially planned annotations with which it here appears. And the command of this source record as a whole enables us also more easily to see the wider relations and meaning of this voyage and thus to connect the flow of our Pacific northwest history with the currents of the world's greatest movements. This document contains the record of a close inspection of this coast line through two summers by an experienced navigator spying out opportunities for trade with the native tribes. The *Columbia* passed up and down the stretch of coast from Cape Blanco at about the 43d parallel to the 55th parallel and beyond, covering a large portion of it half-a-dozen times and nearly all of it as many as four times. This log registers the latitude and longitude from observations taken regularly of the vessel's position. Through annotations on the entries of such a record that utilize critically all the sources of light from other MS. and printed records of exploration available, this document becomes the best guiding clue through the somewhat labyrinthine confusion necessarily created by the conditions under which these sources of the exploration history of the Pacific Northwest were produced. Both the region to be explored and the combination of explorers participating were factors in creating this confusion. The intricacy of the coast line indentations north of the Straits of Juan de Fuca and the

multitudinous island groups constituted a veritable labyrinth of passages to be defined. Then representatives of four or five different nationalities simultaneously and without concert participated in effecting the exploration. That such materials of history may enter into the lives of a people they needs must be sublimated and vitalized. Adequate annotation is the first step toward this end.

Through the Boit log we have for the first time a view of this historic voyage as a unit. We are in position, therefore, to get more completely the meaning of it. But this meaning and the import of the record cannot be satisfactorily grasped unless the situation under which the *Columbia* participated in this work of exploration is clearly visualized. To get this background it is necessary to note the transformation wrought during the last quarter of the 18th century in the geography of northwest America, affecting nearly if not quite one-fourth of the continent. The typical map of this part of North America at the opening of the fourth quarter of that century represented an inland sea as occupying a goodly share of the lower portion of this region and two or three wide straits cutting diagonally across the upper part. The actors in this transformation scene were to approach independently from the landward and the seaward sides. Alexander Mackenzie played almost the sole rôle during this period in the exploration on land from the east. The Mackenzie river, the Peace river and portions of the Fraser and other rivers were placed on the map. From the side of the sea the participating personnel included illustrious representatives of four leading nations but Robert Gray through entering the Columbia on this second voyage won the highest honor. Through such cooperation the salient features of the interior and the coast line of northwest America were defined, named and mapped.

By following now a little more in detail the development of this quarter of a century of exploration from the seaward side we get the stage setting for Robert Gray's achievement. The Spanish authorities with newly established outposts as far north as San Francisco Bay were first on the scene. Reports of advances down the coast from the Alaskan region by

Russian explorers as well as anxiety about possible use of a supposed northwest passage incited the Spaniards to activity in exploration beginning in 1774. In the next few years under Perez, Heceta and Cuadra a cursory inspection of the coast was made from the 55th parallel south. No Russian trespassers were detected nor was the fabled northwest passage or Straits of Anian discovered. However, Heceta in 1775 did detect evidences of the mouth of a large river in latitude 46° 9′, but did not succeed in entering it. At this time James Cook, the English navigator, was dispelling the darkness that was still hovering over the south Pacific region. On his third voyage of discovery spurred by an offer of Parliament of £20,000 for the discovery of a northwest passage through the continent of North America he passed up along the northwest coast in 1778 and made a landing in Nootka Sound. The immediate and moving outcome of his voyage was the disclosure of the opportunity of riches through trade in sea-otter furs to be secured from the northwest Indians for trifles and marketed in China. Beginning in 1785 the grand rush in this maritime fur trade was on. The flags of half-a-dozen nations were soon in evidence in these waters. Some of the English fur traders took steps looking towards a permanent occupation of the shore at Nootka Sound. This was resented by the Spanish authorities as they had priority in discovery and had occupied the coast, though their post was some 750 miles to the south. Seizures and a diplomatic controversy followed that seriously threatened war between Spain and England in 1790. In the meantime inlets offering means of trade contacts with the Indians were being spied out and visited more and more frequently by vessels plying back and forth and up and down the coast. "In the year 1792, there were twenty-one vessels under different flags," writes Washington Irving, "plying along the coast and trading with the natives." Log books and seamen's journals were kept and reports were made. As they pertained to the affairs of a lucrative trade and some of them had to do with a hot international controversy they were in part preserved and not a few, especially those whose authors had public commissions, and those that had a bearing on disputed

territorial claims, were published. Thus a body of source material was accumulating. This material contains the sources largely of the names of places of this region and constitutes the records of the origins of the communities here developing. History serves its leading purpose through such annals as the cherished home traditions. The richest and best authenticated nuclei of facts with their relations should be segregated and organized for each locality. The annotations on the text of the Boit journal here supplied through selecting the appropriate portions of the other sources conserve and focus all the light available for illuminating the stage of exploration in the history of each locality visited by the *Columbia* during her second voyage, and at the same time furnish the means for a more accurate and complete determination of the background of the voyage as a whole. The Quarterly had the great good fortune of interesting Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia, in this project of making this prime and recently available source of Pacific Northwest History serve the largest and best purpose. Judge Howay's mastery of northwest history sources, and his large personal acquaintance with the features of the coast line now British territory make his annotations invaluable. Mr. T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Washington, has been a like indefatigable student of the sources of the history of the coast line south of the Straits of Juan de Fuca. He annotates the entries of the Boit log while the *Columbia* was on this section of the coast on her trading tours. He also contributes the annotations to the remnant of the official log of the *Columbia* still extant.

Turning now to the orientations of this achievement of Captain Robert Gray in connection with the course of world history. The discovery of the Columbia river recorded in the two documents here reprinted completes at the end of a three hundred year period of continuing progress, the full discovery of America which in 1492 Christopher Columbus had initiated. The western continent in its essential features as a home for civilized humanity was now revealed.

In sailing into the Columbia under the American flag Captain Gray brought into the race a new competitor for the

possession of this vast and still unacquired region of the basin of the Columbia. For, in international usage or comity, the discovery of a river carried with it at least an inchoate title to the territory drained by that river. The American people had a zealous and an able exponent for promoting their interests in view of this opening made for national expansion. Thomas Jefferson did not let slip an opportunity to follow up this basis for a claim to this part of the continent. With the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 proximity of possession was secured. Then Lewis and Clark were dispatched so that only fourteen years after Gray's presence in the river they were encamped on the south bank. In less than half-a-dozen years later the Astor expedition had established its fort at Astoria. And at the end of another half-a-dozen years in 1818 the restoration of the American flag was acknowledged by our only rival claimant to this domain.

It needs, however, to be noted that this discovery of the Columbia river with the view of extending geographical knowledge, or of laying the basis for the extension of the jurisdiction of his nation's sovereignty, was not the leading motive impelling Captain Gray in his exploit. Just how far it was in evidence in his consciousness it would be hard to say. Nothing of the kind, I believe, figured in his instructions. This is not by any means arguing that the discovery of the Columbia river was an accident. The *Columbia* was being sailed the third time along this stretch of the coast with the one purpose in mind of finding new inlets affording desired opportunities of new contacts with the Indians that additions might be made to his accumulations of furs for a cargo for the markets of China. John Boit's record of how the vessel in this latitude was kept "beating off the coast waiting for to find a good harbour" and of the practice thus specified: "sent a boat in shore often, but cou'd find no safe harbour," indicate that Gray's determination and skill made the discovery at this time virtually inevitable. Still more closely, negatively, is it possible with the aid of the Boit document to discern Captain Gray's purpose. Mr. Worthington C. Ford's annotation with the original document in hand here comes to our aid. Re-

ferring to the expression: "I landed abreast the ship with Captain Gray to view the Country and take possession, leaving charge with the 2d Officer", Mr. Ford notes, "the words 'and take possession' were inserted at a later time and are in quite different ink". The official log says, "In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat went on shore to take a short view of the country." An over-zealous nationalist it seems tampered with the record and made it say what had not been in the mind of Boit to record. As Boit attended Captain Gray in this landing party he would have been enough impressed with the ceremony, had it taken place, to have made a record of it.

In historical literature this voyage has been celebrated as an event initiating a new turn of events politically that was consummated in the establishment of the jurisdiction of the United States over the main portion of the Columbia river basin. This major outcome of this voyage, so far as yet recognized, was an incident or by-product with regard to the purpose contemplated with it. The enterprise of the company of Boston merchants was rather in direct line of evolution of New England's main interests of shipping and cod and whale fisheries during the 18th century. It is quite easy to believe that in line with increasing international interdependence in trade and cooperation for the best utilization of the earth's resources for human purposes this second voyage of the *Columbia* may in time to come have larger meaning as an achievement in the evolution of trade than as an exploit of discovery laying the basis for national territorial expansion. These fur trading ventures to the northwest coast of America were the natural expansion of the New England activities in cod fisheries on the banks of New Foundland and in the whale fisheries in the South Sea. These were the mainstay of New England prosperity. On an Act placing an embargo on these fisheries and restricting the trade they involved did Parliament in 1775 rely "to starve New England." This intent brought forth the following glowing tribute from Edmund Burke to the daring exploits of the American whalemen which would have been as well deserved by the fur traders on their more extended voy-

ages in their quite as dangerous experiences with the treacherous native tribes:

"And pray, Sir, what in the world is equal to it? [Referring to "the spirit by which that enterprising employment had been exercised"] Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falklands Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage, and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. . . . No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."

This spirit of enterprise which the *Columbia's* voyages so signally exemplify has been in eclipse as to this honor it had because of the momentous project of political or territorial expansion it enkindled. When all nationalities have become equally democratic and equally enamored with the mission of human welfare it may be possible that this spirit of human enterprise animating these voyages, now largely unnoticed, may outshine the nationalism that has heretofore enveloped them.

F. G. YOUNG.

REPRINT OF

BOIT'S LOG OF THE COLUMBIA, 1790-1793.

[*Annotations by Judge F. W. Howay and Mr. T. C. Elliott*]

Remarks on the Ship *Columbia's* voyage from Boston, (on a Voyage round the Globe).

BY JOHN BOIT

N. B. The dates etc. is by Nautical Account (*Not Civill*).

The Ship *Columbia* was fitted out for a four years cruize, on a trading voyage to the N. W. Coast of America, China etc—about 250 tons burthen, mounted 12 Carriage Guns, and navigated with 50 men (including Officers)—own'd chiefly by Sam'l Brown, Joseph Barrell and Crowell Hatch Esq'rs, and Commanded by Robert Gray. Cargo consisted of Blue Cloth, Copper and Iron.

1790, *September* 28. Latt. of Boston 42° 25′ N.; Long. 70° 31′ W. from London. Left Boston Sept. 28th, 1790, with the wind from the western board, and the next day pass'd Cape Cod. On the 30th the wind having chang'd to the East'd and blowing heavy, obliged us to bear away, and we anchor'd the same evening, in Herring Cove, on the west side Cape Cod, in 15 fm. muddy bottom, but not liking our situation, we got under way the following morning, and anchor'd the same evening in Nantasket Roads, in 7 fm. Blowing weather, from the eastern board.

October 2. Wind at SW. Weigh'd and came to sail, stood to sea. On the 3d pass'd Cape Cod, at 3 leagues distance. Generally blowing hard, with squalls of rain.

8. N. Latt. 40° 30′; W. Long. 55° 43′; Azi. 14° 35′ W. O. ☾. Ship sails dull, but is a fine seaboat. Crew appears to be a set of fine fellows.

10. N. Latt. 39° 58′; W. Long. 52° 38′; Amp'd 14° 38′ W.[1] Weather more pleasant, winds generally from SW.

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1 The Century Dictionary defines the amplitude compass as an azimuth compass whose zeros of graduation are at the east and west points, to facilitate the reading of the amplitudes of the celestial bodies. "Amplitude...differs from the azimuth merely in being counted from the east and west points, instead of from north and south." U. K. S. Nat. Phil., III, XIII.—W. C. F. (Worthington C. Ford).

16. N. Latt. 35° 37′; W. Long. 37° 31′; Azi. 14° 35′ W.[2] Weather generally pleasant, winds from the NE.

18. N. Latt. 34° 33′; W. Long. 31° 40′; Amp'd 14° 22′ W. Fair weather, wind from NW.

22. N. Latt. 28° 46′; W. Long. 24° 37′ Azi. 14° 54′ W. Pleasant weather. Crew all well.

23. N. Latt. 26° 41′; W. Long. 24° 16′; Azi. 14° 54′ W. Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from the North'd.

24. N. Latt. 24° 52′; W. Long. 24° 10′; Amp'd 14° 22′ W. Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from SE.

25. N. Latt. 24° 12′; W. Long. 24° 7′; Azi. 14° 26′ W. Serene, pleasant weather. Winds from SE.

27. N. Latt. 22° 0′; W. Long. 23° 0′; Azi. 14° 19′ W. O. ☾. Pleasant weather, winds from the NW. Plenty of Dolphin and Skip-jacks playing round us.

30. N. Latt. 20°; W. Long 23°; This day took the NE. trade winds, after experiencing one day's calm (*between the variable and trades*).

November 1. N. Latt. 17° 16′; W. Long. 22° 30′; In the course of this day, say the Island of Sal, (one of the Cape de Verd Isles), 29½ days from Boston light house—(a long passage). Pass'd it to the Eastward and bore away to the South'd, high land. Crew are all in health, although the regulation of the ship as respects cleanliness among them, is not strict.

TOWARDS CAPE HORN.

4. N. Latt. 12° 15′; W. Long. 23° 6′; Azi. 13° 28′ W. This day lost the NE. trade winds, and immediately took the wind from the Southward.

7. N. Latt. 9° 16′; W. Long. 22° 35′; Amp'd 11° 52′ W. Light variable winds, pleasant warm weather, attended at times with sharp lightning.

9. N. Latt. 7° 21′; W. Long. 22° 13′. Squally weather, with rain, with sharp lightning and heavy thunder, many water

2 "In the azimuth compass the circumference of the card is divided into degrees and parts by a vernier, and is fitted up with sight-vanes to take amplitudes and azimuths, for the purpose of determining the variation of the compass by observation. The variation is applied to the magnetic course shown by the steering compass and thus the true course with respect to the meridian becomes known." Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th ed.) VI 0225.—W. C. F.

spouts in different directions. Experience very heavy squalls. Winds all round the compass since losing the trades. Many vessells in sight.

14. N. Latt. 5° 4′; W. Long. 22° 13′. Winds continue very variable and squally. This day spoke two ships: one a Portuguese from Lisbon bound to Rio Janeiro; the other an English waleman from England, for the Brazil coast. The Captain (by name *Buller*) was an American.

18. N. Latt. 3° 48′; W. Long. 23° 30′. This day Capt. Buller left us, his ship sailing much faster than ours. Winds and weather still remains very unsettled, with hard squalls, carried away our Jib boom, and got a new one out. A constant swell from the SE. Winds harp most at SSW.

19. N. Latt. 2° 41′; W. Long. 25° 42′; Azi. 11° 32′. Weather pleasant. This day took the wind at SSE, which no doubt is the commencement of the SE generall winds. The weather at this time is quite settled. Heretofore since leaving the NE. trades, it has been very gloomy and dark. Have noticed, since passing the Lattitude of 12° that the winds generally have been from South to SSW.—at times squalls from West.

21. N. Latt. 2° 38′; W. Long. 24° 48′; Azi. 10° 30′ W. A constant Current, setting to the Northward, in these Latitudes; (two sail in sight.)

22. N. Latt. 2° 6′; W. Long. 25° 2′; Azi. 10° 13′ W. Winds holds from SBE. to SSE. and fair pleasant weather, with a swell from the SE.

23. N. Latt. 1° 41′; W. Long. 25° 26′; Azi. 10° 7′ W. Winds and weather as before. Crew all well.

24. N. Latt. 1° 15′; W. Long. 26° 1′; Azi. 9° 28′ W. Winds at SSE. and quite moderate, weather pleasant.

25. W. Long. 26° 57′ O. ☾. In the course of this day cross'd the Equator. Wind at SEBS. and pleasant, serene, temperate weather. Have fish of different kinds round most of the time. Ship's crew are all in health.

54½ days from Boston, 25 days from Isle of *Sal,* (long passages). Keep all hands through the day in good weather, employed in the various departments of the ship—it is best to keep them moving. They are allowed tea or coffe, each morn-

ing and in general the ship's fare is good, but proper attention to airing their beds and cloathing and fumigating their berths is not paid.

27. S. Latt. 2° 5′; W. Long. 28° 26′; Azi. 5° 50′ W. Pleasant, agreeable weather. Wind from SE to ESE. Plenty of fish about us. Breezes moderate.

28. S. Latt. 3° 34′; W. Long. 29° 5′. Spoke a French India ship, from L'Orient bound to Pondicherry, reckond himself in Longitude 26° 50′ W. of Paris. Caught a large Albacore.[3] Wind ESE. Pleasant weather.

29. S. Latt. 5° 12′; W. Long. 29° 22′; Amp'd 4° 59′ W. Winds from ESE., squally weather.

30. S. Latt. 7° 24′; W. Long. 30° 16′; Azi. 4° 51′ W. Fresh gales. Caught an Albacore that weighed 130 lb. Spoke a Portuguese ship from Lisbon bound to Rio Janeiro.

31. S. Latt. 9° 31′; W. Long. 31° 9′; Morning Azi. 4° 8′, Evening, Azi. 3° 42′. A ship in sight. Pleasant weather with fresh trade winds, from ESE. to SE.

December 3. S. Latt. 13° 30′; W. Long. 32° 26′; Azi. 1° 40′ W.; O. ☾. This day lost the SE. general winds, and immediately took it at NE. This Northly wind is no doubt the Monsoon prevailing at this season along the Brazill coast. Pleasant weather.

4. S. Latt. 14° 39′; W. Long. 32° 40′; Amp'd 0° 53′ W. Light breezes from NE. and very hot weather.

6. S. Latt. 17° 23′; W. Long. 33° 14′; azi. 1° 28′ W. Moderate breezes and pleasant. Winds from NE. to ENE.

7. S. Latt. 18° 25′; W. Long. 33° 33′; Amp'd 0° 17′ E. Do winds and weather, and swell from NE.

9. S. Latt. 21° 52′; W. Long. 35° 43′; Azi. 1° 36′ E. Moderate monsoon, and fair weather.

10. S. Latt. 23° 55′; W. Long. 37° 4′; Azi. 2° 34′ E. Lively breeze and pleasant temperate weather.

11. S. Latt. 25° 0′; W. Long. 38° 44′ O ☾. This day a heavy squall struck the ship, carried away the top gall't masts and yards, topsail yards, and fore, and mizen, topmasts; lost the top gall't sails and damaged the topsails.

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3 A large species of Tunny (Thynnus).—W. C. F.

13. S. Latt. 27° 11′; W. Long. 39° 18′; Azi. 5° 15′ E. In the course of this day got ship to rights again. Winds sometimes hauls to the southward of East. Crew all in health.

14. S. Latt. 27° 50′; W. Long. 40° 5′; Amp'd 8° 5′ E. Wind at SE., moderate breeze, large swell from SW.

16. S. Latt. 30° 26′; W. Long. 42° 59′; Azi. and Amp'd 8° 28′ E. Wind at NE. and weather pleasant.

18. S. Latt. 32° 52′; W. Long. 45° 39′; Azi. 9° 0′ E. O ☾. This day the NE. winds left us, and come at NW., fresh breeze and cloudy hazy weather.

21. S. Latt. 33° 56′; W. Long. 48° 34′; Azi. 11° 32′ E. Saw an Albatross, many other kinds flying about the ship. Large sea from SE.

22. S. Latt. 34° 33′; W. Long. 48° 15′; Azi. 11° 38′ E. ✳ ☾. This day a heavy gale of wind from the SE. Lay too. Saw a turtle. A high sea.

25. S. Latt. 36° 57′; W. Long. 46° 23′; Azi. 11° 36′ E. Cool weather. Since the NE. winds left they have generally prevailed from the Southward, and blow'd fresh.

26. S. Latt. 37° 37′; W. Long. 47° 20′. Sounded, no bottom, 150 fm. line out the water discolour'd.

27. S. Latt. 39° 7′; W. Long. 49° 58′. Discolor'd water. Sounded no bottom at 150 fm.

29. S. Latt. 41° 6′; W. Long. 53° 28′; Azi. 17° 25′ E. Discolor'd water, no bottom at 120 fm. lowr'd a whale boat, and struck a black fish but lost him. The iron drew.

30. S. Latt. 41° 53′; W. Long. 54° 4′; Azi. 17° 54′ E. Cold weather. Winds from SW.

31. S. Latt. 42° 46′; W. Long. 53° 45′; Azi. 17° 54′ E. Fresh gales. Caught 16 Albatross's, with a hook and line from the stern, hook'd them in the bill. Ships crew are all in health.

So ends the year 1790.

MADE THE BRAZIL COAST OR PATIGONIA.

1791. *January* 6. S. Latt. 48° 0′; W. Long. 54° 0′; Amp'd 21° 2′ E. Generally fresh gales, and winds mostly from the Southward. Have caught many albatrosses within

these few days past, and seen plenty of Finback and right whales. Experience a current setting to the Southward.

7. S. Latt. 47° 43′; W. Long. 54° 40′; Amp'd 20° 10′ E. Fresh gales and pleasant cool weather.

10. S. Latt. 46° 28′; W. Long. 58° 22′. Winds from the southward. Sounded, no ground, with 120 fm. line. Saw seals and whales. Water much discolour'd.

13. S. Latt. 45° 2′; W. Long. 61° 14′; O ☾. A whale come so near as to strike the ship with his flukes and gave considerable of a blow. Got bottom, with 53 fm. line, fine black sand, with a few white specks.

14. S. Latt. 46° 0′; W. Long. 62° 0′. Wind from NW. Soundings 50 fm., fine black sand.

15. S. Latt. 45° 31′; W. Long. 63° 54′; Azi. 22° 0′ E. Winds from the Southward. Soundings 45 fm., soft mud with sand.

17. S. Latt. 46° 48′; W. Long. 66° 58′. Fresh gales, under double reef'd topsails, with a high sea. At noon 35 fm. mud, wind NE. Saw the land to the Westward of Cape Blanco on the Coast of Patigonia, bearing from SSE. to SW. Very squally, haul'd our wind to the Eastward, find the ship embayed with the wind, on shore. Stood on within 2 miles of the beach, and cou'd not weather the land on our larboard tack; we were under the necessity of wearing ship to the Westward, at this time had 12 fm. grey sand. Our situation was very critical, as we cannot weather the land on either tack. Bent cables, and overhaul'd a range of each of them, pass'd several times over very shoal water but did not sound, for fear of intimidating the crew. Ship'd many seas, one of which stove the Binnacle and broke the Compasses. Wore ship several times as the wind favour'd. This land appear'd levell, without much wood and very high grass growing. Saw several smokes, but none of the Natives The shore was lined with white sand banks. Fortunately at midnight the wind moderated, and haul'd more of shore. Haul'd off into 20 fm. and stood along shore; given the Cape a good berth.

18. S. Latt. 47° 9′; W. Long. 66° 38′; Azi. 21° 36′ E. Saw breakers a head, haul'd to the East'd. Cape Blanco bore

S. 65° W., 4 leagues. Sounded and had but 5 fm. water; deepened gradually, in 25 fm. pebble or gravell stones. This shoal was not laid down in the Drafts. I judge it to be very small.

AT THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

19. S. Latt. 48° 37′; W. Long. 66° 8′. Winds from the SW. 56 fm. water, weather pleasant but cold. Many Albatross and large *scholes* of Whales.

22. S. Latt. 51° 53′; W. Long. 64° O ☾. Wind at NW. and squally. Made the Islands of Sebald-De Wert,[4] (or Jasons Islands) which lie off the NW. part of the Group call'd Falkland. Vast many birds and seals round. Made sail to the South'd for States Bay, in New Island (one of the Falkland). At 6 A. M. saw Cape *Percivall,* SBE. 10 leagues. Fresh gales. At Meridian anchord, in New Island harbour. Mud and sand in 5 fm. Remain'd in this Harbour 11 days, during which time we give the ship a complete overhaul. We had the winds generally from the westward, and sometimes blew so strong that we drag'd with 5 anchors a head. A tent was erected on shore, for the Tradesmen. Found the watering place very handy, and the water excellent. The ship's crew on our arrival was all in health. Still no doubt, by being frequently indulg'd on shore, was of great service to them. The weather generally was very cool. During our stay at these Island[s] we shot upwards of 1000 Ducks and Geese, and *6 Hogs* (*which was evidently of the Spanish breed*). The fowl was quite tame when we first arriv'd, but they soon was taught the doctrine of self-preservation. The Swine was very wild.

The face of the Country does not present a very delightful prospect, extensive heaths, mountains, and ponds of water are to be seen all over the Island. There is not a tree upon it, but the grass is 3 feet high in most places. The turf generally of the height of 6 foot, between which the Hogs and Penguins have their habitations.[5] The soil appear'd to me to be proper for the reception of such seeds as contribute towards the sub-

4 Sebald de Weert, who circumnavigated the globe in 1598-99 in the ship *het Geloof*, the sole surviving vessel of the fleet of five commanded by Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes.—W. C. F.

5 Hoskins describes the mode of hunting these hogs. "The party being ashore,

stenance of inhabitants. The wild Cellery, which is an excellent antiscorbutic grows here in abundance.

I think these Islands are most proper to touch at, when bound round Cape Horn in preference to those in Straits La Maire[6] as the water is handy, and you may keep your People on Geese and Ducks while you remain.

IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN AFTER PASSING STATEN LAND AND CAPE HORN.

February 3. S. Latt. 51° 47′; W. Long. 66° 10′; Amp'd 25° 7′ E. Wind from the Southward and pleasant weather. Left the Falkland Isles last evening. This day spoke the Ship *Bedford,* Laben Coffin, Master, from Dunkirk (in France) bound to the Pacific Ocean, on a whaling voyage.[7] Took a departure from Cape Percivall at 6 P. M., it being the westward extreme of the Falkland, lying in Latt. 51° 50′ South, and Longitude 66° West of London. Light airs, and a swell from the Southward. Vast many marine birds flying round.

5. S. Latt. 53° 54′; W. Long. 69° 36′; Amp'd 25° 1′ E. Moderate breezes and pleasant. Saw Staten Land[8] bearing *South* 14 leagues distant, a Current setting to the Eastward.

6. S. Latt. 54° 52′; W. Long. 68° 13′. Pleasant weather. St. Bartholomews on Staten Land, bore SWBW.

7. S. Latt. 55° 24′; W. Long. 68° 1′; Amp'd 25° 16′ E. Winds light and from the Westward, a Constant Current setting to the Eastward. Staten Land in sight, bearing WNW.

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six would enter at one end of those tufts of grass armed, walking through them with a hue and cry; while two would walk on each side and two stationed at each end, ready to shoot the hog as soon as he should run out; by this means we were able to kill seven hogs and catch one pig alive."

6 Named after Jacob le Maire, who circumnavigated the world in 1615-1617.—W. C. F.

ANNOTATIONS BY JUDGE F. W. HOWAY, except on entries made when the *Columbia* was south of the Straits of Juan de Fuca. For this part of her cruise annotations are by Mr. T. C. Elliott. The annotations by Worthington C. Ford, editor Proceedings Massachusetts National Society, retained, are indicated by Mr. Ford's initials, W. C. F.

7 Ingraham in the preceding January had met in much the same locality the French whaler *Necker* from Dunkirk, Captain John Haives. He explains: "This ship was sailed under French papers and colours, yet she was an America-built ship likewise the Captain all his officers & most of his men were Americans but the great encouragement given by the French government to Americans to settle in France and fit out ships in the whaling service has induced many of our countrymen to emigrate yet I believe the major part of them have no idea of remaining among the French longer than they by their industry obtain a sufficiency to enable them to live comfortably in their own country."

8 I. de los Estados.—W. C. F.

20 leagues distant, very high and unequal land, with snow on the mountains.

12. S. Latt. 58° 0′; W. Long. 76° 15′; Azi. 24° 36′ E. Weather still holds pleasant, but very cold. Winds generally from the Eastward.

17. S. Latt. 60° 1′; W. Long. 82° 8′; Azi. 24° 30′ E. Winds since the 12th has been much from the Westward and blowd excessive fiery, with high seas. This day's Latitude is the highest South during the passage.

23. S. Latt. 57° 36′; W. Long. 84° 42′. A Seal playing round the ship. (Light winds.)

27. S. Latt. 54° 44′; W. Long. 86° 24′; Azi. 23° 52′ E. Cape Horn is *doubled*. Winds light from the west'd with frequent calms.

March 13. S. Latt. 43° 9′; W. Long. 88° 55′; Amp'd 15° 54′ E. Since 27th Feb'y winds have prevailed generally from the Westward, with moderate breezes and pleasant weather.

19. S. Latt. 40° 32′; W. Long. 88° 20′; Azi. 14° 28′ E. Light winds and pleasant.

21. S. Latt. 37° 43′; W. Long. 88° 7′; Azi. 14° 44′ E. Very pleasant weather. Some of the Crew have the Scurvy in the Gums.

24. S. Latt. 36° 56′; W. Long. 89° 7′; Azi. 13° 20′ E. Light winds from NW. and frequent Calms.

26. S. Latt. 34° 35′; W. Long. 88° 41′; Azi. 12° 51′ E.; Amp'd 12° 35′ E.; 2d Azi. 12° 47′ E. Very pleasant, and temperate light airs.

31. S. Latt. 30° 0′; W. Long. 89° 28′. Winds still from the westward with pleasant weather. Ship's Crew are in health.

PASSAGE FROM CAPE HORN TO THE NW. COAST.

April 2. S. Latt. 27° 17′; W. Long. 89° 38′; Azi. 11° 50′ E. O ☾. This day took the SE. trades, and experienced a swell from the Northward. Weather very pleasant.

4. S. Latt. 24° 59′; W. Long. 93° 0′; Azi. 11° 34′ E. Swell from the Southward.

6. S. Latt. 22° 38′; W. Long. 96° 12′; Azi. 10° 14′ E. Steady trades and fair. Blackfish and Porpoises.

8. S. Latt. 20° 56′; W. Long. 98° 19′; Azi. 10° 26′ E. Very pleasant, with smooth sea, winds to the North of East.

9. S. Latt. 20° 32′; W. Long. 98° 55′; Azi. 9° 59′ E. Small winds.

10. S. Latt. 19° 41′; W. Long. 99° 56′; Azi. 9° 50′ E. Small winds.

11. S. Latt. 18° 50′; W. Long. 100° 29′; Amp'd 9° 12′ E. Small winds. Wind at ESE. Ship's Crew is many of them complaining.

12. S. Latt. 17° 57′; W. Long. 101° 24′; Azi. 9° 16′ E. A little Scurvy among the Crew.

15. S. Latt. 14° 9′; W. Long. 105° 28′; Azi. 9° 0′ E. Lively trade winds and pleasant serene breeze, with smooth water.

16. S. Latt. 12° 36′; W. Long. 106° 54′; Azi. 7° 50′ E. Do. Do.

22. S. Latt. 5° 37′; W. Long. 113° 39′; Azi. 6° 44′ E. Amp'd 6° 32′ E. Saw a Turtle.

23. S. Latt. 4° 37′; W. Long. 114° 39′ O ☾. Between the hours of 3 and 4 P. M. Departed this life our dear friend *Nancy* the *Goat* having been the *Captain's* companion on a former voyage round the Globe, but her spirited disposition for adventure led her to undertake a second voyage of Circumnavigation; But the various changes of Climate, and sudden transition from the Polar Colds, to the tropical heats of the Torrid zone, prov'd too much for a constitution naturally delicate. At 5 P. M. Committed her body to the deep. She was lamented by those who got a share of her *Milk!!*[9] Men of War Birds and Porpoises round.

26. S. Latt. 1° 59′; W. Long. 117° 23′; Azi. 6° 0′ E.; Amp'd 5° 34′ E. Pleasant weather. Saw a Turtle. Many Barracota and Dolphin round the ship.

28. S. Latt. 0° 50′; W. Long. 118° 35′; Azi. and Amp'd 5° 30′ E. Caught a shark; porpoises about the ship. Excessive warm.

29. S. Latt. 0° 5′; W. Long. 119° 13′; Azi. and Amp'd 5° 18′ E. O ☾. Gentle trades at ESE and pleasant. Four

9 Hoskins records this incident: "On the 23d having some rice up to air, our best she goat got at it, eat so much that it swel'd her belly and caused her death; this was the more grievous as it depriv'd us of the greatest delicacy we had in the Ship, her milk, which made our tea so much the more palatable."

seamen laid *by,* with the Scurvey, their mouths and legs are very bad.[10]

30. Both by Meridian and Double Altitudes N. Latt. 0° 50′; W. Long. 119° 59′; Azi. 5° 15′ E. Porpoises and Bonnetto round together with Tropic Birds and Boobies.

May 2. N. Latt. 3° 26′; W. Long. 121° 45′; Azi. 6° 28′ E. Sharks round, and Boobies. This day took the NE trade wind.

3. N. Latt. 4° 38′; W. Long. 122° 42′; Azi. 6° 52′ E. Squally weather porpoises round and many birds, on the wing.

8. N. Latt. 12° 34′; W. Long. 128° 5′; Fresh trade winds. Saw a turtle.

13. N. Latt. 20° 7′; W. Long. 132° 44′; Azi. 9° 1′ E. Fresh trade winds. Porpoises round. Weather pleasant.

15. N. Latt. 23° 9′; W. Long. 132° 33′; Azi. 9° 47′ E. Steady trade winds and very pleasant. Scurvy making progress.

AT ANCHOR IN COX'S HARBOUR OR CLIOQUOT ON THE NW. COAST.

17. N. Latt. 25° 35′; W. Long. 133° 43′; Azi. 9° 45′ E. Fresh trade winds and generally pleasant weather.

19. N. Latt. 27° 38′; W. Long. 134° 15′; Azi. 10° 41′. Do. Do. 7 Men off duty with the *scurvy,* their Gums is quite putrid, and legs as big round as their bodies and quite *numb,* (the worst of Complaints!!).

24. N. Latt. 34° 9′; W. Long. 135° 33′; Amp'd 12° 20′ E. This day lost the NE trades, and immediately took the wind from the westward.

31. N. Latt. 46° 47′; W. Long. 125° 50′; Azi. 17° 20′ E. Have had *generally* fresh breezes and cool weather since 24th with the winds *generally* from SW. Many birds round, among the rest some that look'd like Plovers. 6 People extreme bad, with the scurvy.

June 4. N. Latt. 49° 10′; W. Long. 120° 21′. This day made the land, on the NW. Coast of the American Conti-

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10 Strangely enough, Hoskins makes no mention of the appearance of the scurvy until 20th, May, when he records "the scurvy began to make its appearance on one of the people." Eight days later he adds that "six of our people (are) confin'd with the scurvy."

nent between Nootka[11] (or King George's Sound) and Cliquot[12] (or Coxes harbour). For these severall days past we had seen whales, drift wood, feathers, kelp, etc. All signs of its vicinity. Breakers pt.[13] bore NEBE 8 leagues, high land back, and snow perceivable on some of the mountains. Wind from Southward.

5. N. Latt. 49° 5′; *Correct* W. Long. 125° 26′ O ☾. This day anchor in Coxes harbour,[14] and found it very commodious. This Harbour is made remarkable by three remarkable round Hills,[15] abreast its entrance. *Hannah,*[16] Chief of the village Ahhousett,[17] came on board and appeared friendly. Above 300 of the Natives was alongside in the course of the day. Their canoes was made from the body of a tree, with stem, and stern, pieces, neatly fixed on. Their models was not unlike our Nantucket whale boats. The dress of these Indians was either the Skin of some Animal, or else a Blankett of their own manufactory, made of some kind of Hair.[18] This garment was slung over the right shoulder. They all appear'd very friendly, brought us plenty of fish and greens. We tarry'd in this

11 This sound is situated in latitude 49° 32′ north, longitude 126° 35′ west. By general consent its discovery is attributed to Captain James Cook, who spent some weeks there in March and April, 1778; though it is now known that the Spaniards had seen land near its entrance in August, 1774. Captain Cook first named it King George's Sound, but later changed it to Nootka, believing that to be the native name. Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 288, 4to. ed. 1785. As to the probable origin of the name, see Walbran's Place Names, p. 359. During the early years of the maritime fur trade it was of considerable commercial importance; the seizure of Meares' vessels and the threatened war between Britain and Spain made it, in 1790, world-known.

12 Clayoquot Sound is about fifty miles to the southward of Nootka. It comprises a number of inlets covering an area of about thirty miles in length and sixteen in breadth. The Port Cox of Meares was near the entrance to this sound, probably on the east side of Stubbs Island.

13 Now Estevan Point, the southern entrance of Hope Bay, as Cook called the water between it and Woody Point, now Cape Cook; Nootka Sound is one of its inlets. It was in this vicinity that the Spaniards, in the *Santiago,* under Juan Perez, anchored on 8th August, 1774.

14 Named by Meares in 1788 after John Henry Cox of Canton, who is frequently referred to in the acrimonious discussion that went on between Meares and Dixon after the appearance of the former's Voyages. See a sketch of it in Meares Voyages, 4to. ed. p. 202.

15 These are well known landmarks today. They are on Meares Island; the highest is called Lone Peak.

16 This was Chief Cleaskinah, who exchanged names with Captain Hanna of the *Sea Otter* in 1786. Meares met him in June, 1788, and describes him as "about forty and carried in his looks all the exterior marks of pleasantry and good humour." Meares Voyages 4to. ed. p. 136. Gray had met him in March, 1789. Haswell in his first Log says he "seemed a very intelligent old fellow." The custom of exchanging names as a token of friendship was prevalent on this coast and is mentioned by Meares, Roquefeuil and many others.

17 Ahousat, an Indian village, now on Flores Island in Clayoquot Sound; but at this time the tribe were still living at their original home on Vargas Island in the same sound, from which they had an uninterrupted view of the ocean. This old village site, now abandoned, was called Ahous, and thus gives its name to the tribe.

18 The celebrated dogs' hair blankets of the Coast Salish. For a discussion of this subject, see Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. ix, pp. 83-92.

harbour till the 16th June, landed the sick, immediately on our arrival and pitch'd a tent for their reception, and although there was ten of them in the last stage of Scurvy, still they soon recover'd, upon smelling the turf, and eating greens of various kinds. We buried severall of our sick, up to the Hips, in the earth, and let them remain for *hours* in that situation. Found this method of great service. The principall village in this harbour is called *Opitsatah,*[19] and is governed by Wickananish,[20] a warlike Chief. He and his family visited us often. The Indians brought severall *Deer,* and plenty of Rock Cod, Salmon, and other fish. Wild parsley, and a root call'd *Isau* or Isop,[21] by the natives and much resembling a small onion, was brought us in abundance. We purchas'd many of the Sea Otter skins in exchange for Copper,[22] and blue Cloth. These Indians are of a large size, and somewhat corpulent. The Men wear no other covering, but the garment before mentioned, and seem to have no sense of shame, as they appear in a state of Nature. The Women stand in great fear of the Males,[23] but appear to be naturally very modest. Their garment is manufactured from the bark of a tree and is well executed, being so constructed as to cover them complete from the Neck to the Ancle. Both Male and Female wear *Hats* of a conicle form made out of strong reeds.[24] On them is painted, (in a rude manner) their mode of Whale fishery.

19 An Indian village on the southwest side of Meares Island in Clayoquot Sound. It is shown on Meares' map of Port Cox (4to. ed. p. 202), being the northerly one of the two villages there shown. Today it is known officially as Opitsat; but is generally spoken of as Clayoquot Indian village. Father Brabant spells it Opissat.

20 This chief, whose name is spelled by the early voyagers in a variety of ways, figures in almost every account of these expeditions. He is the first chief that Haswell mentions, as having been met the *Washington* was cruising northward on 1st September, 1788. He came on board, says Haswell, "completely while dressed in a genteel sute of Cloths which he said Captain Mears had given him."

21 Haswell calls this plant a leek.

22 On his first voyage Gray had found copper much in demand; he had evidently profited by his experience. Luckily for him the variable taste of the natives, of which the traders all complain, had not changed in the interval. Copper was almost sterling amongst them; but they were whimsical as to the thickness of the sheets.

23 Exactly the reverse conditions prevailed in Queen Charlotte Islands, as both Ingraham and Haswell inform us.

24 For a complete description of these cedar bark garments, see Cook's Third Voyage, 4to. ed. vol. 2, p. 304. In the folio atlas accompanying this edition of Cook's Voyage will be found a picture showing these garments and also the hats.

Attoo,[25] the Captain's servant (and a native of the Sandwich Isle) ran away, among the Indians. A chief coming on board, plac'd a guard over him, and sent his Canoe back to the village with the news. They soon return'd with *Mr. Attoo,* and ransom'd their Chief.[26]

17. This day weigh'd the anchors and left Coxe's harbour. Fine weather, wind at SW. All hands once again on duty. Make the people use Spruce Tea,[27] boil'd from the Boughs we took on board, for that purpose and although not very palatable, I believe is an excellent *Antiscorbutic.* Bound along shore to the North and West. Saw woody point bearing ESE 3 or 4 leagues.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE AND JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS

20. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 12′. Moderate breezes. At 8 P. M. abreast Woody point,[28] lay'd off and on through the night. At daylight made sail, for Chickleset sound,[29] out Pinnace, and sent her ahead of the ship to sound. At 8 A. M. abreast the entrance of the sound. Hove to. At 10 the pinnace made the signall for an harbour. Bore away, wind at NW. At Meridian anchor'd in a small Cove, (which we named

25 This boy had been taken from the Sandwich Islands by Captain Gray on his first voyage, just as Cook took Omai from Otaheite and Meares took Tianna from Attoo. E. G. Porter in his article on the Ship *Columbia* and the Discovery of the Oregon in the New England Magazine for June, 1892, says on page 478 that Attoo was a "young chief (sometimes called the crown-prince)." In any event he was flogged for this attempted desertion. See further, as regards him, the entries under dates 18th January, 1792, and 2nd November, 1792.

26 In Hoskins' Narrative will be found the details of this incident, including the deception by which the Chief, Tootiscoosettle, the eldest brother of Wickananish, was induced to come on board, and thereafter held until Attoo was brought back. Some of the subsequent difficulties may possibly be connected with this event.

27 This was a recognized anti-scorbutic. This decoction must have been very nasty; it was originally prepared, "brewed," some of the voyagers call it, from the trees themselves. For reference to it, see Meares' Voyages, Introduction, 4to. ed. p. xx; Cook's Third Voyage, 4to. ed., vol. 2, p. 273; vol. 3, p. 331; Dixon's Voyage, p. 151; Portlock's Voyage, pp. 215, 217, 231, etc., and many other authorities.

28 Now Cape Cook, the most westerly point of Vancouver Island, and the northern entrance to Hope Bay. It was so named by Captain Cook in 1778, but was changed, in honour of the great navigator, to Cape Cook by Captain George H. Richards, H. M. surveying vessel *Plumper,* in 1860. Walbran's Place Names, p. 107.

29 This sound was well known, especially to the American traders. It is evidently Nesparte Inlet, north of Kyoquot Sound, and of which Woody Point (Cape Cook) is the entrance. Haswell, in his first Log, states that it lay about two leagues west of "Caoquot" (Kyoquot); Hoskins mentions "Catioquot" (Kyoquot) as being in its vicinity; in Haswell's second Log is a chart of the sound, which corresponds generally with Nesparte Inlet; Hoskins' description of its surroundings fits this sound exactly; and finally in the map in the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 1916, vol. 4, p. 850, Nesparte Inlet is marked "Chickleset."

Columbias).[30] In this situation we was completely land lock'd. Vast many natives alongside. They appear'd much the same as those at Coxs harbour and talk'd their language. We laid in this harbour till the 26th, during which time got many Sea Otter and land furs, from the Natives, in exchange for Copper, Iron and Cloth, (with Beads, fish Hooks and such small stuff kept the Ship supplied with various kinds of fish and greens, with a few deer). These Natives was generally arm'd with Bows, arrows, and spears. Like those at Clioquot they would pilfer whenever an opportunity offer'd. Their *Women* were more Chaste than those we had lately left. But still they were not all *Dianas*. During our tarry here I visited one of the villages in the sound, found the Natives busily employ'd building Canoes, and packing provisions against the ensuing *Winter*. They treated me quite friendly. They dry their fish in the Sun, and then pack it in neat wooden *boxes*.[31] ☞ Necessity is the mother of *invention*.

26. This day left Columbia's Cove, and stood along shore towards the Straits of Juan De Fuca. Crew all well. Steering to the South and East'd. This is an Iron bound Coast, with high land back.

27. This day pass'd Clioquot, with a fine breeze from WNW and pleasant.

28. N. Latt. 48° 42′; W. Long. 124° 0′. Enter'd the Straits of Juan De Fuca and hove to abreast the Village of Nittenatt,[32] found strong tides. Vast many Natives off, with Sea Otter and other Furs, which we purchas'd with the same articles as before. 'T was evident that these Natives had been visited by that scourge of mankind the Smallpox.[33] The

30 It would appear that this cove is that now known as Quin-e-ex, on Nesparte Inlet. It is on the southeast side of Brooks Peninsula, a few miles from Cape Cook. The Indian village, Opswis, mentioned by Hoskins, is opposite this cove and is now called "Opsowis." See further hereon the above map and Report, pp. 853-891.

31 For a description of these boxes, see Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 316. A picture of one will be seen in the view of the interior of a house at Nootka Sound, contained in the accompanying atlas.

32 Nitinat. "Nittenat," says Hoskins, "lies in the latitude of 48° 40′ north, longitude 124° 06′ west; it has no harbor or any other shelter before it; and is only rendered remarkable by a large cataract or waterfall a few miles to the northward of it." Probably this is Clo-oose, the head village of the tribe, which lies about a mile eastward from the discharge of Nitinat Lake.

33 Portlock in his Voyage, p. 271, heard of great ravages of this disease amongst the Tlingit, and believed that it was introduced by the Spaniards in 1775, and worked its way down the coast.

Spaniards, as the natives say, brought it among them. These Indians appear'd friendly.

N. Latt. 48° 23′; W. Long. 124° 0′ O ☾ ✳ ☾. Kept beating about the entrance of De Fuca Straits till 3d July, on SE. parts (off a small Isle) call'd Tatooch,[34] we collected many Otters. These natives gave the preference to Copper. Fine Halibut and Salmon was procured in abundance. Nails, Beads, etc. serv'd for this traffic. This Chief at Tatooch's Isle offer'd to sell us some young Children they had taken in war.[35].

July 3. N. Latt. 49° 1′; W. Long. 126° 20′. Left the Straits. At 6 P. M. Cape *Flattery*[36] (so named by Capt. Cook) bore SEBE 8 leagues. Standing along shore to the Westward, wind from the East'd.

4. Took the wind from the Westward, employ'd beating to windward the land about 12 leagues. Many Whales.

AT ANCHOR IN BARRELL'S SOUND, IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES

8. N. Latt. 52° 10′; W. Long 131° 12′. This day anchor'd in Barrells sound[37] on the SE. part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, 20 fathom, rocky bottom. Sent the Pinnace, with an officer, to seek better anchorage, which was soon found. Got under way and stood up sound, and anchor'd in 15 fathom muddy bottom. A Chief by name *Coyac*,[38] came along side, with plenty of other Indians. The Natives here are much stouter than any we had before seen, and appear to be very savage. The Men go quite naked, except a skin over the

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34 Tatoosh Island, off Cape Flattery; named in 1788 by Meares, after Tatooch, by the Spaniards called Tetaous, the Chief of the vicinity. See also note 186 *post*.

35 In the same locality in March, 1789, Haswell records that the natives "offered their own manufactured blankets which weir realy curious and children for sale." Captain Peron alleges in his Memoires that, in 1796, "Apres une assez longue negociation, Makouina (Maquinna) nous le (i e. a child of six years of age) vendit, moyennant trois brasses de drap bleu." See vol. 2, p. 2. Other instances are recorded.

36 Named by Captain Cook on 22nd March, 1778, because its appearance "flattered us with the hopes of finding an harbour." See vol. 2, p. 263.

37 Haswell, writing under date 11th June, 1789, says: "this sound was honoured with the name of Barrel Sound in honour of our owner." Joseph Barrell was really the principal of the six co-owners of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*. It is now called Houston Stewart Channel; it separates Moresby Island from Prevost Island. Dixon, who was on the coast in command of the *Queen Charlotte* in 1787, named it Ibbertson's Sound.

38 Haswell calls him Coya; Hoskins calls him Coyah. The latter says that Coyah, whom Gray had met in 1789, did not come near the ship until a little after sunset, when most of the natives had left; that he told them Captain Barnard (Barnett) had got all their skins and asked Gray to wait for a few days for a fresh supply.

shoulder. The Women are entirely cover'd, with Garments of their own manufactory, from the bark of tree.[39] They appear to carry full sway over the men[40] and have an incision cut through the under lip, which they spread out with a piece of wood, about the size and shape of a goose egg (some much larger). It's considered as an ornament, but in my opinion looks very gastly. Some of them booms out two inches from the chin.[41] The women appear very fond of their *offspring,* and the Men of both. We remain'd in this sound till the 17th. During which time we purchas'd a good lot of Sea Otter and other furs chiefly for Iron and Cloth. Copper was not in demand. The boats were sent frequently after wood and water, but were always well arm'd. The Natives supplied us with plenty of Halibut and Rock Cod, for which we paid them in *Nails.* Wild fowl was plenty in this Sound, of which we caught and kill'd many. I landed at one of their villages, found the Indians comfortably lodg'd, and kept large fires, although the weather was temperate. When I went into one of their houses they was eating roast muscles and singing a warlike Song. They appear'd fond of our visit and never offer'd to molest any thing in the boat. Their canoes are not made near so neat as those we had seen before, but I think was more commodious. The females was not very chaste, but their lip pieces was enough to disgust any civilized being. However some of the Crew was quite partial.

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39 The cedar—the blessed tree of the Northwest Coast.

40 Both Hoskins Narrative and Ingraham's Journal are to the same effect and both give examples of this sway. See also Vancouver's Voyage, 4to. ed., vol. 2, p. 409, and Portlock's Voyage, p. 290.

41 This is the labret, or, as it is called amongst the Haida, the natives of Queen Charlotte Islands, the staie, which has excited the curiosity and derision of all the visitors to those islands from the time of Perez downward. Dixon gives a description and a picture of one, which was three and seven-eighths inches long and two and five-eighths inches in the widest part; it was inlaid with a small pearly shell, round which was a rim of copper. See Dixon's Voyage, p. 208. The custom was not confined to the Haida; it extended from Yukatat Bay to the boundaries of the Kwakiutl. Sir George Simpson in his Narrative of his Journey round the World, vol. I, p. 204. records having met instances of its use at Fort McLoughlin, amongst the Bella Bella Indians. Father Crespi, who accompanied Juan Perez in 1774, gives the first account of this strange adornment. "They (the women) wear pendant from the lower lip, which is pierced, a disk painted in colors, which appeared to be of wood, slight and curved, which makes them seem very ugly, and, at a little distance they appear as if the tongue was hanging out of the mouth. Easily, and with only a movement of the lip, they raise it so that it covers the mouth and part of the nose. Those of our people who saw them from a short distance said that a hole was pierced in the lower lip and the disk hung therefrom. We do no know the object of this; whether it be done to make themselves ugly, as some think, or for the purpose of ornament." Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, vol. 2, p. 192.

IN THE STRAITS OF ADMIRAL DEFONT[42]

17. Weigh'd and left Barrells sound, bound to the Straits of Admiral De Font,[43] which is formed by the Charlotte Isles and the *Main*.

18. N. Latt. 51 : 34′. Wind from Westward and pleasant, beating to and fro, off the South pt. of Charlotte Isles, endeavouring to get into the Straits.

23. N. Latt. 52° 26′; W. Long. 131° 30′; Azi. 20° 22′ E. Spoke the Brig *Hope*,[44] Joseph Ingrahim master from Boston, on the same business with ourselves. Soon parted.

24. N. Latt. 53° 6′. A small Isle, in the Straits bore North at Meridian, which we named *Hatches*.[45] Weather is generally clear, so that the *Isles* and Main are distinctly seen together. Found ground at 120 fm. The Natives wou'd often come along side from the Main, or *Isles*, as we border'd on either shore, and brought furs and plenty of Halibut, which you cou'd buy for a board Nail apiece.

28. N. Latt. 53° 14′; W. Long. 132° 0′; Azi. 21° 35′ E. Ship over towards the Main. Send an officer[46] in the pinnace

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42 In terms of modern geography the *Columbia* now leaves Houston Stewart Channel, sails west into the Pacific Ocean, rounds Cape St. James, the southern point of Queen Charlotte Islands, proceeds up Hecate Strait, which lies between these islands and the mainland of British Columbia, keeping generally to the mainland side, and turning to the westward follows along the northern shores of Dixon Entrance, the strait separating Queen Charlotte Islands from Alaska.

43 The story of this fictitious voyage of Admiral Bartholomew De Fonte will be found in Bancroft's History of the Northwest Coast, vol. I, pp. 115-118. For a full discussion, see Navarrete's Viajes y Descubrimientos Apocrifos, pp. 134-161. Haswell, Hoskins, Ingraham and Boit all believed in the existence of his fabled strait, which by an involved series of lakes and rivers conected with the Atlantic Ocean. The stretch of water called De Font's Strait by Boit is Hecate Strait. See also hereon, Vancouver's discussion of the voyage in Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 6, pp. 8 vo. ed. 1801.

44 The *Hope* was a brig which left Boston a few days before the departure of the *Columbia* in 1790, under the command of Joseph Ingraham, who had been first officer on the *Columbia* on her first voyage. Ingraham left an account of both his voyages; but that of the first voyage has disappeared; and the second one is not complete, the entries ending abruptly after the *Hope* left the coast in the fall of 1792. His charts today are all the information that exists relative to some parts of the west coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. The account of this meeting of the two Boston vessels is also given by Hoskins, who was on the *Columbia*, and by Ingraham. Hoskins says: "During the night we had light airs and pleasant weather heard the cutting of wood at a distance which sounded as if on a vessel's deck when the lanhorns were ordered to be hoisted at four the next morning (the 23d) the south extreme of the land bore south by east six leagues distance at half past five saw a sail to the northward which by her signals we soon discovered to be the *Hope* of Boston Joseph Ingraham commander when at a short distance he welcomed us with three cheers which was immediately returned the *Hope* hove to under our lee when the jolly boat was sent for Captain Ingraham who came on board." Ingraham's version is not reproduced, as Professor E. S. Meany has appended it in a note to this journal, which will be found in the Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xii, p. 12.

45 Named after Charles Hatch, one of the owners of the *Columbia*. It is now called Bonilla Island in Hecate Strait, four miles from Banks Island. It is two miles long and one mile broad; rises to a height of 550 feet; and is an excellent landmark.

46 Robert Haswell, the Chief Officer of the ship.

in search of anchorage. Found the land hereabouts low and barren near the shore, but rises back into high mountains. Find excessive strong currents in these Straits. The Natives on the Main speak a language different[47] from those on the Islands. Boat returned without success.

30. N. Latt. 52° 47′; W. Long. 131° O ☾. Fresh gales and stormy weather. At Meridian Charlotte Isles extended from SBW to WBN 8 or 10 leagues. Some Canoes full of Indians boarded us from the Isles. They inform'd us that severall English vessels[48] had visited not long since. We purchased a good lot of furs, chiefly for Iron and Cloth.

31. Stood towards the Islands, and anchored in 24 fm. with a Kedge. Light wind from NW. A Chief (by name *Cumswah*)[49] brought us several fine Sea Otter skins.

August 1. Wind from SE. Standing along the Queen Charlotte Isles, through De Font straits, about 3 or 4 leagues from land, soundings generally from 15 to 25 fm. mud. The main land in sight to the North and West'd at a great distance.[50]

2. Fresh gales and very thick weather. Narrowly escaped running on a reef of rocks. Quite foggy and see the land but seldom, beating to and fro. Wind from the Eastward.

3. N. Latt. 54° 43′; W. Long. 132° 23′. Heavy gales from SE. and thick weather, found the Ship embay'd,[51] employ'd making short hanks. At length we being too nigh the shore for to keep off, through the night, we was alarm'd with all the horrors of a lee shore. A small opening appearing in the land to leeward, hove out the pinnace and sent an officer to examine for anchorage. At 6 in the evening she made a signal for a

47 The observations of the American officers in regard to language are always correct. The natives of Queen Charlotte Islands are of the Haida race; while on the mainland opposite they are Tsimshean.

48 So far as can be discovered there were but two English vessels in this vicinity in 1791, the *Grace*, Captain William Douglas, and the *Gustavus*, Captain Thomas Barnett.

49 The recognized form of the name is Cumshewa. He was one of the principal men of these islands. His head village was on the northern side of Cumshewa Inlet, on the east coast. The place of this anchorage cannot be identified, but it was probably near Skedans on the south side of Cumshewa Inlet or near Cumshewa's village on the north side.

50 Hecate Strait in this locality is about forty miles wide; the land to the northward would be, perhaps, seventy miles distant, being that lying between Prince of Wales Island and the mainland in Southern Alaska.

51 The *Columbia*, driven by gale and current, and in the fog, had entered Clarence Strait. See hereon more fully the "Supplementary Note on the Identification of Port Tempest and Massacre Cove," found at the close of the Journal, pages 350-1.

Harbour. Bore away and anchored under a point of land, in 17 fm. sandy bottom, let go three anchors, it being a wild road stead. We remain'd in this station, which we call'd Port *Tempest*[52] till the 8th and only four Indians made their appearance, and I believe there was no villages[53] in the vicinity. Made severall excursions, with boats, and procur'd many Salmon and plenty of Berries. In one of these excursions I discover'd a small *rivulet,*[54] not deep enough to admit the boat. In it we caught upwards of 100 fine salmon, chiefly with the boat hook and grainz, and shot a deer upon the banks. Crew all in health.

8. Got under way and left Port Tempest (situated on the main land of America),[55] stood over for land in sight to the North'd and westward, and as we approach'd it severall Canoes came off, with furs and halibut.

10. N. Latt. 55° 0′; W. Long. 133° 0′. Light winds and pleasant, standing to the NW. and 6 P. M. came to with the Kedge 28 fm. Port Tempest bearing NEBN. 12 leagues. The Natives brought us plenty of fine Otter furs. Their Canoes are the same as at Charlotte Isles, some of them capable of carrying 30 men. They go well arm'd, with bows, arrows and spears, and appear to be a savage race. I went in the Cutter—well arm'd—to a small cove, not far distant from the Ship, and soon caught 9 large Halibut. The Ship was concealed by a point of land, making out from the NE. part of the Cove.

12. Still laying at anchor in same situation as on the 10th, the nearest land not above ½ mile distant, and the point of the *Cove* I was fishing in on 10 inst. about ¼ mile. Mr. Caswell this morning took a Boatswain Mate and one Seaman with

52 This is identified as being near Point Higgins, at the western entrance of Revillagigedo Channel (otherwise Tongass Narrows), which separates Revillagigedo Island from the Gravina Group of Islands. The reasons which support this suggested identification are so lengthy that it has been thought better to include them in a "Supplementary Note on the Identification of Port Tempest and Massacre Cove," found at the close of the Journal, pages 350-1.

53 Hoskins, however, mentions two, Sushin and Cahta. Some inhabitants of the former were actually on board. The ship was striving to reach Sushin when she anchored near Massacre Cove. The villages were of the Kaigani Haida; the journalist may be referring to villages of the Tlingit; if so, the nearest, according to Vancouver, who was there in August, 1793, was at Point Whaley, perhaps fifty miles distant.

54 The unnamed creek which empties into Ward Cove in Revillagigedo Channel. See supplementary note hereto.

55 Until Vancouver circumnavigated Revillagigedo Island in August, 1793, it was thought to be part of the mainland. Port Tempest was near Point Higgins, the westerly point of that island.

him in the Jolly Boat, by the permission of Capt. Gray, and went to the *Cove* a fishing. A breeze springing up soon after, and wishing to leave this place, a six pounder was fird, a signal for the boat to return. She not appearing, soon after two more Cannon was fir'd. Got the Ship under way and stood off and on, and sent the pinnace under charge of the 4th officer[56] in search of the small boat. Soon after we see the Pinnace returning with the Jolly Boat in tow, without any person in her and soon discover'd they had the Boats Colours hoisted half mast. With this melancholy token they approach'd the Ship, when we soon discover'd our worthy friend, and brother officer, Mr. *Joshua Caswell* (2d) lay dead in the bottom of the boat, strip'd perfectly naked and stab'd in upwards of twenty places. They saw nothing of John Folger (the boatswains mate) but Joseph Barnes (the Sailor) lay dead on the beach, and quite naked. Fearing the Natives lay in *ambush,* they did not land to take of the *Corps.*[57] It is probable they were beset upon by a great superiority of natives, prompted by a desire to possess their cloaths and arms. As soon as the boats return'd made sail for *Port Tempest,* and anchor'd in the evening, at our former station. In Mr. Caswell I lost a firm and steady friend. He was a man of mild and gentle temper, a complete Seaman, and in short was possest of every qualification that bespoke the gentleman.[58] Observ'd that the day previous to this disastrous affair few Indians had visited the Ship.

NW. END OF CHARLOTTE ISLE[59]

13. N. Latt. 54° 43′; W. Long. 132° 23′.[60] Calm, and tem-

56 Mr. Waters, as appears by the entry of 24th March, 1792, *post.*

57 The account in Hoskins adds nothing to these facts; that in Ingraham is very brief and, necessarily, hearsay.

58 Hoskins adds the following facts in reference to Mr. Caswell. He was about twenty-six years of age; was born in Malden, four miles from Boston; had followed the sea from boyhood; served in the War of Independence; was taken prisoner early in that war; after peace was declared re-entered the merchant service and rose to the rank of captain; but, being interested in discovery, was content to take the position of second mate on this expedition. "He was," adds Hoskins, "a reputable good seaman of a most happy serene placid disposition in most cases too passive he was loved and beloved by all who knew him he was an honest man which Pope says 'is tne noblest work of God'."

59 After obtaining the body of Mr. Caswell the *Columbia* returns to the western end of Revillagigedo Channel, sails thence to the north shore of Queen Charlotte Islands and enters Masset Harbour.

60 This latitude and longitude have no relation either to Port Tempest or Massacre Cove; they are given by Haswell as the position of Murderers' Cape, which lay at the western entrance of Brown's Sound, in which Port Tempest was situated. That is Cape Chacon of today. Its latitude is the well known 54° 40′.

perate weather. At 8 in the morning the 4th Officer was dispatch'd with a party well arm'd in the Pinnace, for to dig a grave for our worthy *friend*. At 9 the pinnace return'd. At 10 left the Ship with three boats, under charge of Mr. Hazwell, 1st Officer, with the corps, the Ship firing minute guns. At 11 Capt. Gray landed in a small boat, and after performing divine service, we *inter'd* the remains of our departed, and much beloved, *friend,* with all the solemnity we was capable of.

The place was gloomy, and nothing was to be heard but the bustling of an aged oak, whose lofty branches hung wavering o'er the grave, together with the meandering brook, the Cries of the Eagle, and the weeping of his friends added solemnity to the scene. So *ends*.[61]

15. Weighed, and left Port Tempest, wind at NW. At sunset it bore NBW. 6 leagues, and (Massacre Cove)[62] West 5 Miles. Saw none of the Natives. No doubt the Rascles wou'd have destroy'd the Jolly boat after they had massacred our unfortunate countrymen, had not the Ship's guns alarm'd them. Standing to the South and E.

16. This day spoke the Brig *Hancock*[63] of Boston, Samuel Crowell, Master. They was on the same business as ourselves, and had been pretty successful.[64] Capt. Crowell inform'd that

61 When Haswell returned to the spot in the *Adventure* on 2nd June, 1792, he found that "the natives had dug the corpse of Mr. Caswell up, and by the appearance it must have been done soon after burial."

62 This, it is suggested, was situate on the eastern side of Prince of Wales Island between Cholmondeley Sound and Skowl Bay. No data are given in any of the narratives whereby to distinguish it from any of the other coves in the vicinity. Perhaps Indian tradition may later be brought forward to identify the exact spot. See the supplementary note hereto for further discussion of this subject.

63 This vessel had evidently been trading for a month in the vicinity, for Ingraham had learned of her presence on 16th July, while he was in Parry Passage (Cox Strait). On that date he says, "Cow inform'd us he saw a vessell to the Eastward with 2 masts on which I sent a boat with an Officer accompanied by Cow to view her after a short absence the boat return'd and inform'd it was a Brig standing to the Eastward this vessel I afterwards found was the *Hancock* Cap Croel from Boston N A." Hoskins states that she had arrived on 14th July, having left Boston in the beginning of November, 1790. She had stopped for supplies at St. Salvador, a Portuguese settlement on the coast of Brazil, and had also stayed some time at Staten Island, killing seals and obtaining wood and water. She had called at Mas afuera for water and at Owhyhee for fresh provisions. The natives there had determined to capture her, but Tianna (well known to all readers of Meares) had informed the captain of their intention and had urged him to sail at once, as he had promised his people that if the brig remained there on the following day they were at liberty to carry the project into effect.

64 The *Hancock* had obtained between five hundred and six hundred sea otter skins; the *Columbia* had about as many. See Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, p. 17. Haswell says she had seven hundred sea otter skins.

his Longboat was cruizing among the Charlotte Isles, under charge of his 2nd Officer.[65] The Brig kept us company.

18. Pleasant weather. Came to anchor, in a River, which Capt. Crowell had named Hancocks,[66] situated on the NW part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, in company with the Brig, 6 fm. water, mud. The Brig's Longboat we found at this place, vast many of the Natives along side the Ship, and a few furs was purchased. Capt. Crowell had, upon some trifling offence, fir'd upon these Indians, by which a number of them fell, (such wanton cruelty throws him upon a levell with the savage), and perhaps this same fray was the means of our losing our worthy 2nd Officer as the places are not 20 leagues distant and mayhap they reck'd their Vengeance[67] upon us, thinking us all of one tribe. If it was so, bad *luck to Crowell. Amen.*

AT ANCHOR IN CLIOQUOT HARBOR

19. N. Latt. 54° 12′; W. Long. 132° 25′. Fine weather. The Hancock saild on a Cruize.[68] The land about this River, is the best without exception I've yet seen, on the NW. Coast, and a place well calculated for a *Factory* for to reap the advantages of the fur trade. The Natives, I dare say, have always plenty of *Otters,* and there is fish in abundance. Hove up,[69] and came to sail towards evening and stood to sea, light winds and very strong tides. At sunsett Murderers Cape bore NNW. at a great distance.

20. N. Latt. 53° 49′; W. Long. 133° 24′. Soundings from 7 to 12 fm., shoal water about these parts of Charlotte Isles. Standing to the Southward through Defont straits, running

65 The frame of the longboat had been brought out in the brig from Boston and put together somewhere on the coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. It had been rigged as a sloop and placed in charge of Mr. Adamson, formerly in Meares' employment on the *Iphigenia.*

66 This so-called river is now Masset Inlet. In Haswell's second Log will be found a sketch of it, on which the river-like portion is marked Mahsheet. He gives its position as 54° 5′ north latitude and 132° 13′ west longitude. This is nearly correct.

67 The greater probability is that, as in the cases of Quadra, Barkley, and the *Atahualpa,* it arose from mere cupidity; the implements, clothing and the nails in the boat were sufficient temptation.

68 Before doing so Captain Crowell left with the natives at Tadents in Parry Passage (Cox Strait) a man named Jones, who was to collect furs against his return; but he soon tired of the life there, went to Kaigani, and shipped away at the first opportunity. This expedient was frequently tried by the traders; the result was always the same.

69 The reason for the *Columbia's* sudden departure was, according to Hoskins, to forestall the *Hancock* in the trade on the eastern side of Queen Charlotte Islands.

along the Isles in from 15 to 30 fm. according to distance off shore, these Charlotte Isles are from the Latt. 51° 55′ to 54° 24′ N. and from Longitude 131° 0′ to 133° W.

22. N. Latt. 53° 2′; W. Long. 131° 31′; Amp'd 20° 2′ E. O ☾. Many of Indians of this day from Cumswah village, in Charlcot Isles, brought a few skins, but I think they are pretty well drain'd.[70] Came to, with the Kedge in 20 fm. about 2 miles from shore. Soon after *see* a Boat rowing towards us, and heard a Cannon fir'd in the sound. At 3 P. M. Mr. Cruft,[71] 1st Officer of the American Brig *Hope* (which we had spoke with before) came along side, with Capt. Ingrahim's compliments, and offer'd to be the bearer of Letters, as he was shortly bound for Canton.[72] We readily embraced the *opportunity*. At dark Mr. Cruft left us. Up Kedge and bore away to the southward and East'd.

23. N. Latt. 52° 37′; W. Long. 130° 22′. The SE. part of Charlotte Isles bore SE½E. 12 leagues, light winds and variable. A Canoe boarded us, at this great distance, and brought many prime furs.

28. N. Latt. 49° 20′; W. Long. 127° 16′. At Noon this day, Nootka (or King Georges sound) bore ENE. 10 leagues. Since the 23d we have never lost sight of the Continent. 'T is very high land. Saw *whales*.

29. N. Latt. 49° 5′; W. Long. 126° 0′. At Noon the entrance of Clioquot (or Coxes harbour) bore NE 4 leagues. Standing in for the harbour, and towards evening anchor'd in our former station, vast many of the Natives along side, and seem'd glad to see us again. Found riding here the Brig *Lady*

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70 Ingraham in the *Hope* had been lying at anchor, trading continuously with these natives, for over a fortnight.

71 This officer died shortly afterwards while the *Hope* was *en route* to the Sandwich Islands. Ingraham gives his name as Crafts. Proper names appear to have been spelled, as Sam Weller said, according to the taste and fancy of the speller; this renders identification difficult in many cases. Ingraham was returning good for evil; the owners of the *Columbia*, he tells us, being "filled with envy and malice against all who went to share with them this valuable trade gave orders that no Letters should be borne out in their ship to any one on board the *Hope*." Thus, though Ingraham got his letters through the instrumentality of Haswell, who smuggled them through, poor Crafts' letters were refused and came out on the *Hancock*, with the result that he never received them, having died before the two vessels met at the Sandwich Islands.

72 Ingraham's voyage had been remarkably successful, so far as obtaining furs was concerned. This result was obtained partly through his invention of the iron collars and partly through his policy of remaining in one place so long as furs continued to be offered for barter, instead of flitting from place to place as the other vessels did. See a *resumé* on his voyage in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, pp. 3-28.

Washington,[73] of Boston, John Kendrick, *master*. He had made up his Voyage and was bound for Canton. He appear'd happy in meeting with his old friends.

N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 125° O ☾ ✳ ☾. Captain Kendrick inform'd us that he had had a skirmish, with the Natives at *Barrells* sound in Queen Charlotte Isles, and was oblig'd to kill upwards of 50 of them before they wou'd desist from the attack. It appear'd to me, from what I cou'd collect that the Indians was the aggressors.[74] This Brig *Lady Washington* was a Sloop when she left Boston, but Capt. Kendrick had alterd her rig in Canton the year before. I was sorry to find that *Kendrick* had made no remittances, to the owners, since he had parted with the *Columbia* the first voyage, although since that period he had made two successful trips[75] from this Coast to Canton. As the Vessells still belong'd to the same owners he was under some mistrust that Capt. Gray was empower'd to seize the Brig,[76] and kept himself always ready against attack.[77] We tarried in this harbour till the 8th Sept.,

73 The consort of the *Columbia* on the voyage 1787-1790. She was at anchor in Larks Bay when on 12th February, 1790, the *Columbia* passed down the Tigris on her return to Boston. In the interval the latter had made the voyage to New England and back, whilst the former had occupied the same time in disposing of her furs, altering her rig from a sloop to a brig, or more likely a brigantine, and returning to the coast. The *Washington*, as she is usually called, had reached Queen Charlotte Islands on 13th June from China, *via* Japan; the *Columbia* had arrived at Clayoquot Sound eight days before, from Boston.

74 Ingraham gives the outlines of the story; but Hoskins, Captain Kendrick's friend, enters into all the details. Summarized the story is that in the fall of 1789, while at Houston Stewart Channel, some clothing was stolen from the *Washington*. Kendrick seized the two chiefs and, fastening them to a cannon, threatened to kill them if the stolen articles were not forthcoming. The greater part were returned: the remainder he made them pay for in skins, and finally he forced the natives as a condition of releasing the Chiefs to bring all their furs, which he took and paid for at the current rate. He then gave the Chiefs their liberty and sailed away. He did not return until June, 1791, but soon after his arrival, and after trading had gone on as usual, the natives gathered on the ship in large numbers, took possession of the arm chest, and drove the crew below. Kendrick remained on deck, Coyah, one of the Chiefs, taunting him and daring him to tie him to the cannon again. The natives, all armed, only waited the signal to begin a massacre. Coyah and Kendrick got into a scuffle, and at this time the crew returned with arms and, led by Kendrick, who had freed himself from his assailant, cleared the vessel's deck. The Indians retreated precipitately on seeing the firearms; and even the exhortations of a perfect Amazon could not re-form them for attack. The small arms and the cannon were discharged at the fleeing Indians and when they were out of range they were pursued by the armed boats.

75 The journalist is in error here. Kendrick in the *Washington* did not see the Northwest coast from his departure in the fall of 1789 until 13th June, 1791.

76 Hoskins, in a letter to Joseph Barrell, dated August 21, 1792, says: "Capt. Kendrick when I saw him the last season (referring to the occasion now in notation) offer'd to give up to me (if I would pay his men's wages & a debt he had contracted in Macao of about 4000 dollars) his vessel and cargo which was a thousand sea otter skins. I told him I had no authority to accept his offer or to demand any payment from him nor did I think any person in the ship had."

77 This is an exaggeration; both Hoskins' Narrative and Haswell's Log show that the two ships were on the best of terms, mutual visits were exchanged, and the fullest confidence prevailed.

during which time collected many Sea Otter and other furs, and fish in abundance. These Natives miss'd Mr. Caswell, and it was thought proper to inform them that he had died a *natural death.*

September 8. Weighed and beat out of the harbour, wind at SW. At Noon Clioquot bore NW. 6 leagues standing toward Juan De Fuca straits.

IN THE STRAITS OF JUAN DE FUCA

11. N. Latt. 48° 15′; W. Long. 124° 30′. This day abreast Cape Flattery, on the SE. part of De Fuca entrance, vast many of the Natives along. Purchas'd many *Otters.* These Indians told us, there was five sail of Spaniards up the straits.[78] At Midnight saw *Tatoosh* Isle, bearing NNE. 3 miles. Thought ourselves further off shore. Almost calm, and an excessive strong tide sweeping us between some ledges and the Isle. At daylight thick fog, saw the Rocks a head, within pistol shot, with high breakers. Out all Boats, and just towed the Ship clear. Our situation was truly alarming, but we had no business so near the land in thick weather. However *Good Luck* prevail'd and a breeze springing up from offshore we stretch'd out clear in *Boats.* Foggy disagreeable weather. Cou'd observe at intervals that the woods were on fire.[79]

12. Wind NE. Heard the roaring of Breakers, foggy, haul'd more off shore. At 3 P. M. saw a rock about a stone's throw distant, and narrowly escaped being dash'd upon it—damn nonsense to keep beating about among rocks, in foggy weather. At midnight heard the surf roar again, which I suppose to be on the North side of the Straits, sounded and found ground at 25 fm. Rocks. The Captain, at length, was

78 At present these cannot be identified. Navarrete says in Viajes y Descubrimientos Apocrifos, pp. 113-121, that Elisa, who was exploring the strait that year, returned in August; and in any event, according to this author, had only two ships, though Bancroft thinks it possible there may have been three. See Bancroft's History of the Northwest Coast, vol. I, p. 244 *et seq.*

79 Haswell says: "The weather became so hazy we could see scarcely 4 miles. The weather was not damp, but appeared like an intensely thick smoke." Hoskins gives the following account: "At noon it was cloudy with exceeding sultry weather the wind blowing in puffs off the land and fetching so hot a stream that many of our people insisted on it that they were burnt. The higher you were aloft the greater was the degree of heat this is I conceived to be occasioned by some back woods the natives must have been setting fire to, though there was no smoke seen to warrant this opinion."

frightened,[80] and proceeded with the Ship to a good offing (this ought to have been done long before), thick foggy weather, with a moderate breeze.

16. N. Latt. 48° 14′; W. Long. 124° 30′ ☾ ✳. Fog clear'd off, saw Cape *Flattery* bearing NNE. 2 leagues. Very strong tides. At Noon we were about 2 miles from Tatooch Isle. Came to with the Kedge, sandy bottom, the Island bearing North. I think it possible there is a passage between Cape Flattery and this Isle of Tatooch; it appears about 2 miles wide. However cou'd see breakers between them and currents are excessive strong, as we cou'd discern them to foam in that narrow pass. Many Natives came off, and we purchas'd a few skins and plenty *Halibut*. Weigh'd and came to sail towards evening, bound to *Clioquot*.

AT ANCHOR IN CLIOQUOT HARBOUR

18. N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 125° 26′ This day anchor'd in our Old Station[81] in Clioquot harbour, found the Brig *Lady Washington* still riding here.[82] At this Harbour Captain Gray had determin'd to winter, if he cou'd find a suitable place, for to build a Sloop of 45 Tons, for to assist in collecting furs, on the next season. The stem and stern post, with part of the floor timbers had been brought from Boston for this purpose.

19. On the 19th Capt. Gray went with two boats up the sound, for to seek a convenient cove. In the evening the Captain return'd, having found a place to his mind, about 4 leagues[83] from where the Ship lay.

WINTER QUARTERS, LATT. 49°9′ N; LONG. 125°30′ W.

20. On the 20th weigh'd, with light airs, and with the Boats ahead, assisted by the Brig's Crew, we tow'd, and sail'd, into

80 Both Haswell and Hoskins give this awful experience in somewhat greater detail and unite in blaming Captain Gray for his stubbornness in refusing to seek an offing. Hoskins asserts that at times they could not see a hundred yards ahead; and for two days the *Columbia* was tacking backwards and forwards across the strait with its strong tides "having the surf on one side and the breakers on the other to give us warning when to go about."

81 In Port Cox, see ante, note 14. The latitude given is correct; the latitudes are usually nearly right but the longitudes are always too far east; the longitude here should be 125° 58′.

82 Kendrick's movements appear quite leisurely. Gray can get ready to sail for China in three days; see entries in this journal Sept. 30, 1792, *et seq*; but it takes Kendrick nearly a month. Haswell says that on their return Kendrick was not much nearer ready than when they had left, ten days before.

83 This is an exaggeration. Hoskins is nearer correct; he says eight miles

winter quarters, which we call'd Adventure Cove,[84] and moor'd Ship for the winter. Vast many of the Natives along side, and appear'd to be highly pleas'd with the Idea of our tarrying among them through the Cold Season. The *Columbia* lay moor'd in this Cove till the 25th of March, 1792. I shall endeavour to give the heads of our proceedings during that period.

Adventure Cove was situated in about the Latitude of 49° 15′ N. and Longitude 125° 30′ W. of London, about 17 miles from the Ocean. This Cove was form'd by an Isle and the SE. shore Clioquot sound—so small, that when the Ship was moor'd, you might throw a stone upon the beach in any direction, the passage in was not to exceed 100 feet, so that we was in a complete bason. (At *25th inst. Capt. Kendrick sail'd for Canton.*[85]) The *Adventure* was set up at the back of a fine beach, the woods being previously clear'd. A Log House[86] was erected near, mounted with two Cannon, with Loop holes for Musketry. Here Capt. Haswell, with a party of Seamen, and all the Mechanics was station'd. Near it, the Blacksmiths and Boat Builders Shops were plac'd; two Saw pitts was erected, and kept constantly at play, sawing *planks,* and was supplied with Logs from the sound, by Boats constantly on that duty. So that Adventure Cove soon had the appearance of a *young ship yard.* Strip'd the Ship to a gritline, and kept a gang under the directions of the Boatswain upon the rigging.

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from the anchoring place (Port Cox) and fifteen miles from the sea. According to Haswell, it was intended to winter at Naspatee (Nespárte Inlet, Columbia's Cove), but the wind was adverse, and as the fall was approaching it was concluded to find some suitable spot in Clayoquot Sound.

84 It is difficult to identify this cove with certainty, principally because none of the writers, Boit, Haswell, nor Hoskins agreed upon its distance from any one place; and again, it was such a small cove that the *Columbia* was moored with cables to the trees on either side, and thus situate was completely landlocked. Hoskins says also that the Indians called it Clickslecutsee; all efforts to trace this name in the nomenclature of today have, up to the present, been unsuccessful. It is clear that Adventure Cove was on the eastern side of Disappointment Sound, Meares Island, for Hoskins records that when the *Columbia* lay in the harbour (Port Cox of Meares) the flag staff of Opitsitah bore north northwest, Harbor Island (Stubbs Island) south one half west, and Fort Defiance (Adventure Cove) east by north. Dr. C. F. Newcombe of Victoria has kindly furnished me with the following note, which supports the above statement: "The Indians of Clayoquot Sound told me that the Americans built their first ship on the southeast point of the entrance to Disappointment Sound in Meares Island, just opposite the present village of Opitsat, which was already in existence."

85 Captain Kendrick appears to have made this voyage with more celerity than he usually showed. He left Clayoquot on 25th September, 1791, and was at the Sandwich Islands on 27th October, as appears from Vancouver's Voyage (vol. I, p. 383, ed. 8vo. 1801). There he left some men to collect sandal wood and pearls. He sailed for China and, according to Ingraham, arrived in Larks Bay, near Macao, on 7th December; a good quick passage.

86 Kendrick had called his house Fort Washington; Gray named his Fort Defiance.

The Natives made us frequent visits, and brought a good supply of fish and some Sea Otter Skins, and by keeping a small boat down sound, with 4 of our Seamen we procured a constant supply of wild Geese, Ducks and Teal. The Geese and Teal resembled those at home, but the Ducks were exactly of the same Species, with the *tame* of our Country.[87] We see none of any other kind. Now and then we shot a wild *turkey*.[88] The Natives appear'd to be highly pleased with the different works going on at the Cove. They sometimes brought us *Venison* and supplied us with as many *boards* as we wanted. *They* was all caeder, and appear'd to have been split with wedges, from the Log.

October 7. An alarm was given by the *Centry* at the Block house, that there was *Canoes* in the Cove. Finding they was discover'd they soon went off.[89]

13. The frame of the Sloop was up complete, and this day brought the Garboard streak of Plank to her bottom. This is what I call dispatch. *Wickananish,* high Chief, came on board, with severall of the Royal family. He inform'd that his winter village[90] was a great way off, which occasion'd his visiting us so seldom. He went on shore, and astonishment was conspicuous in his countenance at the work going on there. The Natives was very much puzzled to know how we shou'd get the Sloop off when finish'd, as she was 75 foot back from high water mark. Wickananish is the most powerful chief[91] we

87 The mallard which is the parent of our ordinary tame duck.

88 As there were no wild turkeys in that region, Professor Meany has suggested that it may have been a large grouse. Mr. F. Kermode, the Curator of the Provincial Museum of British Columbia, however, thinks that it was a sandhill crane. He points out that some persons to his knowledge have mistaken it for a wild turkey. Haswell records, under date of 23rd May, 1792, that at Portland Canal he "had the good fortune to shoot a turkey."

89 Haswell gives a totally different version. "But wonderful to tell," he says, "these mighty war equipped savages turned out to be none other than some rocks, which the tide ebbing low had left dry." He adds that he did not chide the sentinels for their error, preferring that they should report the least suspicious thing.

90 Haswell in his first Log says: "Their winter village Oakakinah (is) far up a fresh water river where they have plenty of salmon." Hoskins calls it Okerminnah. It was so far, the Indians told him, from Adventure Cove that it took them the greater part of two days to paddle the distance. It was likely on the Bear River, which flows into Bedwell Sound, and is the village which was attacked by Maquinna while Jewitt was a captive. See Jewitt's Adventures, 168 *et seq,* Edinburgh 1824.

91 The first white person to see Wickananish has fortunately left us a manuscript account of him. She says: "A day or two after sailing from King George's Sound we visited a large sound in latitude 49 .20 north, which Captain Barkley named Wickananish's Sound, the name given it being that of a chief who seemed to be quite as powerful a potentate as Maquilla at King George's Sound. Wickananish has great authority and this part of the coast proved a rich harvest of furs for us." This is an extract from Mrs. Barkley's diary which is in the Archives of British Columbia. This was in 1787.

have yet seen on this Coast. His tribe consists of upwards of 3000 souls. They allow Polygamy, but the women are not prolific, as barrenness is very common among them. The Indians girls kept us well supplied with *Berries* of different kinds, which was very gratefull.

14. We was inform'd this day that Capt. Crowell, in the Brig *Hancock,* was at Juan de Fuca straits.[91½]

27. The Natives brought us some excellent Salmon. Experience much rain, which hinders the work. When the weather is too bad for to work on the Sloop, keep the Carpenters under shelter making a *boat* for her. Heard of three Spanish ships[92] being at Nootka. Keep always upon our guard against surprize as we are among a powerful sett. The boat after game, met with some *Indians* that was a little troublesome, but by firing a musket over their heads they soon went off. These Indians was very enquisitive, for to know the cause of thunder and lightning, but we cou'd not make them understand the real cause, but much surprized them by saying there was a man in our Country, that made both. They suppose thunder to be occasioned by an Eagle carrying a Whale into the air, and *Lightning,* the hissing of a *Snake, which* are exceeding large in this country. One of our Seamen, being down sound a gunning, saw one of these animals, which by his discription was as big round as his thigh.[93] Being alone, and somewhat frightened, retir'd without firing. These Indians are very superstitious in regard to this Animal, for when they go on a whaling cruize they always rub their face with a piece of it. We have never been able to gain much information as respects their Religion, but they certainly pay adoration to the *Sun,* and *Moon,* and believe in Good and evil Spirits. They lash

91½ This is a strange error. The *Hancock* was then at the Sandwich Islands on her way to China. On 6th October Ingraham records that on his anchoring at Owhyhee he met the *Hancock,* then lately arrived from the Northwest Coast, and spent some days in her company. She sailed at about that time for China and was there during that winter.

92 The identity of these ships is uncertain. Malaspina in the *Descubierta* and the *Atrevida* had been there, but sailed about the end of August. The *San Carlos* and the *Santa Saturnina* were probably still at Nootka, though they returned that fall to San Blas, but at what time is not known.

93 This frightful monster the seaman described as being like an alligator Hoskins started at once to find it, but all he could discover was a piece of burnt log. When he spoke to the Indians about it they recognized it as the magic animal, Haieclick, and offered twenty skins for a specimen. "If they have the least piece of it in their canoe they are sure to kill a whale, which among them is deemed the greatest honour. Indeed a piece of it ensures success at all times and on all occasions."

their dead on the trees, first stowing them in a box 3 or 4 feet long. The Head and Legs are cut off to make good stowage, and little valuables that belong to the deseas'd are bury'd with them. Capt. Gray went to an Indian Village for to look at a *Chief,* said to be very sick. On his arrivall he was received very cordially, and conducted to the sick man's house, which was full of people. In one Corner lay the Sick Chief, and around him eight strong men, which kept pressing his stomach with their hands, and making a most hideous Bow-wowing, in the poor fellow's ears. Upon the Captain's approach he suppos'd the Chief to be nearly dead, and order'd this band of *Doctors* to desist.[94]

December 22. Having made him some *gruell* to take, the Chief soon came to a little, and order'd two Sea Otter skins as a present. After giving him a Wine toast he order'd him to be left to sleep, and visited a number of Chiefs houses, the masters of which treated him with an attention not very common among savages. (He *returned on board.*) I made an excursion to this same Village, not long after. As soon as I landed, Men, Women, and Children came down to the beach to receive me, but did not offer to molest the boat. Found the sick *Chief* much better, and reliev'd him from his pressing and noisy friends. The house was large and commodious, and wou'd hold fifty *Indians* very comfortably. All round was packages of Fish in *Boxes,* and decorated with *pearl shells.* Their furniture consisted chiefly of matts, and wooden boxes, which last serves to boil their fish in, which they easily do by applying red hot stones, till it boils. They neither scale or draw the fish, but as it comes from the water, so it goes into the box, to boil, or on the Coals to broil. There was severall fires about the house but being there being no chimnies, the smoak was too mighty for my eyes. They sleep on boards, rais'd about a foot from the ground, and covered with matts, rolling themselves up with furs. Over the sick man's head there was a board cut out in the shape of a heart, and stuck full of Otter's teeth, with a long spear on each side of him. His young wife did not appear to be affected at the sight of

94 This was Yethlan, the youngest brother of Wickananish. The brief description of the practice of the Shamans agrees with other accounts.

her sick husband, but the Father and Mother was watching their Son, with the most parental affection. After boiling him some rice and leaving more with his mother, I left the village and returned safe on board.

25. This day was kept in mirth and festivity by all the *Columbia's* Crew, and the principal Chiefs of the sound, by invitation, din'd on board ship. The Natives took a walk around the work shops on shore. They was surprized at seeing three tire of wild fowl roasting, at one of the houses—indeed we was a little surprized at the novelty of the sight ourselves, for at least there was 20 Geese roasting at one immense fire, and the Ship's Crew appear'd very happy, most of them being on shore. The Indians cou'd not understand why the Ship's and houses was decorated with spruce bows. At 12 clock fir'd a federall Salute,[95] and ended the day toasting our *sweethearts* and *wifes.*

1792. *January* 1. This day, being down sound, with the Jolly boat after game. I stopt at the village. Visited *Yethlan* the sick Chief, and found him much better. The family treated me extremely well. I received many pressing invitations from the rest of the Chiefs, for to visit their houses, and complied with most of them, and was particularly pleas'd at visiting *Wickananish's* dwelling, who this day had given an entertainment[96] to all the warriors of his Villages, with many visitors from distant villages. As soon as the *King* saw me I was call'd towards him, and seated upon his right. This house was about 80 foot long, and 40 broad, and about 12 feet high, with a flat roof. The *King* was elevated about two feet higher than the company, with a Canopy over his head, stuck full of animals teeth. The Company consisted of above 100 men, all considerably advanced in years. The Women belonging to the house was in an apartment by themselves, busily employ'd making their Bark Garment. The Machines for that purpose,

95 A salute of thirteen cannon shots. Martinez in his diary gives the following explanation: "They told me that the reason for not giving more shots each time was since there were thirteen of the American states and thirteen stars in the canton of tneir flag, they had orders from their Congress to fire these salvos with a like number of shots."

96 This entertainment took place at Opitsitah, the regular dwelling place of the tribe, on Meares Island. Hoskins tells us that they had only returned from their winter village at Okerminnah a week or so before. He gives the date of the festivities as the 31st December and enters much more fully into the details.

is not unlike the Looms with us. They are very neat and dexterous in this business. The entertainment (which consisted of Fish Spawn mixed with Berries and train Oil,) was served up in wooden Bowls, handed by the lower Orders of males. I was invited strongly to partake, but the Smell was enough—therefore pleaded indisposition. After they had done, the remains was sent to the *females*. The King inform'd they was going to have a dance in the evening, and wish'd me for to stay. However I declin'd, and return'd on board. This Village was 3 leagues[97] from Adventure Cove. Capt. Hannah, a Chief of the village, Ahhousett sometimes came to see his old friends (as he call'd us). He resided 9 leagues from the Cove but was under the Jurisdiction of *Wickananish*.

6. This day one of the Chiefs of Juan De Fuca Straits came on board. He was upon a visit to Wickananish, and indeed had married his sister, inform'd us there was a Spanish Ship in the Straits, brought many *furs*.

17. Began to caulk the Sloop *Adventure's* bottom, it being completely planked up. I this day made an excursion to the Village, having put myself under the car of Tatoochkasettle,[98] one of the King's brothers, who conducted me in his *Canoe*. Upon my arrival was treated as usuall very politely. I took up my residence at Tatoochkasettle's house, who invited a large company to sup with him. After supper finding I wish'd to visit some other familys he sent his servants with lighted torches, for to conduct me. I return'd back about Midnight and found there was an excellent watch kept throughout the village, each one hooping at certain intervals throughout the night. My Indian friend had made me as comfortable a berth to sleep on as was in his power, but the House being full of smoak, and the young Children very fractious, occasion'd my sleeping but little all night. In the morning early observ'd most of the Men bathing on the Beach. On enquiring the cause, was inform'd that this day the King was going to give his Eldest Son the name of Wickananish, and take another

97 Haswell gives the distance between Opitsitah and Adventure Cove as three *miles*.

98 The eldest brother of Wickananish, and the Chief who had been decoyed on board and held until Attoo, the Sandwich Island boy, was returned. Evidently this insult still rankled in his breast, despite his outward appearance of friendliness.

upon himself, upon which account there was to be great rejoicings. About noon, upwards of 100 men assembled upon the beach in front of the *Village,* with the King at their head. Their dress, which was exactly uniform, consisted of a *Blankett,* made fast around the *Loins* with a Girdle, and reach'd about half way down their thighs. Their hair was turn'd up, and tyed with a thick bunch before and decorated with feathers. Their faces was painted of different colours, and their bodies of a deep red. Beads and fibres of Bark were woulded round their Ancles and Knees, and at a distance they made a grand, although savage appearance. They collected near the water, at one end of the village, in regular tiers, about four deep. At each wing many women were placed with Copper Boxes,[99] in which was small Stones, serving as part of the music. The procession moved slowly along, the front squatting on their hams, the others standing erect, with three of the King's brothers upon their shoulders, who were dancing and running from right to left, in that position while those under them was on the Continual move. The King kept in front, giving the word of Command. All their voices kept perfect tune with the rattling of the boxes. The rest of the inhabitants were seated along the beach viewing the performance. When they arrived opposite the King's house, they enter'd single file, and I followed to see the transactions within doors. About 30 of the principal *Actors* seated themselves in a Circle, and was presented with a piece of board and a small stick. This they used instead of a Drum. The whole Company then began to dance and sing, and the Musicians joining, made it very pleasing. But the *Smell* was too strong for my *Organs.* Therefore soon drew off. These *Natives* are mild and chearfull, with little of that savage appearance that Savages generally have. Their Complexions is very light Copper,[100] but they darken it with Oil and Paint. The Hair is coarse, long and black. 'T is a

99 Hoskins also mentions such boxes. It is possible that they may have been manufactured from the sheets of copper purchased from the traders. It is certain that they were not manufactured from the native copper.

100 Cook (Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 303, 4to. ed. 1785) says that when the dirt and paint were well rubbed off "the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that effete cast which distinguishes those of our Southern nations." Almost every other voyager has made somewhat the same remark.

general custom to eat their own *Vermin,* and they are so plenty that they will often make a decent repast. The Men are generally thick set with flat noses and broad faces. The Women are pretty. Their eyes are rather small, and though they are not very quick and piercing, they give the countenance a frank, chearfull, and pleasing cast. We understood from the *Natives* that they sometimes made Human sacrifices, and shocking to relate, that they eat the flesh of such poor *victims.* However I do not believe that this custom is very common and only happens on some very particular Occasion. A prisoner of War is the person selected for this savage feast.[101]

18. This day severall chiefs came on board, one of which we found was busily employ'd talking with our Sandwich Island lad. Their conversation was soon put a stop to, and the *Lad* examin'd, but he denyd that the Chief ask'd him any improper questions. These Natives, always behaving so friendly,[102] occasion'd us to place too much confidence in them, and what a pity it is, that we cou'd not leave this *port,* with that opinion of them which we had heretofore held; But alas! We find them to be still a savage tribe, and only waiting an opportunity for to Massacre the whole of us, in cold blood. The Ship had been brought some days previous to this, to a bluff point of Rocks, where she lay'd as to a wharfe, not even touching the ground at low water. The Cannon and all the stores was landed here, as we was about hauling on the beach to grave and pay the Bottom. The situation of the Ship at this period was very favorable to their views,[103] and must have encouraged them with the hope of destroying the whole of us; without the loss of a man on their side. However in this they wou'd have been mistaken, as we kept a strong watch, under the conduct of an Officer and was always guarded against

101 Hoskins accompanied Boit on this visit and enters much more fully into the description of this entertainment.

102 Hoskins nevertheless records that in the preceding October a hunting party had had some difficulty with the natives, who had behaved in a very rude manner, striving to take their fire arms from them and seeking to capture Captain Gray. Though Boit was of the party, he makes no allusion to the occurrence. It was thought that this action was instigated by Tootiscoosettle in revenge for his treatment already mentioned.

103 Hoskins opposed this move, as it had the effect of separating the crew and left the ship and the fort out of sight of each other. "I only told Captain Gray," he says, "I hoped the natives would not take any advantage of the opportunity which was presented them."

surprize. But shou'd we have been over pow'd by numbers, our friends perhaps never wou'd have known our sad fate.

But fortunately, in the evening, the Sandwich Island lad made a confession to his Master, (as follows):[104] He said *Tatoochkasettle,* (the Chief) told him, that Wickananish was about to take the Ship and Massacre all the Crew, and said he shou'd be a great man if he wou'd wet our *Musketts,* and steal for him some *Bulletts.* He said they shou'd come that night, or the next, or the next, and told him to come over to them, when the fray first began. This news alarm'd the Ship's Company exceedingly, and we immediately got in readiness to receive them. Capt. Gray call'd his officers together, for to consult what was best to be done, and we was unanimously of opinion that 't was best to haul the Ship on the *ways,* and grave her, as the tide then suited, and we cou'd retreat in safety to the Block House shou'd the Natives appear, (where we had several *Cannon* mounted and good *quarters.*) This plan was immediately put in execution, leaving a strong guard on the point for to guard the *Stores,* with necessary signals shou'd they want relief. By midnight one side of the Ship was finish'd, when we heard a most hideous hooping of *Indians,* and at every shout they seem'd to come nearer. Every man immediately took his arms, and stood ready, both on board ship and at the Log house. They kept hooping about one hour, when they ceas'd and 't is probable retreated, lamenting their hard luck, that the cruel plan was so completely frustrated. The guard at the *point* saw many large Canoes off the entrance of the Cove, but like brave fellows, they scorn'd to quit the station. In the morning tide we finish'd the Ship, and haul'd again to the point, and in the course of the Day took on board all the stores and cannon, and moor'd off in the Cove, in our old berth. Scal'd the Guns, which made all rattle again, and I believe never was more work done in so short a time. But *Men determin'd* can do most any thing.

It does not appear that *Wickananish* wish'd to conquer a part of us, as he had frequent opportunitys to have accomplish'd

104 Both Haswell and Hoskins tell the same story, in the main; though their accounts are more circumstantial and more thrilling.

it, for two or three times a week a boat was down at the *Village,*[105] generally with an Officer and four Sailors, but I suppose he very prudently thought, that shou'd he cut a boat's Crew off, there was still enough left, for to destroy his Villages. The Chiefs had been telling us for some time that they was going to war with a distant tribe and wish'd for us to lend them Musketts and Ammunition, which *some* of these fellows used as well as ourselves. We had observed of late that they did not seem so cheerful as common, but seem'd to be deeply wrapt in thought. After this, no more of the Natives visited Adventure Cove, except some old women and young girls, who brought us berries and fish—and most propable they was sent as *spies.*[106]

March 4. This day the Ship was completely rig'd, hold stowed, and in every respect in readiness for sea. She look'd like a *fiddle!* The King's Mother came along side and brought some otter skins which we purchased. She told Captain Gray that the *Moon* inform'd her Son if he come to the Ship he wou'd be killd.

21. This day departed this life, after a lingering sickness, Benj. Harding[107] (*Boatswain*). He was a smart, active, and steady man, and one that know'd, and did *his* duty in every respect. Deposited his remains, next morning, near to the Block house, after performing divine service. Promoted a Seaman to his place.

22. Launch'd the Sloop *Adventure.*[108] She went off ad-

105 At the very time of this attempt Hoskins was making a visit to the village Opitsitah. He found warlike preparations proceeding, and was not allowed the same freedom of roaming in and out amongst the houses that he had theretofore enjoyed. When he returned the greatest consternation prevailed on the ship. The crew were much rejoiced at his safe return, telling him that they never expected to see him again. It was then he learned of the attempted capture of the *Columbia.*

106 Hoskins says that these people would not exchange their fish and leeks for anything but powder and shot, and in reply "Captain Gray ordered them to immediately depart with a promise of giving them a-plenty of both articles when we should come down to Opitsitah." This may perhaps be interpreted to mean that already Captain Gray had formed the intention of destroying the village.

107 "This man," says Hoskins, "was a good seaman and well respected in his office the spirits of this man was surprising the night we expected to be attacked by the natives at a time when he was not able to be removed from his bed he begged that he might have a pair of pistols laid along side of him that should the natives overpower us he might shoot the savage who came to take his life then says he I should die in peace."

108 Boit makes the date of this launching 22nd March; but Hoskins and Haswell both say the 23rd February.

mirably.[109] Took a hawser and got her along side the Ship, and soon had her rig'd.

24. The Sloop *Adventure* is ready for sea.[110] Capt. Haswell, 1st mate of ship, went on board and took charge, taking with him Mr. Waters (4th mate) and a crew of ten Seamen and tradesmen. I think she was one of the prettiest vessels I ever saw, of about 45 tons, with a handsome figure head and false badges, and other ways touch'd off in high stile. There was not a Butt either in the Planks on deck or sides, and the plank not above nine inches wide. She was victuall'd for a four months cruize, and supplied with Articles for the Queen Charlotte Isles trade, on which route 't was meant she shou'd go, while the Ship proceeding along the Southern Coast.

25. Pleasant weather, wind at SE. In the morning got the Remainder of our affairs from the shore, and unmoor'd. Left Adventure Cove, and stood down Sound, with the Sloop in company. We left our log houses all standing. Anchor'd abreast the Village *Opitsatah,* but found it entirely deserted.[111] Observ'd very few Canoes moving.

During our long tarry in Adventure Cove, we all enjoy'd good health, although the Crew was at times very much exposed. The *boatswain's* sickness commenced before our arrival in the Cove. The weather was generally very fine, and very seldom had Snow, and never Ice thicker than a Spanish Dollar, but experienced frequent heavy rains. We pick'd Whurtle and Blue Berries, throughout the winter, which was very fine, and Whurtle Berry pudings was quite common with us. We kept the Crew continually supplied with Spruce beer, and their breakfast and supper was Tea boiled from the green *Spruce* boughs sweetned with Molasses. Perhaps this method kept the Scurvy off. However they did not eat much Salt provisions, as we was generally supplied with Poultry, Venison, and fish.

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109 Hoskins says that on the first attempt she ran a little more than her length and stopped; the ground proving false the ways sank under her; the carpenters relaid the ways and she was successfully launched the next day. Haswell is to the same effect with slightly different details. The first attempt was made on 22nd February.

110 This took, according to Haswell and Hoskins, about a month, and not two days, as Boit has it.

111 The natives had suddenly removed to Echahchist on Village Island. This village is shown on Meares map already mentioned (Meares Voyages, p. 202, 4to. ed). So precipitate had been their flight that they had left many of their domestic utensils scattered about their houses and hidden in the bushes.

27. I am sorry to be under the necessity of remarking that this day I was *sent,* with three boats all well man'd and arm'd, to destroy the village of Opitsatah. It was a Command I was no ways tenacious of, and am grieved to think Capt. Gray shou'd let his passions go so far.[112] *This* village was about half a mile in diameter, and contained upwards of 200 Houses, generally well built for *Indians;* every door that you enter'd was in resemblance to an human and Beasts head, the passage being through the mouth, besides which there was much more rude carved work about the dwellings some of which was by no means *inelegant.* This fine village, the work of Ages, was in a short time totally destroy'd.

CRUIZING TO THE S. AND E. OF DE FUCA STRAITS

April 2. Weigh'd in company with the Sloop, and left Clioquot harbour, and stood to the South'd with the Ship, while the Sloop haul'd her wind to the Northward. Parted, with loud *Huzzas,* a proper *rendevous* being appointed.

3. On the 3d passed De Fuca Straits, experience blowing weather on the coast, but generally keep sight of the Land. The Shore seems sandy, and the land of a moderate height, with much clear ground fit for cultivation.[113] Lat. 45° 15′. There is regular soundings of this Coast, which is not the case to the Northward.

7. N. Latt. 44° 56′; W. Long. 122° 52′. Very blowing weather, and quite cold. Beating off the Coast, waiting for to find a good harbour.[114] The weather grows pleasant.

9. N. Latt. 44° 24′; W. Long. 122° 17′ Pleasant weather, wind NW. Running along shoar to the South and East'd, about 2 miles off the land trended NBE. and NBW., and look'd very pleasant. The Shore made in sandy beaches, and the land rose gradually back, into high hills and the beautiful

112 Neither Haswell nor Hoskins mentions the destruction of this village Opitsitah; but there is no reason to doubt the fact. Gray had made a threat to give the natives powder and shot when he reached the village. His conduct after the attempt to take the ship was that of an angry man; Hoskins records many instances of his exhibitions of passion, and complains bitterly of this conduct, which was only ruining the chances of trade with these people, who were great hunters.

(Notes 113-138 inclusive by T. C. Elliott.)

113 Cruising to southward along coast of state of Washington, and this observation taken off Cape Lookout.

114 Observation taken a little north of Cape Foulweather on coast of Oregon.

fields of grass, interspersed among the wood lands, made it delightfull.[115]

10. N. Latt. 43° 45′; W. Long. 122° 11′. Abreast a small inlet in the land, which had some the appearance of an harbour. Hove to for some canoes that were coming off. These Natives talk'd a different language from any we have before heard. Their canoes had square stems, and the blades of the paddles oval. We purchas'd of them many fine Otter skins for Copper and Iron. They had some raw *Buffaloe* in the canoes, which they offer'd us for sale, and greedily devourd some of it, in that state, as a recommendation. I'm fearfull these fellows are *Caniballs*.[116] Mr. *Smith,* 2d Officer, was sent in the Cutter to look for an harbour but was unsuccessful. Bore off and made sail. Cape Gregory (so call'd by Capt. Cook) bore SE. Variation. Amp'd 15° 57′ East.

11. N. Latt. 42° 50′; W. Long. 122° 3′; Amp'd 16° 42′ E. Some Canoes came along side full of Indians and brought a few Otter and Beaver skins. Cape Mendocin bore ESE. 2 leagues.[117] Hauld again to the Northward.

17. N. Latt. 44° 54′; W. Long. 122° 23′; Azi. 16° 57′ E. Sent the Boat, under charge of 2d officer, to examine an inlet abreast the Ship, to see if there was safe anchorage, but was *unsuccessful.* A large Canoe came along side full of the Natives. By their behaviour the *Columbia* was the first ship *they* ever saw.[118]

22. N. Latt. 46° 39′; W. Long 122° 50′; Azi. 17° 33′ E. Still beating about, in pursuit of anchorage. Sent the boat in shore often, but cou'd find no safe harbour. The Natives fre-

115 Now off mouth of Alsea river and Bayview, Oregon.

116 Off the mouth of Umpqua river in Oregon. Of course, there were neither buffalo nor cannibals there, but with reference to the claim that cannibalism was practiced on the Northwest Coast of America it is of interest to quote a private letter from so high an authority as Dr. C. F. Newcombe, of Victoria, B. C., who says that no one making that statement has admitted ever being a witness to such an act. Then, referring to Cook, Ledyard, Meares, Galiano & Valdes, Malaspina and Roquefeuil, he says: "In none of these is there anything said that would give grounds for thinking that cannibalism in our province was anything more than a ceremonial affair." * * "Coming down to our own times, if you will look up that well known work of Dr. Boaz, 'The Social Organization etc. of the Kwakiutl Indians,' you will find ample evidence for believing that this tribe has to a very recent date kept up the observance of what to them is a religious rite."

117 Nearly as far south as Cape Blanco, on Oregon coast.

118 Returning northward. No inlet charted opposite this location. If the legendary claim that Capt. Gray landed on the coast of Oregon is true, this journal does not reveal the fact.

quently came along side, and brought Otter furs and fish. Their language to us was unintelligible. Experience strong currents setting to the southward. We have frequently seen many appearances of good harbours, but the currents and squally weather hindered us from a strict examination. However Capt. Gray is determin'd to persevere in the pursuit.[119]

AT ANCHOR OFF THE VILLAGE OF KENEKOMITT

27. N. Latt. 47° 52′; W. Long. 123° 30′ O A. This day stood in shore, the weather having become more settled, and anchor'd with the Kedge in 15 fm. sand, abreast a village, call'd by the Natives *Kenekomitt,*[120] which was situate on a small Hill, just back of the Beach. The Indians brought us a fine lot of *Skins,* which we got chiefly for Copper, but the weather coming again unsettled, we weigh'd towards evening and stood off making short hanks off and on, shore. These Indians spoke the same language as those in De Fuca Straits.

28. This day spoke his Britannic Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham,* commanded by Capt. *George Vancover,* and Lieutenant Wm. Broughton, from England, on a voyage of discovery.[121] Left England April 1st, 1791, Do Othaheita January, '92, and Sandwich Isles March, '92. A boat boarded us from the *Discovery,* and we gave them all the information in our power. Especially as respected the Straits of Juan De Fuca, which place they was then in search of. They bore away for the Straits mouth, which was not far distant. Stood in and drain'd the village we was at yesterday and then bore off after the English ships.

29. Pass'd Tatooch Isle, close on board, and left a large ledge of Rocks without us, and stood into the Straits of De

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119 Now off Willapa Harbor on Washington coast and no mention at all of mouth of Columbia river in passing. The longitude cited must be disregarded as too far east, an error common to the observations noted in this journal.

120 This village was close to a point now charted as Teakwhit Head, some miles southeast of the mouth of Quillayute river on the coast of Washington. A small stream emptying there had some years ago the Indian name Kenehenwhitt, according to O. B. Sperlin, of Tacoma. Possibly identical with "Queenwithe" mentioned by Barkley in 1787 and Meares in 1788.

121 Compare with Vancouver's Voyages, 1st Edit., vol. 1, page 213, where it is stated that on April 28th Capt. Vancouver anchored off Destruction Island, but made sail at 3 A. M. on morning of Sunday, the 29th, and at 4 A. M. sighted the *Columbia,* and had his officers on board of her at 7 A. M. This would have been about off the mouth of Quillayute river. A New Vancouver Journal, published in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, p. 133, puts the date as 30th of April.

Fuca. Many Indians came off and brought plenty of furs. The English ships came too towards evening on the South entrance of the straits. In the morning they got under way and stood up. We stood in and anchor'd, to the Westward of Cape Flattery, in 17 fm. Trade not very brisk. Got under weigh again towards evening and stood to the S. and E. along shore.

May 1. N. Latt. 47° 52′; W. Long. 123° 30′; Azi. 17° 30′ E. Anchor'd off the Village Kenekomitt, in the place we left on the 27th April. Tatooch Isle bore WBS. 2 leagues. A brisk trade for furs.[122]

3. Hove up and made sail for the Straits, the weather looking threatening and soon enter'd them, found smooth water. Kept beating to and fro, in preference to casting anchor.

5. Stood in toward Tatooch's Isle. The Natives brought plenty of *Halibut* and other fish, but few *Skins*. Stretch'd out from De Fuca Straits and bore off to the S. and E., running along shore, about 2 miles from land.

6. Hove to for some Canoes to come up. They brought us fish but no *skins*. Bore off. These fellows belong'd to a small village in sight from the Ship, call'd *Goliew*.[123]

AT ANCHOR IN GRAY'S HARBOUR[124]

7. N. Latt. 46° 58′. Saw an inlet in the land, which had all the appearance of an harbour. Sent the Cutter, under charge of 2d Officer, to examine it. Laying to, a strong current with Squally weather. The Boat returned, and the Officer reported that he cou'd find nothing but breakers at the entrance, but farther in it had the appearance of a good harbour. This appearance being so flattering, Capt. Gray was determin'd not to give it up. Therefore ordering the boat a head to sound, with necessary signalls, the Ship stood in for the weather bar

122 The *Columbia* followed the ships of Capt. Vancouver as far as the entrance to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, but then returned to the southward, for trade and discovery.

123 Our Indian name, Quillayute. The village is La Push, at mouth of the river of that name.

124 Gray's Harbor, State of Washington. So named by the under officers of the ship *Columbia*, as indicated by this and Haswell's Journal. Capt. Vancouver adopted this name, but Capt. Gray always referred to it as Bulfinch's Harbor, in honor of one of the principal owners of his ship. Compare with entries in the Log of the *Columbia* (printed herewith), giving much the same information.

and we soon see from the Mast head a passage in between the breakers. Bore off and run in NEBE., having from 4 to 9 fathom sand, an excellent strong tide setting out. The boat having made a signal for anchorage and a good harbour, we continued to stretch on till completely within the shoals when we anchor'd in 5 fm. in an excellent harbour. Vast many canoes came off, full of Indians. They appear'd to be a savage set, and was well arm'd, every man having his Quiver and Bow slung over his shoulder. Without doubt we are the first Civilized people that ever visited this port, and these poor fellows view'd us and the Ship with the greatest astonishment. Their language was different from any we have yet heard. The Men were entirely naked, and the Women, except a small Apron before made of *Rushes,* was also in a state of Nature. They was stout made, and very ugly. Their canoes was from the Logs, rudely cut out, with upright ends. We purchas'd many furs and fish.

. N. Latt. 46° 58′; W. Long. 123° 0′. Vast many canoes along side, full of Indians. They brought a great many furs which we purchas'd cheap, for Blankets and Iron. We was fearfull to send a Boat on discovery, but I've no doubt we was at the Entrance of some great river, as the water was brackish, and the tide set out half the time. This evening heard the hooting of Indians, all hands was immediately under arms. Several canoes was seen passing near the Ship, but was dispers'd by firing a few Muskets over their heads. At Midnight we heard them again, and soon after as 't was bright moonlight, we see the canoes approaching to the Ship. We fird severall cannon over them, but still persisted to advance, with the war Hoop.[125] At length a large canoe with at least 20 Men in her got within ½ pistol shot of the quarter, and with a Nine-pounder, loaded with langerege and about 10

125 Capt. Gray, in his log, makes no mention of this attack. He had similar experiences on the coast of Vancouver Island and further north. The circumstances suggest the presence of a war party from the south. The natives there would have been of the Chehalis or Chickales tribe of the Chinookan family. Compare with Vancouver's Voyages, 1st Edit., vol. 2, pp. 79-92, where is related the visit to this harbor of Lieut. Joseph Whitbey in the *Daedalus,* who remained there Oct. 19th-Nov. 10th, 1792, and encountered very few Indians and those very peaceable. Whidbey bestowed the names Point Brown and Point New, which still remain. Capt. Gray left no nomenclature here.

Muskets, loaded with Buck shot, we dash'd her all to pieces, and no doubt kill'd every soul in her. The rest soon made a retreat. I do not think that they had any conception of the power of Artillery. But they was too near us for to admit of any hesitation how to proceed.

9. Very pleasant weather. Many canoes came along side from down River[126] and brought plenty of Skins; likewise some canoes from the tribes that first visited us, and their countenances plainly show'd that those unlucky savages who last Night fell by the Ball, was a part of the same tribe, for we cou'd plainly understand by their signs and gestures that they were telling the very circumstance, to their acquaintances from down River, and by Pointing to the Cannon, and endeavoring to explain the noise they made, made us still more certain that they had no Knowledge of fire arms previous to our coming amongst them. I am sorry we was oblidged to kill the poor Devils, but it cou'd not with safety be avoided. These Natives brought us some fine Salmon, and plenty of Beaver Skins, with some Otters, and I believe had we staid longer among them we shou'd have done well.

11. Weigh'd and came to sail, and stretch'd clear of the bar.[127] Named the harbour we had left, after our Captain. Standing to the South.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S RIVER

12. N. Latt. 46° 7′; W. Long. 122° 47′. This day[128] saw an appearance of a spacious harbour abreast the Ship, haul'd wind for it, observ'd two sand bars making off, with a passage

126 Boit uses the expression "down river" here and later when referring to Indians coming to trade from *upper parts* of the Chehalis and Columbia rivers.

127 The *Columbia* was a ship of only 212 tons, as certified by the collector of the port of Boston, and drew only six to eight feet of water, which was the extreme draft of vessels entering Gray's Harbor before any dredging was done on the bar. The fact that Capt. Gray left this harbor at evening and sailed directly southward all night, and the next morning "at 4 A. M. saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-southeast, distance six leagues," suggests that he had obtained from the Indians of Gray's Harbor some definite information as to the existence of a large river at Cape Disappointment. Boit mentions later on that he recognized some of these same Indians around the ship in the Columbia river, but this is doubtful.

128 Compare with Log of the *Columbia,* which is printed herewith. For cotemporaneous mention of this discovery, consult "Log of H. M. S. Chatham" in Oregon Hist. Quarterly, vol. 18, page 231 *et seq.*; Letter of John Hoskins, the supercargo or clerk on board the *Columbia,* to Jos. Barrell, one of her owners, in archives of Mass. Hist. Society, Boston, said letter being dated at San Lorenzo, Nootka Sound, Aug. 21st, 1792; Capt. Geo. Vancouver's Voyages, 1st Edit., vols. 1 and 2; Journal of Capt. Jos. Ingraham, of the brig *Hope,* in Library of Congress.

between them to a fine river. Out pinnace and sent her in ahead and followed with the Ship under short sail, carried in from ½ three to 7 fm. and when over the bar had 10 fm. water, quite fresh. The River[129] extended to the NE. as far as eye cou'd reach, and water fit to drink[130] as far down as the *Bars,* at the entrance. We directed our course up this noble *River* in search of a Village. The beach was lin'd with Natives, who rang along shore following the Ship. Soon after, above 20 Canoes came off, and brought a good lot of Furs, and Salmon, which last they sold two for a board Nail. The furs we likewise bought cheap, for Copper and Cloth. They appear'd to view the Ship with the greatest astonishment and no doubt we was the first civilized people that they ever saw. We observ'd some of the same people we had before seen at Gray's harbour, and perhaps that was a branch of this same River. At length we arriv'd opposite to a large village, situate on the North side of the River, about 5 leagues from the entrance. Came[131] to in 10 fm. sand, about ¼ mile from shore. The River at this place was about 4 miles over. We purchas'd 4 Otter Skins for a Sheet of Copper, Beaver Skins, 2 Spikes each, and other land furs, 1 Spike each.

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129 The Columbia river (or Columbia's river, as named by Captain Gray), the existence of which had been the very positive belief of geographers, navigators and explorers for nearly two hundred years. Its mouth had been associated with the fabled Straits of Anian, and the voyage of the Spanish navigator, Martin de Aguilar (1602). Its westward flow and watershed had been reported by Charlevoir and the French explorers in the Mississippi Valley and beyond during the first half of the fifteenth century under the broad designation River of the West. Its upper courses had been strangely confused with those of the upper Missouri by Major Robert Rogers in 1765, who then applied the name Ouragon. Its theoretical source had been blantantly placed in northern Minnesota by Jonathan Carver in 1778,, who called it the Oregon; and it's true source was not discovered until 1807 by David Thompson. In 1775 the Spanish navigator, Bruno Heceta, sailed up to its mouth, made an astronomical observation and bestowed names upon river, bay and the two capes, but these names did not become permanent. Thirteen years later Capt. John Meares, an Englishman, after similar examination, declared that no such river existed, and left the name Cape Disappointment to commemorate his warped or ignorant opinion. In April, 1792, Capt. Geo. Vancouver examined the opening at longer range and recognized Cape Disappointment and confirmed the opinion of Capt. Meares. Now Capt. Robert Gray confirms the discovery by Heceta and actually sails into the long looked for river.

130 Explained by the fact that the river was then in flood with the spring freshets. In October of the same year Lieut. Broughton of the *Chatham* did not find this condition of fresh water, and did not find as much depth of water on the sand bars further upstream. This accounts considerably for the criticisms by Broughton and Vancouver of the chart or sketch of the river given by Capt. Gray to Capt. Vancouver when at Nootka. That chart has never been found for reproduction, but the chart showing Lieut. Broughton's survey in October-November of this same year (1792) is reprinted herewith.

131 This anchorage was a little southeast of the R R. station now known as McGowan's and a little southwest of Point Ellice on the north bank of the river. It is practically the same as that of the *Chatham* on October 21st, 1792, as indicated on the chart herewith.

We lay in this place till the 20th May,[132] during which time we put the Ship in good order and fill'd up all the *water* casks along side, it being very good. These Natives talk'd the same language as those farther South, but we cou'd not learn it. Observ'd that the canoes that came from down river, brought no otter skins, and I believe the otter constantly keeps in Salt water. They however always came well stocked with land furs, and capital Salmon. The tide set down the whole time and was rapid. Whole trees sometimes come down with the *Stream.* The Indians inform'd us there was 50 Villages on the banks of this river.

15. N. Latt. 46° 7′; W. Long. 122° 47′. On the 15th took up the anchor, and stood up River, but soon found the water to be shoal so that the Ship took the ground, after proceeding 7 or 8 miles from our first station. However soon got off again. Sent the Cutter and found the main Channel was on the South side,[133] and that there was a sand bank in the middle. As we did not expect to procure Otter furs at any distance from the Sea, we contented ourselves in our present situation,[134] which was a very pleasant one. I landed abreast the ship with Capt. Gray to view the Country and take possession,[135-135½] leaving charge with the 2d Officer. Found

132 This amplification discloses that the writing of this journal was not diurnal, but this entry at some later date, presumably on May 20th, when the ship left the river. This probably explains the unimportant divergence of one day between the dates given by Capt. Gray and Boit.

133 Capt. Gray found that the deep water or ship's channel of the river then, as now, crossed the river from Harrington Point to Tongue Point and followed the south band to Point Adams, but then crossed again into Baker's Bay behind Cape Disappointment. Sand Island was then attached to Point Adams and lay directly in what is now the deep water channel off that point. For discussion of this consult vol. 18, pp. 242-3 of this quarterly. Lieut. Broughton's chart does not show this deep water channel.

134 The latitude cited is practically correct, but the longitude a full degree too far east. This anchorage was somewhere near Point Gray, which is the location of the speculative townsite of Frankfort, now shown on commercial maps of the north bank of the river. According to the table of distances by the government engineers, this point is seventeen and a half miles from the sea. Boit does not record all the movements of the ship on May 14th, 15th and 16th, and for this compare with Log of the *Columbia,* printed herewith.

135 The words "and take possession" were inserted at a later time and are in quite a different ink.—W. C. F.

135½ As indicated by Mr. Ford, this is an interpolation. It suggests a ceremony which is not yet known to have actually taken place, and one which would have been of great value to the U. S. officials during the boundary disputes prior to the treaty of 1846. During the first session of the 32nd Congress of the U. S. a bill was introduced for the relief of Martha Gray, widow of Capt. Robert Gray, and of the heirs of Capt. John Kendrick (S. B. Bill No. 526), and in that connection on Aug. 11th, 1852, a report was filed which contained unsupported statements as to such an act of taking possession. In "Early Days in Old Oregon" (McClurg, 1916), there appears the positive statement of the author that such an act was performed, but no references are given to support it. If proven this will become a very interesting item of history.

much clear ground, fit for cultivation, and the woods mostly clear from underbrush. None of the Natives come near us.

18. Shifted the Ship's berth to her Old Station abreast the Village *Chinoak,* command'd by a chief named *Polack.*[136] Vast many canoes, full of Indians, from different parts of the River were constantly along side. Capt. Gray named this river *Columbia's,* and the North entrance Cape Hancock, and the South Point, *Adams.*[137] This River in my opinion, wou'd be a fine place for to set up a *Factory.* The Indians are very numerous, and appear'd very civil (not even offering to steal). During our short stay we collected 150 Otter, 300 Beaver, and twice the Number of other land furs. The river abounds with excellent *Salmon,* and most other River fish, and the Woods with plenty of Moose and Deer, the skins of which was brought us in great plenty, and the Banks produces a ground Nut, which is an excellent substitute for either bread or Potatoes. We found plenty of Oak, Ash, and Walnut trees, and clear ground in plenty, which with little labour might be made fit to raise such seeds as is necessary for the sustenance of inhabitants, and in short a factory set up here, and another at Hancock's River, in the Queen Charlotte Isles, wou'd engross the whole trade of the NW. Coast (with the help [of] a few small coasting vessells).

20. This day[138] left Columbia's River, and stood clear of the bars, and bore off to the Northward. The Men, at Columbia's River, are strait limb'd, fine looking fellows, and the Women are very pretty. They are all in a state of Nature, except the females, who wear a leaf Apron—(perhaps *'t was* a fig leaf. But some of our gentlemen, that examin'd them pretty close, and near, both within and without reported, that

136 Evidently a predecessor of Comcomly, the one-eyed potentate of the Chinook Indians during so many years of the fur trade period, whose daughters were given in marriage to some of the traders.

137 This name is still officially recognized, but the name given to the northern cape did not become permanent. Captain Heceta named the southern point Cabo Frondoso because of the trees and brush which then grew down to the edge of the beach. Astoria, on the southern bank fifteen miles inland, was the first trading post on the lower river and Fort Vancouver, one hundred miles inland and on the north bank, became the first Factory, meaning thereby the residence and headquarters of the Chief Factors, who managed the business of the district.

138 Now the two accounts, Capt. Gray's and Boit's, synchronize. The dates given by Capt. Gray are official and take precedence, and it is still correct to say that the Columbia river was first entered by white men on May 11th, 1792. A similar divergence of one day appears in the narrative of Capt. Vancouver the following October.

it was not a leaf, but a nice wove mat in resemblance!! and so we go—thus, thus—and no War!—!

21. N. Latt. 47° 55′. Abreast the Village *Goliu,* hove to and purchas'd some Skins from the Natives, then bore off to the North and West.

22. N. Latt. 48° 20′; W. Long. 124° 32′. Saw Tatooch's Isle and Cape Flattery, on the S. and E. entrance of Juan De Fuca straits (bound to the North'd) for to meet the Sloop *Adventure.*

23. N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 128° 0′ O ☾ ✳ ☾. Pass'd Clioquot harbour, fine fresh gales, at SE.

24. N. Latt. 50° 10′; W. Long. 128° 10′. Pass'd Woody point, at 2 miles distant. Several canoes put off from Columbia's Cove, but we did not stop.

AT ANCHOR IN ST. PATRICK HARBOUR

25. N. Latt. 50° 30′; W. Long. 128° 30′. This day the Ship being abreast a fine inlet, dispatch'd Mr. Smith, in the Cutter to examine it. Soon after the Boat had a signal for a harbour. Haul'd our wind and stood in shore and anchor'd 15 fm. mud and sand, in a complete Snug Cove.[139] Many canoes came along side, full of *Indians.* They was all dress'd in War *Armour,*[140] and completely arm'd with Bows, arrows and Spears, and had altogether quite a savage appearance. I believe they was fearful we shou'd rob their village, which was at no great distance as they appear'd much agitated. However soon began a brisk trade for Otter furs. We landed, with the boats, and got Wood and Broom Stuff, but the Indians wishing to be troublesome, soon give over this business—indeed I was obliged to knock one of them down with my Musket.

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139 It is difficult to identify this cove. If the latitude could be relied on it should be in Quatsino Sound; but no such cove exists there near the ocean as this cove manifestly was. The reference to the fine inlet and the complete snug cove would fit San Josef Bay and Sea Otter Cove, which lies just west of it. Meares gives on page 326, 4to. ed., a representation of Sea Otter Cove and fixes its latitude as 50° 41′. Unfortunately, however, Boit says they anchored in fifteen fathoms and Sea Otter Cove has only five fathoms at its entrance and one to three fathoms inside.

140 Captain Cook tells us that this "armour" appeared to be the skin of elk tanned; it covered them from the breast almost to the heels; it was not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows, but even spears could not pierce it. (Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 308, 4to. ed. 1785.) Hoskins speaks of "moose hide buff leathered which is one of their war garments." Fraser records in his journal under date 1st July, 1808, "The Chief made me a present of a coat of mail to make shoes."

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE

28. N. Latt. 50° 30′; W. Long. 128° 30′ O ☾. Weigh'd and came to sail, and left this harbour, which we named St. *Patrick's*.[140½] The *Indians* were much the same as the Nootka tribes. Standing towards Woody point, which was in sight. Towards evening, anchor'd in Columbia's Cove, in our former berth, past many natives along side, and seem'd much pleased at our visiting them again.

29. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 12′. Vast concourse of Indians coming off, among whom was *Necklar* chief of the sound. They brought many more furs than they did the last season we visited them. Found these Natives so chearful and oblidging, that we did not apprehend any danger in sending parties on shore after Wood and Water. However, they soon discover'd our Crew was diminish'd, and was very inquisitive for to know what had become of the rest of us. We thought prudent for to tell them that they was asleep below. I mistrust that the Indians did not believe us, but probably supposed our Shipmates had been kill'd. At 10 in the evening, a number of large canoes full of People, came into the Cove. They halted near some rocks about Pistol shot from the Ship, and there waited about ten minutes, during which time all hands was brought to arms, upon deck in readiness to receive them. Soon after a large War Canoe, with about 25 *Indians*, paddled off for the Ship. We hail'd them, but they still persisted, and other canoes was seen following, upon which Capt. Gray order'd us to fire, which we did so effectually as to kill or wound every soul in the canoe. She drifted along side, but we push'd her clear, and she drove to the North side of the Cove, under the shade of the trees. 'T was bright moon light and the woods *echoed* with the dying groans of these unfortunate Savages. We observ'd many canoes passing and repassing the Cove, at a small distance, in all probability they was after the poor dead Indians. They soon after ceas'd

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140½ Captain Hanna had named St. Patrick's Bay in this vicinity. It is San Josef Bay on our maps of today. In it Hanna gives 15 fathoms, but it is not a snug cove, being three miles in length and two miles in breadth at its entrance and open to all winds except from the north. There is no contemporary account to assist us here; for Hoskins' Narrative ends with the departure from Clayoquot and Haswell was at this time on the *Adventure*.

groaning, and we neither see nor heard any thing of them after.[141]

We always found these Natives very friendly but they soon discover'd how thin the Ship's Company was now to what it was when we visited them before, and I believe it is impossible to keep friends with savages any longer than they stand in fear of you. But I cannot think they had any intention of boarding the Ship but were after a small anchor, which they in the course of the day see placed on some rocks (above water) for to steady the Ship, and when taken off at dusk they had left the Ship. But still they was daring fellows to think they cou'd steal the *anchor* of a moon light night, within pistol shot of the Ship. Capt. Gray did not wish to fire upon them, for we cou'd easily have blown them to pieces, while they was holding a conference abreast the Rocks. They first stopt all by firing a *cannon* or two among them, and the reason we suffer'd them to approach so near before firing was that we were in hopes they wou'd miss the *Anchor* and then leave the Cove, for we wish'd much to keep friendly with these Indians, as this was the appointed *Rendezvous* for to meet the Sloop.

BOUND TO THE NORTHWARD

30. This day unmoor'd and left Columbia's Cove, bound to the Northward, having left a Board *nail'd* to a tree, just back of the watering place, with the following *inscription* "Ship Columbia, arriv'd May 28th Saild May 30th. BEWARE," that in case Capt. Haswell shou'd arrive before us, he might be on his guard.

June 1. N. Latt. 50° 7′; W. Long. 128° 30′; Amp'd 21° 20′ E. Head wind at NW. and squally weather. Ships Crew all well and hearty.

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141 On 3rd June, 1792, some of these Indians arrived at Nootka asking from Quadra assistance against a vessel which, said they, had attacked their village, killing seven, wounding others, and despoiling the rest of their sea otter skins. They brought with them a wounded Indian to be treated by the Spanish doctor. The natives claimed that the Americans, being unable to agree upon the price of the furs, had used force to compel them to surrender their peltries. The account in the Viaje, page 24, proceeds as follows: "Segun se pado comprehender el buque era la Fragata Americana la Columbia, su Capitan Gray, a quien indicaban los Indios con la senal de que era tuerto; circumstancia que sabiamos recaia en dicho Capitan." In connection with the Indian account the entry of May 25 *ante* may be consulted; it will be observed that Boit believed "they was fearful we should rob their village."

4. N. Latt. 51° 0′; W. Long. 129° 1′. Some Canoes full of Indians came off from the Shore, abreast the Ship, and many valuable skins was *purchas'd*. Iron seem'd most in demand. These fellows soon grew saucy, and threw a number of *stones*, at our people, but as we did not wish, (if possible) to avoid it, for to shoot the poor mistaken savages, we bore off to the Northward, keeping in sounding from 30 to 20 fm., 2 miles off shore.

PINTARD'S STRAITS[142]

5. N. Latt. 51° 30′; W. Long. 129° 30′; Azi. 20° 30′ E. This day saw a large entrance in the land, between two points, above 4 leagues wide.[143] We haul'd in for the same and when between the points had no bottom with 30 fm. We directed our [course?] about E½S and cou'd not see the Land to the East. The Ship went in exceeding fast with a strong tide in favour. Water was quite salt, which prov'd it not to be a River. Observ'd many high Rocks and small Isles, scatter'd about in this famous Straits. Kept the Lead going but got no bottom with 30 fm. line, and saw no signs of Indians. Towards dark stretch'd close in to the South Shore for anchorage, but found none. Kept working under short sail all night, making short boards. No ground in any direction with 120 fm. line.

6. Azi. 20° 30′ E. Bore away up sound, in pursuit of anchorage and Natives. At length, after advancing 15 leagues up sound, we came to, within stone's throw of the beach, in 20 fm. water, sandy bottom, upon the South shore.

7. I went on shore abreast the Ship, with two *boats* after wood, took the Carpenter with me for to cut a Mizen topmast. We had not been long at work, in the Woods before above 200 *Indians*, of a sudden rush'd out upon us. The carpenter

142 Pintards Sound was the name given by the Americans to the waterway now called Queen Charlotte Sound, in honour of J. M. Pintard of Boston, one of the owners of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*. The first mention of the name, so far as can be at present ascertained, is in Haswell's first Log in May, 1789, on the first voyage made by the Americans (that of the *Washington*) to the northward. "I am of opinion," says Haswell, "there must be some inland communication by lakes or perhaps the sea may continue by large arms and have communication in the interior part perhaps by way of Pintard Sound."

143 At its entrance this sound is twenty miles wide, though in its extent its average width is from ten to fifteen miles. It is very deep. There are only two places, Beaver Harbour and Port Alexander, where a vessel of any size can find good anchorage. The sound is only fifty miles long; the distances given in this part are much exaggerated.

being some way from the rest of the party, got nearly surrounded, and was oblidged to fly, leaving his Broad Axe behind. I immediately rallied my people together, and retreated slowly, at the same time fir'd a few *Musketts* over their heads which kept them in check. At length they advanced so near as to throw their Spears. We then discharg'd our *Musketts* and killd several. However they still persisted, and I believe if we had not got to the beach (clear from the woods) that we shou'd have been overpower'd. They heard the reports of the *Musketts* on board, but never dreamt that we [were] attack'd by Indians, as none had been seen before. Immediately as we made our appearance the Ship cover'd us with the Cannon and the Grape and round shot, must have done considerable damage to our pursuers, as they fell just into the brink of the wood, where the thickest of the Indians was. This soon dispers'd them, and we got all safe on board. Some of these fellows afterwards came down abreast the Ship and brandished their Weapons at us, bidding defiance.

8. N. Latt. 51° 30′; W. Long. 129° 30′; or *thereabouts*. Got under way bound farther up the Straits and towards evening luff'd into a small bend of the land, and came to in 17 fathom close to the shore.[144] A few canoes, with Indians came off, who talk'd the Nootka language. They inform'd that in two days, through the *woods*, they cou'd reach Nootka Sound and indeed, the Ship was at Anchor near to a Mountain, which is plainly in view at Friendly Cove, (Nootka Sound).

9. Many canoes of this day, and plenty of fine Otter Skins was purchas'd. About Noon, 20 large War Canoes hove in sight, with above 30 Men in each, and we soon discern'd with our Glasses that they was all arm'd, with Spears and *Arrows*. The friendly Indians that was trading along side, told us these people had come to fight, and belong'd to the tribe we had fir'd at two days before, when attack'd upon the beach. Capt. Gray thought it not safe to admit them along side at once, and therefore order'd them, when within hail, for to keep off, and

144 This may be Beaver Harbour, though it is strange that he does not mention the islands that protect it. From this vicinity there is an Indian trail some eight miles in length which leads to Quatsino Sound, which may have been mistaken for a trail to Nootka Sound. As the crow flies the distance to Nootka Sound is about eighty miles. The mountain referred to is, likely, Mount Karmutzen; but this is not visible from Nootka.

not but one canoe come along side at a time. They obey'd the command, and one canoe, with 42 men came alongside, but had only a skin or two. We soon discover'd that the main body of canoes was paddling towards us, singing a War Song. We fir'd a cannon and some Muskets over their heads. At this they mov'd off about 100 yds. and again halted. A Small Canoe, with a Chief, (paddled by two Indians) kept constantly plying between the Ship and the main body of the Canoes, counting our men, and talking earnestly to the *Natives* along side, encouraging them to begin the attack. He was suffer'd to proceed in this manner some time, when Capt. Gray told him to come near the Ship no more, but he still persisted, and was shot dead for his temerity. Also the Chief Warrior, of the Canoe along side, was shot, for throwing his Spear into the Ship. They then made a precipitate retreat, and the trading Indians, who had kept at a small distance viewing the transactions, again recommenced their trade with us. They inform'd us these Indians, who meant to attack us, was of another tribe with them. Canoes with Indians, came along side and traded away their Otter Skins, but not without Manifest signs of fear.

12. The Natives kept bringing furs, which we purchas'd for Copper and Cloth. *Iron* very dull sale.

FROM PINTARD'S STRAITS TO COLUMBIA'S COVE

13. Weigh'd and came to sail, standing down straits saw a number of fishing canoes, at a distance but none came near. Towards evening came to in 16 fm. at our former *anchorage*. See no Indians.

14. Fair wind and pleasant, weigh'd and stood down straits, and at 9 in the evening got clear out bound to Columbia's Cove, our place of Rendezvous. Shou'd these straits join with Juan da Fuca, which perhaps it does, it must make the whole Coast between the Latitudes of 48° 15′ and 51° 30′ North and Longitudes 120° 57′ and 129° 30′ W. a vast Archipelago of Islands.[145]

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145 This idea is not original with Boit. It was in the air at that time. In Meares' Voyages, 4to. ed., prefixed to his account of his voyages in 1788 and 1789, is a map in which is shown the celebrated, and now proved to have been imaginary, track of the *Washington*, entering at the Strait of Juan de Fuca and emerging at Queen Charlotte Islands. The curious will find further imaginary details of this voyage in the correspondence of Meares annexed to the Report of the Archivist for British Columbia, 1914, and also in Newcombe's First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island. The quotation from Haswell's first Log set out in note 142 *ante* shows the same opinion. Ingraham also entertained it.

We named the port we had entred *Pintards,* after one of the owners, and I've no doubt we are the first *discoverers.*[146] It is certainly the most dangerous navigation we have experienced being full of Ledges, small Isles, no soundings and excessive strong tides. But I think it affords the most Sea Otter skins. We procured upwards of 300 hundred, during our stay, and saild up this straits more than 100 miles, and cou'd see no end.[147] At our last anchorage, or rather the highest up the shore seem'd to trend about ESE.

15. N. Latt. 51° 17′; Amp'd 21° 14′ E. Head wind beating to and fro, making slow progress. The entrance of Pintards straits bore East, 3 or 4 leagues, 70 fm. water.

17. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 12′ O ☾. Fresh breezes. This day spoke the Sloop *Adventure,* Capt. Haswell, sent our boat and Capt. Haswell came on board the Ship. Bore off the Cove. 'T is remarkable that we both meet within 12 league of our Rendezvous bound in. The chief of the Sloop's Cruize had been about the Charlotte Isles, and had collected about 500 *Skins,* all prime.[148] On the 24th of April Capt. Haswell fell in with the Ship *Margaret* of Boston,[149] James Magee Master. They was on the same business as ourselves. At 5 P. M. past Woody point, and at 7 anchored in company with the Sloop, in Columbia's Cove.[150] A few Natives ventured

146 Queen Charlotte Sound was discovered in 1786 by the *Experiment,* then in command of Wedgborough (Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 308, 8vo. ed. 1801); though there may be doubt as to the exact person then actually in command. James Hanna in the snow *Sea Otter* was also in this sound in the summer of 1786. Duncan, in August, 1788, spent some time at its western enrrance. Funter, in the *North West America,* was there in 1789; see his map of Raft Cove in Meares Voyages, 4to., p. 326, which appears to be the present Goletas Channel and Shushartie Bay.

147 This is an exaggeration; the Sound is only fifty miles long. Boit's statement that the shore at the end of their examination trended ESE would indicate that they were following the Vancouver Island shore, and at this point were looking down Johnstone Strait.

148 Under date 18th June, Haswell records that he "delivered to Capt. Gray 238 sea otter skins 142 Tails 23 Cootsacks and 19 pieces." The tails were frequently sold separate from the rest of the skin. The fur thereon was the richest. The cootsacks, or cutsarks, were Indian sea otter cloaks, usually composed of three skins.

149 The *Adventure,* under Haswell, met this ship at Barrell Sound (Houston Stewart Channel) on 7th May. Haswell says she was "as fine a vessel as ever I saw of her size, and appeared exceedingly well fitted for his voyage, and I believe there was no expense spared." She had been in Houston Stewart Channel ten days and had collected but very few skins. She brought letters for the *Columbia,* and Haswell returned the compliment by taking letters from her to be forwarded to Boston by the first opportunity.

150 This entry shows that Columbia's Cove was very close to Woody Point (Cape Cook). In rounding that point, owing to the rocks which extend from it, the ship would probably give it a berth of at least two miles; and within two hours she is at anchor.

along side, after much coaxing. (Found the Inscription at the watering place unmolested.) Took the Skins from *Sloop* on board ship. Sent parties on shore, well arm'd after wood and water. Purchas'd some furs.

20. Haul'd the Sloop on shore, and graved her. Capt. Haswell says she is an excellent sea boat, and sails very well.[151] The Indians among whom we traded never offer'd insult.

21. Got the Sloop off the *ways,* and fitted her for another Cruize.

24. Weigh'd and sail'd from the Cove, in company with the *Adventure,* bound to Queen Charlotte Isles.

25. N. Latt. 50° 37′; W. Long. 129° 55′. Fair wind and moderate breezes. Sloop in company. The coast about 8 leagues distance.

28. N. Latt. 52° 18′; W. Long. 129° 15′. Fresh winds, all sail out running along shore, about 3 leagues distance, with smooth sea. Sloop about 2 miles a head. At 2 P. M. the Ship struck a Rock,[152] which lay about 7 feet under water and did not break, hove all aback, and she came off clear, try'd the pump, and found she leak'd 1000 smart strokes per Hour, sounded along the Rock, and found no ground at 70 fm. Hoisted a signal for the Sloop, and she immediately haul'd her wind for us. Stood off, both pumps just keeps the leak under. In the morning bore off to the Northward.

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151 Hoskins, writing to Barrell on 28th September, 1792, makes a different statement. He says, "she sails very dull"; but Haswell states twice in his second Log that she outsailed the *Columbia.*

152 Vancouver (Voyage, vol. 4, p. 287, 8vo. ed. 1801) says that Captain Gray in the *Columbia* struck and received some material damage upon a sunken rock, which he represented as lying much further than a league from Cape St. James in an almost southeast direction. But the latitude and longitude given by both Haswell and Boit place it very much further east. Haswell, indeed, says it was abreast of the south entrance of Loblip Sound, which has been identified as Milbank Sound. There the coast is broken into low craggy islands and detached sunken rocks. "I was surprised to find Capt. Gray," says Haswell, "standing in for the land in a place that looked to me very dangerous. However, as he had ordered me to lead off, I did not follow him. He had all sail on his ship, steering sails below and aloft. I had seen as I passed several sunken reefs of rocks, and as the *Columbia* passed not looking out properly, she struck. I immediately made sail to windward, hoisted my boat out and set off for the ship. She fired a gun, but soon swung clear of the rocks and hoisting her colors stood towards me. The ship had been going at the rate of 5 knots when she struck. She appeared to have met with no material damage compared with what might have been expected."

In a letter to Barrell dated from Nootka 21st August, 1792, young Hoskins unburdens himself in regard to many matters on the vessel; after complaining of the risk run by Captain Gray in crossing the Columbia River bar, he proceeds: "At last, however, fortune refus'd any longer to smile and in blundering along (for I can call it by no better name) without any lookout kept, within three miles of a most inhospitable & rocky shore, the Ship going six knots with a crowd of sail, struck on a rock about four feet under water (this was the 25th of June), the Sloop in company. Mr. Haswell says he in the Sloop saw the rock break & haul'd from it (the Ship was to follow him)."

29. N. Latt. 53° 1′; W. Long. 131° 41′. Came on a hard gale of wind, and although we kept firing Cannon through the night the Sloop parted from us, as 't was very thick in the morning. The leaks rather increas'd, and our feelings was not the most agreeable on the occasion.[153]

OFF QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES (SOUTH PART)

30. N. Latt. 51° 57′; W. Long. 131° 10′. This day see the Queen Charlotte Isles, stood in pretty close to the South pt. and fother'd the Ship with a topsail which we had previously prepared for that purpose. This, fortunately for us, stop'd the leak one half.

July 1. N. Latt. 51° 48′. Close in off the South pt. of Queen Charlotte Isles from which lay many detach'd Rocks. We pass'd the pt. within two or three miles and left many breakers without us in the Offing. We wish to get into Barrells sound.

2. N. Latt. 51° 49′; W. Long. 130° 30′. Saw the entrance of Barrells sound, bearing NW., the wind direct in our teeth. Employ'd turning to windwards, with all the Elements against us. Crew all in brave health.

3. Employ'd beating to windward through the night, in the morning spoke the Ship *Margaret,* James Magee, Master. Capt. Gray went on board the *Margaret,* and found Capt. Magee very sick.[154] This ship stopt a few days at the Cape De Verds, and made her passage in 6 months. They had not

153 Evidently the gale was from the northwest, as it drove the ship about sixty miles southward and about thirty eastward. Haswell was informed at two o'clock in the morning by the officer of the watch that the ship had suddenly disappeared and he feared she had foundered. He immediately sailed the *Adventure* back to the spot where the *Columbia* had last been seen; but he searched for her in vain. Haswell loitered in the vicinity for another twenty-four hours, but seeing nothing of the missing ship, concluded that she had surely foundered. On 21st August, while at Cox Strait (Parry Passage), he learned from Ingraham, who had just arrived in the *Hope,* that the *Columbia* was repairing at Nootka. Hoskins, in a private and fault-finding letter to Barrell, gives an account showing that it originated in a bit of pique. Previous to the accident, he says, Haswell, in the *Adventure,* had been instructed, as he was leading, to tack at twelve o'clock. The two vessels got into a race as to which could go longest and fastest by the wind. Haswell, nevertheless, tacked at midnight, but the *Columbia's* men, irritated that the sloop should tack before the ship, continued on their course without tacking until one o'clock. Of course, in that hour the vessels drew steadily apart; ultimately the *Columbia* was no longer seen; then arose the hue and cry that the ship had foundered.

154 The *Margaret* was owned by the same people as the *Hope.* Ingraham met her about a month later near Nootka Sound, when Mr. Lamb, the chief officer, came aboard to report to him that Captain Magee was very ill. Later Ingraham states that Captain Magee was so ill that it was agreed that he should return to China in the *Hope* as a passenger.

been very fortunate in trade. Bore away to the Southward, in company with Capt. Magee, bound to Columbia's Cove, for the purpose of examining the *Columbia's* bottom. Fair wind at NW.

AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE

5. N. Latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 0′ This day came to in Columbia's Cove in company with the *Margaret.* Several canoes came along side, and the Natives appear'd quite chearfull.

6. Hoisted all our Cannon, in the longboats of both Ships, made a raft of our spare spars on which we put everything possible that wou'd not damage. Struck yards and topmasts. So ends.

7. Took up the Anchor, and hauld the Ship on shore, on a fine beach, at high tide. When the tide ebb'd, 't was discover'd that the Ship's keel was split, and the lower part of the Stem was entirely gone, within 2 inches of the Wood ends, a great deal of Sheathing was off, and three of the plank next to Garboard Streak was stove on the larboard side. The Carpenters went to work and put in new pieces of plank but it was found impracticable to pretend to repair the bows without heaving down, or some such method, and this cou'd not be done in our present situation. Nootka Sound, where we knew there was a Spanish settlement, Capt. Gray tho't the most proper place, and we all concur'd in the opinion[155].

8. Hauld the Ship off, and soon got ready to leave the Cove.

BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND

10. N. latt. 50° 6′; W. Long. 128° 0′ This day weigh'd, and again left the Cove, in company with the *Margarett,*[155½] standing towards *Nootka,* but overshot it in the Night, which is a misfortune.

11. N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 125° 26′. Abreast Clioquot

155 Hoskins' letter to Barrell, dated from "St. Lorenzo, Nootka Sound, Augt. 21, 1792," shows that the owners' orders very positively forbade the ship's entering a Spanish port except in case of distress.

155½ Ingraham states that this vessel carried a Mr. Howell, who was charged with the duty of writing an account of the voyage. So far as is known this record is not extant at the present time.

harbour, and as it's in vain to beat to Nootka with a strong breeze a head, we bore up, and towards evening, in company with the *Margaret,* anchor'd in Clioquot harbor.[156] The Natives were at first shy, but we prevail'd on some of them to come on board.

12. Capt. Gray, having met with *Wickananish* on board the *Margaret,* prevail'd on him to visit the *Columbia,* but he did not appear happy. However 't was the means of getting more *Skins,* than we otherwise would have done. Employ'd wooding and watering (abreast the Ship) and under cover of her Guns.

15. This day arriv'd in the Harbour the English Brig *Venus,*[157] Henry Sheppard Master, 6 months from Bengall in *India.* I went off to him in the offing, and piloted his Brig to the harbour. He inform'd us that at a small harbour in De Fuca straits, where he was at anchor a few days since, there was a Spanish settlement, where lay a Spanish 64, the master of which while amusing himself in shooting back in the woods, was kill'd by the Indians, in consequence of which the Spaniards seized a Canoe full of Natives and massacred them all (in *cold blood*) not even sparing Children. Shocking to relate![158]

17. Weigh'd with a fair wind, and left Clioquot bound to Nootka sound, to repair the Ship, under the protection of the Spaniards. Left the Ship and Brig behind. The wind soon came a head, and we began turning to windward, without making much progress. However we shall reach it by perseverance.

19. N. Latt. 49° 0′; W. Long. 125° 0′ Bad weather and the wind direct ahead. This day stood in and anchor'd in Clioquot harbour. Found the Ship made a poor hand beat-

156 The Port Cox already frequently mentioned in these notes. From this anchorage Gray could see all that remained of the destroyed village of Opitsitah, which was only four miles distant.

157 A brig of one hundred and ten tons commanded by a Captain Shepherd. Finding the price of furs too high on the sea coast, she sailed from Nootka to try the trade in Queen Charlotte Sound, and, much to Vancouver's surprise, was met by him near Calvert Island on 17th August, 1792. Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, pp. 319-320, 8vo. ed. 1801.

158 The atrocities were not always on the Indians' side. Ingraham gives much the same account; he says the Spaniards killed eight of the natives on this occasion. See New Vancouver Journal in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. VI, p. 57.

ing to windward, without a Stem. Found the Brig *Venus* here, but Capt. Magee had sail'd.[159] No canoes off.

20. Wind favorable, weather more settled. Weigh'd at Daylight, in company with the *Venus,* and stood to sea. Wind soon haul'd in its old quarter. Employ'd beating to windward towards Nootka Sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 17′; W. Long. 126° 0′ Wind still at WNW. and fair weather. Saw Breakers point[160] NW. 4 leagues, making short hanks.

22. Weather'd away Breakers point and stood towards Nootka Sound. Observ'd the Spanish Colours flying at the Entrance of Friendly Cove, but the tide swept us so strong towards some breakers on the East shore, and the wind being light oblidg'd us to Anchor in 16 fm. rocky bottom. Hoisted our Ensign in a Wiff and fired a Gun for assistance which was answered by the *Spaniards.* Soon after see several Boats rowing towards us. Quite calm.

23. The Boats got alongside. They was sent by the Spanish Admirall to our assistance (except one, from an English *Store Ship,*[161] under charge of Mr. *Neal,* the 1st Officer) . This *Ship* was sent out by the British Government, with Stores for Capt. *Vancoover,* who had not yet arriv'd at the Sound. The Spanish boats was under the charge of a Pilot, who had order to Get the Ship to the Cove, and lend every assistance.

AT ANCHOR IN NOOTKA SOUND

24. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 0′ Light breeze from the South'd and East'd. Weigh'd and came to sail, under conduct of the Spanish Pilot, who well knew his business, and was perfectly acquainted with the soundings and tides. Upon passing the Spanish fort,[162] at the Entrance of the Cove, we

159 For Nootka, as appears later.

160 See note 13 *ante.* Crespi's diary of the expedition of 1774 says "it was called Point San Estevan, out of regard for the second navigating officer." See this diary in the Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, 1891, vol. 2, part I, p. 202. The officer so honoured was Don Estevan Jose Martinez, who, in 1789, established the first Spanish settlement at Nootka and in the same year seized Meares' vessels.

161 The *Daedalus* of Vancouver's squadron, commanded by Captain New, whom Ingraham describes as "a very clever old gentleman."

162 On Hog Island; but not that which had been erected by Martinez in 1789. That fort had been dismantled when the settlement returned to Mexico in the fall of 1789. This was a new one erected on the same site by Elisa in 1790. It is described in the entry of the following day as a poor affair, barely sufficient to carry the weight of the guns.

saluted with 7 Guns, which was return'd. Towards evening came to, in Friendly Cove (Nootka Sound). Found riding here the Store Ship, a Spanish Sloop of War, and the Brig *Venus*. The Spaniards treated us nobly, and offer'd freely every assistance in their power. We lay in this place till the 23d August. Shall give the *Minutes* of our transactions during that period.

25. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′ Discharg'd the Ship's Cargo and stores, and stored them in a house on shore which the Spaniards had lent us for that purpose.[163] Strip'd the Ship to a Gutline, and got the riging all on shore to repair. The Spanish governor seem'd highly pleas'd with the dispatch that took place; indeed ev'ry man in the *Columbia* was anxious to get the Ship in readiness to pursue her Voyage, well knowing that the time drew nigh when we shou'd again be sailing towards our friends in America, and our sweet anticipation of the joys that await us there made us use ev'ry effort. This Spanish settlement at *Nootka,* contained about 50 Houses,[164] indifferently built (*except* the Governor's, which was rather *grand* than otherways). There was about 200 Inhabitants, consisting of Spaniards and Peru Indians, but no females. Their fort was no great thing, mounted with 6 twenty four and thirty six pounders—the platforms would not bear the weight of metal. There was two Botanists resided with the Governour.[165] Capt. Gray took up his lodgings at the *governor's* request, at his house.

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163 Hoskins in his letter, referred to in note 155 *ante,* writes: "We arrived the 23rd of July, and reported our situation to the Spanish Governor, who very politely offer'd us every assistance. He has lent us store houses for our Goods, granted the second best house in his small Town for Capt. Gray and myself to lodge & do our business in; and insists on our eating & drinking with him, at his house, where we live most sumptuously."

164 This seems an exaggeration. Ingraham says "the village consists of 16 houses." This corresponds reasonably closely with the pictures still extant; furthermore it agrees fairly well with the diagram of that most interesting village which is appended to Elisa's map of the Strait of Fuca. A copy of this map will be found, numbered K, in the Berlin Arbitration Papers, Washington 1872.

165 This is the only reference to the presence of botanists in this unique settlement. Much research is still necessary before any adequate conception of the Spanish village at Nootka Sound can be obtained, or any knowledge gathered of the incidents in its short existence (1790-1795). In the New Vancouver Journal (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, p. 306) it is noted that the *Aransasu* on her return to Nootka in September, 1792, "had a Botanist on board her."

29. Don. Van Francisco De La Vondego,[166] which was the name of the Governor, gave a grand entertainment, at his house, at which all the Officers of the Fleet partook. Fifty four persons sat down to Dinner, and the plates, which was *solid silver* was shifted five times, which made 270 Plates. The Dishes, Knifes and forks, and indeed every thing else was of Silver,[167] and always replaced with spare ones. There could be no mistake in this as they never carried the dirty plates or Dishes from the Hall where we dined (as *I thought,* on purpose to let us see the quantity of plate used by Spaniards in South *America.*)

31. This day got all ready to heave down, by the Spanish Sloop of War, the Governor having granted us his permission.

August 1. Haul'd along side the Spanish Ship,[168] fix'd our purchases to her, and soon had the *Columbia* keel out. But was oblig'd to right her again, as she made too much water, her upper works being quite weak. Capt. Gray determin'd to give over the Idea of heaving her out, and accordingly gave orders to prepare to lay her ashore on *blocks.*

2. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′ This day haul'd the Ship upon the beach at high water, and placed a long round log *along* her keel fore and aft, endeavouring to trip her over it, but the Bottom being so *flat,* she wou'd turn keel out. Other logs was laid, and moor'd with *Cannon* on the Beach, with an intention of laying the Ship's *Fore foot* on them, which we accordingly did at high water, the logs laying as far aft as the fore *Chains.* This method answered our most sanguine *expectations.* At low water, or half ebb, the ship's bows lay'd four feet above the beach. In this situation we scuttled her

166 Don Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra; one of the most interesting figures in the Spanish regime on this coast; his entrance into our history is gripping; no reader can forget his courageous voyage in the little *Santiago* in 1775. He was a fit representative of the courtly Spaniard; and while he was commandante at Nootka all visitors, of every nationality and of every kind of vessel, unite in bearing testimony to his constant courtesy and his unfailing kindness.

167 Ingraham records that when he dined with the Governor, Quadra, a few days later, he had an excellent dinner and everything was served on silver. He adds that it was Quadra's custotm to invite to dinner all commanders of vessels regardless of rank or nationality. Even when Vancouver and Quadra visited Maquinna at Tashees, the Spaniard took care to have the dinner served on plate. Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 354, 8vo. ed. 1801: Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, p. 304.

168 Of necessity this must be the *Acteva;* for the *Aransasu* was then engaged on the survey of Queen Charlotte Islands, under Camaano; while the *Princesa* lay at anchor guarding Fidalgo and his men at Neah Bay.

Aft, so as to keep her steady in her berth, at high water. In three days, by the assistance of the Spanish and English Carpenters, a New Stem and part of the Cutwater was put to the Ship. Stopt the Scuttle, grav'd the Ship, and haul'd off to our Moorings.

8. The Spaniards view'd us, with astonishment, and the Governor observ'd that he believed we cou'd build a ship in a month.

9. The Brig *Hope,* Joseph Ingrahim, arriv'd here, on the 1st from Canton,[169] and sail'd this day on a *Cruize.*

10. On the 10th arrived here the ship *Buttersworth,*[170] from London, Wm. Brown Commander; Ship *Margaret,* James Magee, and Brig *Hope,* Joseph Ingrahim.

11. And on the 11th arriv'd the Sloop *Prince La Boo,*[171] Capt. Gordon from London. These vessells were all in the fur trade. The *Laboo* was a tender to the *Buttersworth.*

16. The Ship *Margaret*[172] put to sea, under charge of Mr. Lamb, 1st Officer Capt. Magee residing with the Spanish governor for the benefit of his health.

22. This Day the *Columbia* was ready for sea, and in fine order. Have painted her complete.

23. Arriv'd the English brig *Three B's,*[173] Lieutenant Alder,

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169 The *Hope* left Macao on 1st April, 1792, and arrivel at Cox Strait (Parry Passage), Queen Charlotte Islands, on 2nd July. She had spent the interval in cruising and trading around those islands.

170 The ship *Butterworth* had been a French frigate of thirty guns. She was on the coast in 1792-3 as the "mother ship" under Captain William Brown, having as tenders the *Prince Lee Boo* and the *Jackal.* At Clayoquot a few days before this arrival at Nootka, she had an encounter with the natives, in which one seaman was killed and two severely wounded. Captain Brown represented it as an unprovoked attack upon his boats; but Ingraham learned from the *Margaret* a totally different version in which the seamen were said to have robbed and attempted to rob the Indians of their furs and in the resultant struggle and retaliation the losses occurred; see Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xi, p. 26. This expedition was quite unsuccessful in obtaining furs during the season of 1792. Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, p. 58. At the end of the following season the *Butterworth* was dispatched to England with instructions to engage in whaling and sealing in the South Seas and at Staten Land, where her commander had formed a temporary establishment. Vancouver's Voyage, vol. v, p. 354, 8vo. ed. 1801.

171 The small sloop *Prince Lee Boo,* named after a young Chief who had been taken to England by Captain Wilson. This vessel was on the coast in 1792, 1793 and 1794, as one of the vessels of the *Butterworth* squadron. At the end of the season of 1793, she, in company with the *Jackal,* sailed to China, returning again in June, 1794. See Vancouver's Voyage, vol. v, pp. 354-5, 8vo. ed. 1801.

172 According to the New Vancouver Journal, Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. v, p. 224, Captain Magee was utilizing his sick leave in selling intoxicating liquor.

173 The full name was *Three Brothers,* though the Viaje refers to her as "El Bergantin Ingles Tresbes." This vessel was one of the few British ships that utterly ignored the monopoly of the South Sea Company. Soon after her arrival, following Meares' and the Americans' custom, she set up the frame of a small sloop at Nootka. For further information, see Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 5, p. 301; vol, 6, p. 59 and p. 85.

Commander, from London, on a trading Voyage.

BOUND TO CHARLOTTE ISLES

24. Weigh'd and came to sail, bound for Queen Charlotte Isles, Barrells sound, those Isles being the appointed rendezvous, for to meet the *Adventure,* Capt. Haswell. It is but doing Justice to the Spaniards at Nootka sound to observe that during our tarry among them we was treated with the greatest hospitality, and in fact they seem'd to exert themselves, and to feel interested in our behalf. May such fine fellows Never be in want of the like assistance shou'd they ever stand in need of it from the hands of any American. The Governor wou'd Not allow Capt. Gray for to pay one farthing.

25. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′. Nootka sound is as remarkable a place to know from seaward as any I know of. At most times Iatheo peak[174] (a mountain) in the form of a sugar loaf can be seen, and there is none other that at all resembles it, on this part of the Coast. A long low point, with high Breakers off it, makes the SE. part of the Bay.[175] The Western entrance of the sound runs down to a low point, with a small round Hill just back of Friendly cove.

28. N. Latt. 51° 45′; W. Long. 130° 30′. This day made the SE. part of the group of Charlotte Isles. A thick fog[176] came on, so that we cou'd not reach the sound. Employ'd beating off and on, waiting for fair weather.

30. This day the weather clear'd and the Sloop *Adventure* hove in sight standing for Barcl. [Barrells?] sound. This is the second time we have met off the place of *Rendezvous.* Saluted each other with 7 Guns. Found Capt. Haswell and Crew all well, and had made a successful cruize. We stood

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174 Conuma peak, a remarkable steeple-shaped mountain, 4,889 feet high, twenty miles from the entrance. It is a most conspicuous feature.

175 Escalante point, low and rocky, marks the eastern entrance of Nootka Sound. The name is by association with Escalante reef. It signifies in Spanish, climbing, or scaling.

176 All navigators, from the time of Juan Perez in 1774, complain of the thick fogs of Queen Charlotte Islands.

into Port Montgomery,[177] a small harbour to the North'd of Barrells Sound, which the *Adventure* had *visited* before, and her Captain named it after our famous American General who fell before Quebec while gloriously fighting in the defence of our liberties. *Graved* the Sloop in this place, and otherways put her in fine order, to attract the eyes of the *Spaniards* at Nootka, as Capt. Gray meant to sell her to *them* if possible. Cut some spare spars at this place, and wooded and watered the Ship for her passage to Canton. Many Natives visited us, and brought plenty of fish but few furs. Took out the *Skins* from the Sloop[178] and stow'd them away on board the Ship.

BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND

September 13. Weigh'd and stood to sea, in company with the *Adventure,* bound to Nootka sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 30′; W. Long. 126° 30′. Abreast the Entrance of the Sound. A Spanish Brig in sight to leeward, which hove to and fir'd a Gun. We immediately bore off for her. She was the *Acteva* of 14 Guns, with the Spanish Governor of Nootka[179] on board, bound to *Peru.* He told Capt. Gray that he wou'd wait 10 days at a small *Spanish* settlettlement, in Juan De Fuca straits, where he was then going, for to leave some orders, previous to his leaving the Coast. He appear'd anxious to have the Sloop, and Haswell was not backward in displaying her to the best advantage. Towards evening we anchor'd in Friendly Cove, having saluted the Spanish Governor with 13 Guns[180] when we parted. Found riding in the Cove His Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham,*[181] The

177 Haswell gives its latitude as 52° 25′ north; his log shows that he was there twice, once in May and again in August, 1792. No longitude is given (it would be of no assistance, because of its constant inaccuracy), but it is plain from Haswell's log that on both occasions he reached this port from Dixon Entrance along the western coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. It was therefore on the western coast of these islands and north of Houston Stewart Channel. He calls it St. Tammonies Cove, Port Montgomery; from his scattered allusions it seems to have been a cove in a large sound. Though the latitude does not agree, could it by any possibility have been Ingraham's Magee Sound? In making a comparison it must be kept in mind that Ingraham stayed a considerable time in Magee Sound and made a careful examination; Haswell appears to have looked on it merely as a suitable rendezvous.

178 Haswell's entry, 12th September, 1792, reads: "I delivered to Capt. Gray 75 sea otter skins, 29 cootsacks, 137 tails, and 25 pieces."

179 Quadra was returning, not to Peru, but to San Blas in Mexico.

180 The federal salute; see note 95 *ante.*

181 Vancouver's vessels, which had arrived in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, 28th August, 1792, after circumnavigating Vancouver Island.

Dedalus, Store Ship, Capt. [Thomas] New, Ship *Margaret,*[182] of Boston, Capt. Magee, English Brig *Fens,*[183] Capt. Duffin, English Sloop *Jackhall,*[184] Capt. Steward, and a Spanish Line of Battle Ship of 74 Guns. Spanish Colours still flying at the fort, the Governor having refused to give up the Sound to Capt. Vancoover who was authoriz'd by his Government for to take possession of it. However the Spaniards told *Vancoover* that he might have that particular place where Capt. [John] *Mears* made his small settlement, and built a Sloop, which was very inconsiderable. Capt. Vancoover insisted upon having the whole or none. However they both agreed to let the business remain (in statu quo), to remain friends, and write home to their respective Courts, on the subject of dispute.

JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS

22. Weigh'd in company with the Sloop, and left Nootka bound to Port Ne-ar[185] in Juan de Fuca straits. Fair wind and pleasant weather.

23. N. Latt. 49° 9′; W. Long. 125° 26′ O ☾. Close in with Clioquot harbour. In the morning saw two Sail in the NW. At Meridian Tatooch's Isle[186] on the SE. entrance of the Straits bore E½S. 8 or 9 leagues.

24. N. Latt. 48° 30′; W. Latt. [Long.] 123° 45′. Spoke the Spanish Brig *Acteva,* with the Governor on board. They

182 This ship had just reached Nootka, arriving on 19th September, 1792. Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, p. 54.

183 The *Fenis and St. Joseph.* Vancouver says she was a Portuguese brig, commanded by John de Barros Andrede, with Mr. Duffin as supercargo, Voyage, vol. 2, p. 367; and see Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, p. 59, to same effect. Perhaps Duffin, who had been with Meares in the *Felice,* may have taken his cue from his former employer. Duffin on this occasion gave Vancouver a written account of the seizures of 1789; the gist of the letter will be found in Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 370 *et seq.,* and verbatim in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. vi, p. 52, *et seq.* She had arrived on 15th September, 1792.

184 The *Jackal,* of the Butterworth squadron. Vancouver calls her a schooner, but all others speak of her as a sloop. Ingraham had met her near the southern end of Queen Charlotte Islands on 17th July previous, and had at first thought her to be the *Adventure;* but she showed British colours, and on her nearer approach he saw that she had a tier of ports fore and aft, the greatest part of which were "false or only painted, yet they made a good appearance at a distance that for some time we concluded she was a Kings Cutter or tender to some of the men of war on the coast."

185 Neah Bay.

186 Tatoosh Island first appears in Duncan's sketch 13th August, 1788. He gives the following information: "Green Island or To Touches is about ¼ mile in length; covered over with green grass; on the West Side is a small Cove very narrow and only navigable for Boats; I saw some Canoes go in and out and many Indians on the Beach; on the East Side is a large village, and from the number of Canoes that come to us from thence, I suppose it to be well inhabited."

was much suppriz'd at our being in the Straits as soon as they was. At dark the Spanish Brig hove to under her tops'ls. We kept plying all night for our Port, and in the Morning got safe to anchor in C'o with the Sloop *Adventure*. Found riding here the Spanish Ship *Princessa* of 64 Guns, and Brig *Hope,* Capt. Ingrahim. This was a small, good harbour,[187] situate about 5 leagues from Cape Flattery, within the straits of De Fuca. The Spaniards had erected a Cross upon the beach, and had about 10 Houses and several good Gardens.[188] Several Natives along side, and a few prime Skins was purchas'd (*with plenty of fine Halibut*). I went with the Pinnace to the Assistance of the *Acteva,* she having been oblig'd to anchor near Cape Flattery, in a dangerous situation. When I came on board, instead of using every effort to get clear of Danger, they was performing Mass. However soon got under way and stood for Port Ne-ar.[189]

25. N. Latt. 48° 35′; W. Long. 123° 30′. The *Acteva* anchor'd in company. Saluted the Governor with 13 Guns, which was return'd. Employ'd filling up our Water, and getting ready for our passage across the Pacific Ocean.

26. Spanish Officers from both ships, together with Capt. Ingraham, dined on board the *Columbia.* Fired, on their coming, and going away, two Foederall salutes.

27. Saild the *Princessa* for Nootka sound.[190] Ships crew are all in prime health. Natives constantly visit us, but they do not like the Spaniards.

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187 Ingraham had a contrary opinion. In his journal under date 28th September, 1792, he writes. "It is 5 points of the compass open to the sea from WNW to NBW so that it is almost as bad as being in the centre of the straights and I much wonder how the *Princessa* road out 7 months in safety in such a place especially as the bottom is very rocky in forming a new settlement I should suppose a good Harbour was the first and most materiall thing to be sought for."

188 Ingraham describes it thus: "The settlement consisted only of a few Huts and a tollerable good garden."

189 Ingraham states that when he and Mr. Hoskins of the *Columbia* visited Quadra the latter was much vexed that the Americans had not sent their boats to his assistance on the preceding evening. Satisfactory explanations were, however, made and, with the assistance of the Americans, the *Acteva* was towed into safe anchorage. He expresses in his journal great sorrow that anything having even the semblance of inattention or neglect to one who had been so kind to them should have happened.

190 The Spaniards were now, on instructions from Quadra, abandoning Nunez Gaona, as they called the settlement at Neah Bay. It had only been established in the preceding March. Fidalgo, who was its commandante was sailing to Nootka to take over the command at that place, superseding Camaano, who had been left in charge.

28. This day sold the Sloop *Adventure* to the Spanish Governor, for 72 Prime Sea Otter Skins, worth 55 Dollars each in Canton, which is equal to 4960$., which at 50 per Ct. advance home, is 7440 Spanish Piasters, a good price. He wanted her as a present to the Viceroy of *Mexico*. Before delivery we took out all her provisions and stores, with a New Cable and Anchor.

29. Saild this day the Brig *Acteva* and Sloop *Adventure*, under Spanish Colours, bound to Acapulco. We saluted on their departure with 9 Guns which was return'd.

30. Weigh'd and saild from Port Néar, bound across the Straits for a Cove, call'd by us *Poverty*.[191] Same evening anchor'd, in 7 fathom. Found this harbour much snuger for our business. The Indians brought a few Skins and plenty of fish and some train oil, which last article we much wanted.

October 1. Employ'd wooding and watering and getting the Ship in order. Cut many spare spars.

3. Weigh'd for the last time on the NW Coast, and left Poverty Cove, bound for Canton in China, via Sandwich Islands. Our feelings on this occasion are easier *felt* than described. Our friends at Home and ev'ry endearing *Idea* rush'd so full upon us, and made us so happy, that 't was impossible, for a while, to get the Ship in readiness for bad weather, and full allowance of Grog being serv'd on the occasion, made our worthy Tars join in the *general* Mirth—and so we go.

N. Latt. 48° 25′; W. Long. 123° 30′. At noon Cape Flattery bore East 7 leagues. Steering SW. Wind NE. Soon lost sight of the Mountains of North America.

9. N. Latt. 44° 51′; W. Long. 128° 34′; Amp'd 14° 37′ E.

11. N. Latt. 43° 7′; W. Long. 129° 5′; Amp'd 13° 17′ E. O ☾. Pleasant weather. Wind at West. Ship's Crew in health.

16. N. Latt. 34° 7′; W. Long. 138° 6′; Azi. 10° 58′ E. Pleasant gales and fair weather.

17. N. Latt. 32° 54′; W. Long. 138° 42′; Azi. 11° 46′ E. Pleasant gales and fair weather.

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191 Port San Juan, on Vancouver Island, just inside the entrance of Juan de Fuca Strait. Captain Walbran, in a manuscript note, gives its true position as latitude 48° 22′ north, longitude 124° 30′ west. The Indian name was Pachenat, but Haswell in his first Log, under date 29th March, 1789, records that Captain Gray, then in the *Washington*, named it Poverty Cove.

21. N. Latt. 28° 10′; W. Long. 142° 24′; Azi. 10° 0′ E. Crew all in health, and wind and weather propitious. Took NE. Trade winds this day.

26. N. Latt. 20° 15′; W. Long. 150° 39′; Azi. 6° 7′; Amp'd 6° 38′ E. Warm and pleasant, with a smooth sea.

28. N. Latt. 20° 5′; W. Long. 154° 52′ ✳ ☾. Spoke the Brig *Fens,* Capt. Duffan,[192] bound to Canton. The first lieutenant[193] of the *Discovery,* Capt. Vancoover, was a passenger on board this Vessell, bound home, with dispatches for Government.

SANDWICH ISLES. PACIFIC OCEAN

29. N. Latt. 20° 14′; W. Long. 154° 20′. Made the Isle of Owhyhee,[193½] one of the Sandwich Isles, where the famous Circumnavigator, Capt. James Cook was killed by the Natives. Standing towards the Isles, it having been seen at 15 leagues distant.

30. Hove to, for some Canoes, and purchased 11 Hogs from the Natives, and plenty of vegetables, such as Sweet Potatoes, Yams, tarro, etc. These Canoes was very neatly made, but quite narrow. The Outrigger kept them steady, or else, I think, they wou'd too easily upset in the Sea. The Men were fine stately looking fellows, and the Women quite handsome. They were all in a state of Nature, except a small covering round the middle. Not many of the *Columbia's* Crew prov'd to be *Josepths.* Run along very near the Isles, and hove to off Karakakoa Bay. Some double Canoes came alongside. These was suspended apart by large rafters, well supported. The Masts were rig'd between the canoes, and they carried their mat sails a long time, sailing very fast. The Shore was lined with people.

31. N. Latt. 20° 14′; W. Long. 154° 50′. Stood round the Island and haul'd into Toaj yah yah bay,[194] and hove to. Vast *many* canoes sailing in company with us. The shore made

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192 The ostensible commander was a Portuguese, John de Barros Andrede, Duffin being but supercargo. Further investigation may show that, like Meares' vessels, she was merely masquerading under the Portuguese flag. The passenger referred to was Lieutenant Mudge of the *Discovery,* who was carrying to England an account of the abortive negotiations between Vancouver and Quadra. See Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 2, pp. 377-378, 8vo. ed. 1801.

193 Lieutenant Mudge?—W. C. F.

193½ Hawaii.—W. C. F.

194 Kawaihae Bay?—W. C. F.

a delightful appearance, and appeared in the highest state of cultivation. Many canoes along side, containing beautiful *Women*. Plenty of Hogs and fowls, together with most of the Tropical fruits in abundance, great quantities of Water, and Musk, *Mellons,* Sugar Cane, Bread fruit, and salt was brought for sale. The price of a large Hog was from 5 to 10 spikes—smaller ones in proportion. 6 Dunghill fowls for an Iron Chizzle, and fruit cheaper still.

November 1. This day, having on board 93 Hogs and great quantities of Fruits and Vegetables, we bore away from this enchanting Island bound to *Onehow,*[195] after more Yams and to put a Native on shore, which the Captain had taken from that Isle on his former voyage. Pass'd the Isles of Tahousa,[196] Rainai,[197] *Mower,*[198] and Whahow,[199] left them to the North'd of us.

2. N. Latt. 21° 59′; W. Long. 160° 0′ Pass'd Atooi, and steer'd for Yam bay in Onehow. In the morning was well into the bay. Vast many canoes off, in one of which was the Father and other relations of our Sandwich Island Lad. They came on board and the meeting was very affectionate, but still our Lad refused to go on shore and Capt. Gray did not think proper to force him. However made his friends many presents. Purchas'd some Hogs here, and great quantitys of Cocoa Nuts, with a good lot of Nice line for Rising, etc.

3. Bore off and made all sail for the Coast of China, and soon lost sight of these beautiful Isles, the Inhabitants of which appear'd to me to be the happiest people in the world. Indeed there was something in them so frank and chearful that you cou'd not help feeling prepossess'd in their favour.[200]

4. N. Latt. 19° 56′; W. Long. 163° 58′ Pleasant NE. trade winds, with smooth sea. Crew all in health. Kill'd and salted 17 large Hogs. We followed Capt. Cook's plan,[201] by

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195 Niihau.—W. C. F.
196 Kahoolawe.—W. C. F.
197 Lanai?—W. C. F.
198 Maui.—W. C. F.
199 Oahu.—W. C. F.
200 Boit changed his opinion some three years later; see the entries from the log of the *Union*, reproduced in S. E. Morison's Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands, Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xii, pp. 168-9.
201 See its details in Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 2, p. 135, 4to, ed. 1785, and vol. 2, p. 135, 8vo. ed. Dublin 1784.
Page 263, Massachusetts Historical Society.

taking out the Bones, and laying the Meat, (after salting), between two Hatches, with a heavy Weight on them, through the Night and in the morning early, after a good examination, pack'd it away in Barrells, using strong pickle. This method answerd ev'ry purpose.

13. N. Latt. 15° 49′; W. Long. 185° 25′; E. Long. 174° 35′; Amp'd 13° 23′ E. Keep the people employ'd cleaning furs.

24. N. Latt. 15° 50′; W. Long. 212° 29′; E. Long. 147° 31′; Azi. 9° 56′ E. This is pleasant sailing, have not experienced a squall since leaving the Islands, and the sea quite smooth, although a fresh NE. trade. Crew all well.

29. N. Latt. 18° 24′; W. Long. 226° 15′; E. Long. 133° 45′; Azi. and Amp'd 7° 12′ E. Sea grows more rough, and the weather a little squally.

BASHEE ISLES AND COAST OF CHINA. PAFIFIC OCEAN

December 3. N. Latt. 20° 30′; W. Long. 232° 28′; E. Long. 127° 32′ O ☾. This day, contrary to our expectation, we made the Bashee Isles, at 10 leagues distance to the Westward. Have experienced strong Currents in our favour, since leaving the Sandwich Isles. As we cou'd not weather, with the wind at NE., 't was thought best to run between Grafton and Monmouth Isles, bore off accordingly.

4. Fresh breeze. At 6 P. M. we were between the Islands, doubled pretty near Grafton, and luff'd close under the lea'd of Orange Isle. Saw a number of fires on the shore, but it was too dark to make any observations. When clear of the group hauld close on a wind for the Coast of China.

5. N. Latt. 21° 48′; Correct W. Long. 239° 29′; Correct E. Long. 120° 31′; Azi. and Amp'd 2° 41′ W. 16 O O ✳ ☾☾. ☾ Sights. Saw the Island of Formosa, bearing EBN. at Meridian, 12 leagues. Fair NE. Monsoon.

6. N. Latt. 22° 20′; W. Long. 243° 38′; E. Long. 116° 22′. Saw the Main land of China, bearing NW. 8 leagues, at Meridian above 100 sail of fishing boats in sight. Soundings 23 fathom sand and ouze.

7. N. Latt. 22° 7′; W. Long. 244° 57′; E. Long. 115° 3′.

Pass'd the Island, or rather Rock of Pedro Branca, (or Blanco),[202-202½] at Daylight. It was of a conical shape and appear'd perfectly white. At Noon, the Grand Lema Island bore WSW., 5 leagues. Hundreds of fishing boats in sight. At 3 P. M. pass'd the *Lema,* leaving it on our larboard hand. At 6 got a Pilot on board, who agreed to carry us to Macao roads, for 25 Dollars. Stood between the Lema Islands all night, with a light breeze.

MACAO ROADS. COAST OF CHINA

8. This morning early anchor'd in Macao roads, 14 fm. muddy bottom. Not liking our situation weigh'd and shifted our berth nigher to Macao, and anchor'd in 4½ fm. Mud. The Fort at Macao bearing S. 8° 8′ W. 4 miles, and the outermost of the Nine Isles N. 8° E. Capt. Gray went to *Macao* in the pinnace. A Black fellow came on board and inform'd us that Capt. Kendrick, in the *Lady Washington,* lay in Lark's Bay,[203] and that the Brig had been dismasted in the Chinese seas about two months before, in a *Tuffoon,* being again bound for the NW. Coast. Kendrick was refitting his vessell again.

9. Capt. Gray return'd on board, he inform'd us that Capt. Kendrick saild for the NW. in September last, in company with a small tender he had fitted in Macao. He was out four days when the Tuffoon overtook him. The Brig laid on her Beam ends for some time before they cut away the Masts. She then righted, and the gale abating steer'd for Macao. The whole surface of the sea was cover'd with the Wrecks of Chinese *Boats,* and many of the poor fishermen was still hanging to pieces of the Boats. Capt. Kendrick pick'd up above thirty of the poor fellows, and was obliged to pass a great many that he cou'd not assist. He arriv'd in Larks Bay, the 7th day after the Gale.[204] A Macao Boat came along side, with

202 Pedra Branca.—W. C. F.

202½ The *Columbia* is following the usual route from the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands to China. Meares says: "The land generally made on the coast of China is about Pedro Blanco or White Rock." Meares' Voyages, 4to. ed., p. 57.

203 Lark's Bay—sometimes called Dirty Butter Bay—a small harbour lying three or four leagues southwest of Macao, the Portuguese settlement near the mouth of the Canton River. The object of lying there was to save the payment of duty on the cargo, as the bay was out of the reach of Chinese authority at that time; see Delano's Voyages, p. 43.

204 It is by such scattered references as this that, by degrees, the intensely interesting story of Kendrick is being pieced together.

two European gentlemen, and purchas'd of us 21 pistale of Iron at 7$ per pistal.[205] A River pilot took charge for 40$ to take the Ship to Whampoa.[206]

10. Weigh'd, with the wind at NE. early in the morning making slow progress; in the evening anchor'd below Lintin bar, in 5 fathom. Next morning weigh'd and beat up to the Boca Tigris,[206½] and anchor'd in 17 fm.

CANTON RIVER, CHINA

12. This day arriv'd to our Moorings at Whampoa, having been obliged to beat the whole way from Macao roads. Found riding here 47 sail of European Ships, and six American Do. Capt. Gray went to Canton, in the pinnace. We lay'd at this place till the 2d of February, during which time we give the Ship a complete overhaul from her keel to the truck. We haul'd the Ship a shore, on Dutch Island beach, and *graved*. This business cost 150$ (paid to the Proprietors of the beach). The whole expence accruing to the *Columbia* at Canton amounted to the enormous sum of 7000 Spanish $. The other Furs were landed at Canton, and delivered to the Hong Merchants, for 90,000$, average 45 Dollars each. The Land furs sold quite low, in proportion.

The Ship was laden with a full Cargo of Teas and Nanken with a small proportion of Sugar and China Porcelain. 'Tis the Custom in this place to engage with a Contractor to supply the Ship with provisions and other stores. They call themselves *Compadores*. You must give them a certain Sum, generally 150$ before they'll undertake. The first of these fellows that was engag'd run away with 250$ in our debt. This Money was advanced him previous to our having a Security Merchant; otherways it wou'd have been recover'd. These security Merchants[207] ev'ry ship must have before they can transact business,

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205 A picul, a common weight in the Orient and of 133 1-3 pounds. See Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xii, p. 170. Capt. Cook called it a pecul, and says it contains one hundred catty and that each catty is eighteen ounces. His pecul would thus be 112½ pounds.

206 Sometimes spelled Wampu and in numerous other forms. It was the port of Canton and was situate on the Canton River on the opposite side from Canton and about ten miles below.

206½ Part of the estuary of the Canton River. See an illustration in Meares' Voyages, 4to. ed., p. 11.

207 For remarks upon the method of carrying on this trade and the hampering restrictions imposed on it by the Chinese Government, see Marchand's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 96, *et seq.*, 1801 ed., and also Dixon's Voyage, Letters xliv and xlv.

as the government looks to *them* for the Amount of Duties. Capt. Gray generally staid at Canton and the Officers by *turns,* and ev'ry man on board had two Days liberty allowed him.

We had a building, made of Bamboo and Cover'd with Matts, nearly abreast the Ship on the Banks of the River. This was found by the Compadore and answer'd very well for to put the Ship's stores in while careening and loading. An Officer and gang of hands was station'd at this place, as a guard. There was two large boats station'd along side the Ship, with Customs house officers on board, the whole time we lay'd in the river. A family resided in each boat (they being completely shelter'd). The Manderine had an apartment by himself.

1793, *January* 1. Rec'd a letter from Capt. Kendrick, who inform'd us of the death of Messrs. Wood and Stodderd, two young men of Boston. I believe they liv'd too fast for the climate.

When we arriv'd at Whampoa there was upwards of a dozen fine Hogs on deck, which we had reserv'd for the Passage home. The *Rasscles* of the Chinese found means to throw them some poisinous stuff, which kill'd the whole of them. But we took notice as soon as they was thrown *overboard* they was eagerly seiz'd, and no doubt was feasted upon by the poor of the *River;* indeed nothing escap'd their clutches—the Entrails of Poultry, or Dead Rats serv'd equally alike to appease these half starv'd wretches that constantly surrounds the shipping. However I always remark'd that they was very nice in their Cookery, and Rice was always a part of ev'ry Mess. No Indians we had ever visited during the Voyage was more complete in the Art of thieving than the Chinese of the lower order, on this River. And in fact they appear'd to me to be the greatest Villains in the *Universe.* (These remarks are only as respects the common people.) The Chinese Gentlemen is of a very different *character,* and indeed I was highly pleas'd with the polite attention shown to strangers at Canton, by the Mandarines and Merchants at that place; indeed among themselves they appear to stand upon the nicest *Etiquette.* The Chinese merchant is very particular in his business, and

very nice in his calculations, and no part of his affairs appear to be unnotic'd by him. In making a bargain they are very *shrewd;* when closed they are *faithful* as to quantity, but for quality you must be constantly on your guard or else 'tis certain the Goods will not turn out as expected, and the only satisfaction you will get from them is that you ought to have looked sharper, and at the same [time] will try to console you by this remark, that on another Voyage you will be better acquainted with the mode of doing business at Canton. Upon the whole, the Candour that is about the Chinese merchant makes some amends for the general complaint against them, that they *will* cheat you, if they can—therefore your business is to see that *they shall not.*

'Tis surprizing to observe the business that is going on in the Suburbs of Canton; the streets are generally thronged with people, all busily engag'd in their several avocations; the Shops well stock'd with Goods, and appear to meet with encouragement. Few *Women* are to be seen. *These* (if Chinese) have the small crippled feet, the Ancle looking like an Horse's hoof. If *Tarter,* the feet is of the natural growth. So much has been said about Canton, and the Manners and Customs of the Chinese, that 'tis needless for me to make any further remarks on the subject.

FROM CANTON TOWARDS THE STRAITS OF BANCA

February 2. This day the Pilot came on board and took charge. Unmoor'd and stood down the River. Left but 7 Ships behind, all English and *Swedes.*

4. Anchor'd this day below the Bars. Wind gradually in our teeth, work along with the tides.

6. Anchor'd just above the Boca *Tigris;* in the Night the Chinese rasscles cut the cable, although we kept a good watch. Let go another, and brought up. In the morning, the Buoy being taken away, cou'd not recover the Anchor. Therefore left it with 9 fm. Cable.

7. Pass'd the Boca Tigris, and stood for Macao roads.

8. Ran through *Macao Roads,* and stood to sea. The Pilot left us. Took a departure from the Macao Fort, it lying in

Latitude 22° 13′ North, and Longitude 113° 52′ East of London. Some Chinese junks in company. Find the Ship *requires* one Pump pretty steady to keep her free. However as it has been a steady leak for some time it is not look'd upon as a serious affair. The Wind prevails from the Easterly board, and is very squally.

The Ship's Crew are all well and hearty, and looking forward, with anxious solicitude, to a happy meeting of *Sweethearts* and *Wives*. How can we be otherways than happy, when anticipating the joys that *awaits* us there!![208]

9. N. Lat. 19° 57′; W. Long. 246° 39′; E. Long. 113° 21′; Azi. 1° 43′ W. Wind at SE. Pleasant weather. Two Chinese Junks in company.

10. N. Lat. 19° 35′; W. Long. 245° 44′; E. Long. 114° 16′; Amp'd 0° 43′ W. Wind SSW. Junks in company. Very pleasant, light airs.

12. N. Lat. 17° 31′; W. Long. 246° 35′; E. Long. 113° 25′. Azi. 0° 48′ W. Wind SE. and pleasant weather. See Boobies often.

14. N. Lat. 15° 2′; W. Long. 246° 14′; E. Long. 113° 46′. Took the wind at NE., which I suppose is the *Monsoon*.

18. N. Lat. 9° 44′; W. Long. 250° 48′; E. Long. 109° 12′. At Midnight saw a small Isle bearing SWBS. 1 league, and soon after see Pulo Sapata, bearing SBE. 2 leagues to the North'd. At 6 A. M. bore off and made sail. Wind ENE. Cou'd not weather *Pulo Sapata*. Pass'd two miles to the Westward of it. When the Isle bore East, a large White Rock or Isle bore NNW., 6 or 7 leagues distant. At 9 was clear of Sapata,[208½] and see no dangers in the track we pursued, although I believe 't was quite an unfrequented one. This Sapata Isle is very properly named, as it has every appearance of a Shoe—after which it is *called* in Malay. Bore off to the west'd with an intention of striking soundings off Pulo *Condore*. Pulo Sapata, Latitude is 10° 4′, and 109° 10′ E.

19. N. Lat. 8° 4′; W. Long. 252° 4′; E. Long. 107° 56′.

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208 The course of the *Columbia* from Canton to and through the Straits of Sunda is that followed by the vessels of the day. Any one wishing details can find them readily in Dixon's Voyage and in Portlock's Voyage, and even in Captain Cook's Third Voyage.

208½ See Captain Cook's Third Voyage, 4to. ed. 1785, vol. 3, p. 449, and 8vo.

Regular NE. Monsoon. Soundings at Noon 26 fathom, fine sand.

20. N. Lat. 6° 9′; W. Long. 252° 46′; E. Long. 107° 14′. Soundings at Noon, 32 fm., fine sand.

21. N. Lat. 4° 28′; W. Long. 253° 23′; E. Long. 106° 37′; Azi. 1° 18′ E. Soundings at Noon 45 fm., steady Monsoon.

22. N. Lat. 3° 0′; W. Long. 255° 5′; E. Long. 104° 55′. The Islands of Pulo Timon, Aore, and Tissang[209-209½] in sight to the Southward. At Noon Pulo Aore bore SBW½ 10 leagues. Soundings 35 fathom.

23. N. Lat. 0° 56′; W. Long. 254° 20′; E. Long. 105° 40′. Soundings at Noon 35 fm., Sand and Mud.

24. S. Lat. 0° 44′; W. Long. 254° 46′; E. Long. 105° 14′. This day saw Pulo Taya to the westward. At Noon Pulo Taya[210] bore WNW. 6 leagues, the Seven Islands, SBE. Experience a current to the Southward this 24 hours, the Monsoon moderate.

25. S. Lat. 1° 43′; W. Long. 255° 9′; E. Long. 104° 51′. Pass'd between Taya and the Seven Isles, distance from Seven Isles about 4 leagues. More Islands hove in sight to the SE. At Sunset saw land, which we took for Monopin Hill. Laid off and on through the Night under short sail. Soundings from 8 to 16 fathom. At daylight Monopin Hill bore SBE, 7 leagues. Bore off. At Meridian Monopin Hill bore E½N and the Sumatra shore WSW., the ship nearest the Banca Shore,[211] strong currents to the Southward. Soundings 18 fathom.

STRAITS OF BANCA

26. S. Lat. 2° 43′. Enter'd the Straits of Banca, and stood to the SE. At 5 P. M. Monopin Hill bearing NNW, the Ship being ½ nearest to the Banca shore from Sumatra on. We

ed. 1784. Dublin, vol. 3, p. 449. See also Dixon's Voyage, 2nd ed. 1789, p. 323.

209 These are evidently the islands mentioned by Captain King as Pulo Timoan, Pulo Puisang and Pulo Aor. See Cook's Third Voyage, vol. 3, p. 465, *et seq.*

209½ Tioman, Aor and Pemangil or Tingy?—W. C. F.

210 Saya.—W. C. F.

211 In Marchand's Voyage, vol. 2, p. 1, among the plans and sketches, will be found one showing the tracks of some eight ships through the straits between Banca and Billiton.

shoal'd the water very sudden from 10 to 3 fathoms, rocks, bore off to the South and West, and soon deep'd it again. This must have been on the Fredrick Hendrik Shoal.

In the evening came to on the Sumatra shore, 9 fm. Mud, strong tides. 3d point bore EBS. 2 leagues.

At daylight got under way, and stood down straits. At 10 abreast the *Nanka Isles,* a number of Malay proas in sight. At 11 A. M. a dangerous shoal bore West 1 league, high breakers. At Noon *observ'd* as above. 1st pt. bore SBE. 4 leagues.

27. S. Lat. 4° 21′; W. Long. 253° 43′; E. Long. 106° 17′ O ☾. Winds from NW. and pleasant. At 2 P. M. pass'd a *Moorish* Sloop, *at anchor*. She was strongly man'd and arm'd. I believe she was a Pirate. Many Proas about. At Sunset the Isle of Lucepara bore SEBE 3 leagues, and 1st point on Sumatra, SWBS. Pass'd nearest to the Sumatra Shore, the shoalest water 4½ fm. and when through deep'd it to 12 and 14 fm. A strong tide in favour. At Noon *observ'd* as above.

28. S. Lat. 4° 39′; W. Long. 253° 50′; E. Long. 106° 10′ ✳ ☾. Depth of Water, from 10 to 14 fm. throughout these 24 hours. Wind from the West'd, and very dark weather. Bound towards the Straits of *Sunda.*

March 1. S. Lat. 5° 9′. At sunset see the Two Sisters[212] Isles to the Southward, wind to the SW. and very light. Soundings from 12 to 14 fm. At dark came to off the *Sumatra* shore, at 2½ leagues distant, 9½ fm. Mud. In the morning got under way. At Noon observ'd Lat. as above, the Sisters bearing SSE. 2 miles.

2. S. Lat. 5° 25′. Wind at West. Soundings throughout the 24 hours from 12 to 15 fm. Found these Isles of Sisters to be surround'd with Dangerous Reefs. In the evening came to in 12 fm. Muddy bottom. Hogs point on Sumatra in sight bearing South 11 leagues, and North Island SWBS½W. In the morning weigh'd and stood towards North Isle. At Noon observ'd as above.

AT NORTH ISLE AND STRAITS OF SUNDA

3. Winds moderate and cloudy, working towards *North*

212 Two Brothers?—W. C. F.

Isles Roads. At sunset came to in the Roads, 15 fm. muddy bottom. Pass'd several Turtle and Water Snakes between the Sisters and our anchorage. The two ships shew English Colours. In the morning early shifted our berth nearer the watering place, and at 7 A. M. anchor'd in 15 fm. Hoisted out *all* the *Boats,* and dispatch'd them for water. The ships that lay in the Road was an English 64, Capt. Gore[213] and the *Indostan* India Company Ship, Capt. *Mackintosh.* The *Lion* had on board Mr. Macartney,[214] a Minister from the British Government to the Court of Pekin. We took Dispatches for them to leave at *St. Helena.* Towards evening these ships sail'd for Batavia. Two Dutch Guard of Coasters anchor'd in company with us. By night we had fill'd up all our water and purchas'd a good quantity of Poultry and Fruit of the Malays at the Beach. I landed, with the charge of our boats, found above 200 Malays round the watering place. They was completely arm'd, with *Creases,* (or *Daggers*), but was quite *friendly.* However I did not allow the Boats to touch the beach and only let 6 men beside myself land, and swam the water casks off to the boats, *when fill'd.* This method I thought but prudent, as the *Malays* had kill'd one of the *Lion's* crew, while washing cloaths at the brook. I cannot say that I experienced the most agreeable sensations while on this duty.

4. Employ'd variously. Got a good quantity of Wood from North Isle. The watering place being on Sumatra, we see no Natives on North Isle.

5. Weigh'd and sail'd from North Island Roads, bound through Sunda Straits, pass'd the Qepthan Isles and Stroon Rock, upon which was high breakers. Pass'd it on the larboard hand. At Meridian Crackatoa Isle bore SSW. 4 miles, sounding 20 fm. St. Tamanies Isle NNE. Wind SSW.

6. S. Lat. 6° 2′. Wind from SW. to NW. and very squally weather, with heavy rain. Turning to windward between Princes Island and Crokatore and in the Night came very near depositing the Ship on the Qu Klip rocks. However good luck prevail'd. Crew all in health.

7. S. Lat. 6° 39′. At Meridian Princes Isle bore East and

213 Erasmus Gower.—W. C. F.
214 George Macartney, Earl Macartney (1737-1806).—W. C. F.

Java Head ESE. 5 leagues. Wind from NW. Stood to the southward.

8. S. Lat. 7° 13′; W. Long. 255° 36′; E. Long. 104° 24′. Steady NW. Monsoon and pleasant.

9. S. Lat. 8° 4′; W. Long. 255° 47′; E. Long. 104° 13′; Amp'd 1° 24′ East. Wind WSW. and squally weather.

13. S. Lat. 10° 47′; W. Long. 257° 40′; E. Long. 102° 20′ ☉ ☾. This day took the SE. trade winds after having experienced the NW. Monsoon quite variable from SSW. to NNW., and weather much unsettled, with plenty of rain and a continual swell from the Southward. Many *Boobies* about us.

20. S. Lat. 15° 32′; W. Long. 270° 16′; E. Long. 89° 44′; Azi. 1° 54′ E. This is an uncommon Variation for the place. Have had fine weather since taking the SE. *Trades.*

27. S. Lat. 17° 1′; W. Long. 280° 57′; E. Long. 79° 3′. Have had the wind from the west'd these three days past, with squally weather. This day it drew to the SE. again. Caught several Dolphin.

30. S. Lat. 16° 32′; W. Long. 286° 5′; E. Long. 73° 55′; Azi. 4° 38′ W. Pleasant SE. Trade winds.

April 1. S. Lat. 16° 55′; W. Long. 289° 25′; E. Long. 70° 35′; Azi. 7° 36′ W. Have experienced a little Thunder and Lightning, for several days at intervals.

3. S. Lat. 18° 52′; W. Long. 295° 0′; E. Long. 65° 0′; Azi. 14° 0′ W. Fresh trades and Hazy weather.

SAW THE ISLE OF RODERIGUE AND MAURITIUS. SOUTHERN OCEAN

4. S. Lat. 19° 37′; W. Long. *Corrected* 297° 10′; E. Long. 62° 50′ ☉ ☾. This day made the *Isle of Roderigue* bearing SW. The Ship having experienced a current to the West'd since leaving the Straits of Sunda. Found this Island to be surround'd with dangerous Reefs—the one on its NW. extends many miles into the Sea.

5. S. Lat. 19° 44′; W. Long. 299° 11′; E. Long. 60° 49′; Azi. 10° 4′ W. Amp'd 9° 58′ W. Wind from the south'd and pleasant.

7. S. Lat. 20° 36′; W. Long. 302° 19′; E. Long. 57° 41′.

Saw the Isle of France at daylight. At noon the South pt. of Mauritius bore WNW, 8 leagues, very high uneven land.

8. S. Lat. 21° 36′; W. Long. 303° 38′; E. Long. 56° 22′. Pleasant trade winds. Saw the Isle of *Bourbon*. At noon it bore NW. 10 or 12 leagues. Exceeding mountainous.

10. S. Lat. 24° 4′; W. Long. 307° 55′; E. Long. 52° 5′; Azi. 18° 51′ W. Fresh SE. trades and squally. Crew all well.

14. S. Lat. 28° 2′; W. Long. 315° 59′; E. Long. 44° 1′. Azi. 22° 25′ ☉ ☾ O ✳. Wind still at SE. and pleasant weather.

17. S. Lat. 30° 41′; W. Long. 323° 44′; E. Long. 36° 16′ ☉ ☾. This day the SE. trades left us, and immediately took the wind from NW.

19. S. Lat. 29° 32′; W. Long. 325° 49′; E. Long. 34° 11′; Azi. and Amp'd 23° 50′ W. ☉ ☾ O ✳ 16 O ☾ Sights. Wind at SW. and pleasant cool weather. Current setting to the NE.

21. S. Lat. 29° 37′; W. Long. 326° 48′; E. Long. 33° 12′; Azi. 25° 30′ W. Wind from west, and pleasant.

23. S. Lat. 31° 11′; W. Long. 328° 20′; E. Long. 31° 40′; Azi. and Amp'd 27° 56′ W. Wind from the Eastward. Experience a strong current setting to the North.

28. S. Lat. 33° 58′; W. Long. 336° 13′; E. Long. 23° 47′; Amp'd 28° 28′ W. Have had much blowing weather for some time. This day saw the land about Muscle Bay,[215] at 11 leagues distance. At Noon Cape Talhado bore NW. The current has changed, and now sets strong to the SW. Wind from the Westward.

OFF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

29. S. Lat. 34° 12′; W. Long. 337° 6′; E. Long. 22° 54′. Soundings 45 fm. Black sand, 2½ leagues from land, many smoakes on shore. At Noon the land in sight bore from North to ENE., a strong current in favour. Wind right a head.

30. S. Lat. 34° 22′; W. Long. 338° 3′; E. Long. 21° 57′ ☉ ☾. Many Gannetts and some seals round. Pass'd Cape St. Brass, saw the 7 Hills, and a number of Fires on the shore through the Night. Generally keep about 5 leagues from the Coast. Wind a head. So ends.

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215 Mossel Bay.—W. C. F.

May 1. S. Lat. 34° 49′; W. Long. 340° 9′; E. Long. 19° 51′; Amp'd 25° 18′ W. Land at 10 leagues distance, 75 fm. sand and shells. A current to the S & W.

2. S. Lat. 34° 29′; W. Long. 340° 27′; E. Long. 19° 33′; Azi. 26° 24′ W. Wind steady from the Westward, not even allowing us a tolerable slant. Sounding 54 fm. grey sand with shells. Keep an offing generally of about 6 or 7 leagues, the land very mountainous in our present situation. At Noon the land 5 leagues distance, 57 fm., fine grey sand and shells.

3. S. Lat. 34° 32′; W. Long. 337° 30′; E. Long. 22° 30′ ☉ ☾. Fresh gales, employ'd working to windward.

4. S. Lat. 35° 1′; W. Long. 340° 0′; E. Long. 20° 0′ O ☾. At length, thank God, the wind chang'd to the Eastward, made all sail, haul'd more to the Southward to clear Cape Lagullas.[216]

5. S. Lat. 34° 40′; W. Long. 340: 30′; E. Long. 19° 30′ ☉ ☾. Saw the Table land and Gunners Quoin to the East of False Bay. At Noon Cape Point bore NW'd 10 leagues. Wind SE. Bore off to the North'd and West'd.

9. S. Lat. 31° 29′; W. Long. 344° 39′; E. Long. 15° 21′; Azi. 22° 0′ W. Wind from the Westward.

10. S. Lat. 30° 24′; W. Long. 346° 28′; E. Long. 13° 32′; Azi. 21° 40′ W. Wind at SW. and fair weather. Crew all in health.

13. S. Lat. 27° 7′; W. Long. 350° 52′; E. Long. 9° 8′; Amp'd 20° 34′ W. ☉ ☾. Winds still from SW to NW.

16. S. Lat. 24° 27′; W. Long. 353° 1′; E. Long. 6° 59′; Azi. & Amp'd 20° 26′, 19° 22′ W. ☉ ☾ ✳ ☾. Winds steady from the Westward.

17. S. Lat. 24° 27′; W. Long. 353° 16′; E. Long. 6° 44′; O ☾. Amp'd 20° 30′. Tight winds for men in a hurry, steady at NW.

20. S. Lat. 20° 9′; W. Long. 357° 3′; E. Long. 2° 57′. This day took the SE. trade winds box'd her away for St. Helena.

21. Pass'd the Meridian of London.

ST. HELENA ISLAND

25. S. Lat. 15° 54′; W. Long. 5° 46′. Saw the Island of St. Helena at Sunset. Hove to for the night. Early in the

216 Agulhas.—W. C. F.

morning sent a boat in to ask permission of the Governor to anchor in the Bay. At 9 the Boat return'd, and the officer reported favorably. Bore off, and at 10 anchor'd in Chapell Vally bay, in 14 fm. mud and sand, the Church bearing SE. Found riding here several English India and Whale Ships—waiting for Convoy. At this place we first heard of the War and troubles in Europe, and that poor Louis was a head shorter. Capt. Gray landed to visit the Governor. Employ'd watering. The Lieutenant Governor (by name *Robinson*) paid us a visit. He appear'd to be an excellent man and was anxious to obtain curiositys from us, to put in his Museum. He appear'd gratify'd with the Collection that was present'd him. I must confess that I was agreeably surpriz'd on landing at James Town, for from the appearance it has from the Ship at anchor you feel prepossessed against it, but to me, when on shore, 'twas quite a pleasant place, and the sight of an English Lady made my heart feel all in an uproar—and alas! the poor Sandwich Isle Girls were entirely forgot. So it is, and we cannot help it.

26. S. Lat. 15° 54′; W. Long. 5° 46′. Finish'd watering, and got ready for sea. I made an excursion in company with a Brother Officer to view the Company's Garden, and was amply rewarded for my trouble. 'T was kept in fine order. St. Helena had been visited by a famine, not long since, which carried off the greatest part of their stock and greatly distress'd the inhabitants. Consequently cou'd not procure much refreshments for the Ship.

The Island to the windward makes a most rugged appearance, and indeed in the Bay 't is not much mended but to leeward 'tis quite pleasant and the roads—though the work of Art cheifly—are far from being bad. The Inhabitants are very polite to strangers, and in short no Man after a long voyage ought to pass this pleasant and agreeable place without stopping. You get the Water with great ease, as its convey'd to the Port by pipes under ground. You fill with a Hose, and are not oblig'd to take the Casks from the Boat, but in case you do, there is a Crane on the *pier* to load with. Shou'd have sail'd this evening but 'tis against the rules of the Port to sail after sunset.

BOUND FOR BOSTON

27. S. Lat. 15° 34′; W. Long. 6° 15′. Saild at daylight, and stood to the NW., with pleasant sensations enough at what awaits us in that direction.

28. S. Lat. 14° 33′; W. Long. 7° 14′ Azi. 12° 6′ W. ☉ ☾. Pleasant trade winds and fair weather.

June 3. S. Lat. 8° 32′; W. Long. 15° 9′ O ☾ ✳ ☾. Azi. & Amp'd. 11° 2′ W., 10° 50′ W. Pass'd the Isle of Assencion about midnight, at 2 miles distance.

7. S. Lat. 1° 22′; W. Long. 22° 10′. Azi. 11° 38′ W. O ☾. Plenty of fish about the Ship, and a few Birds.

9. N. Lat. 1° 10′; W. Long. 22° 33′; Amp'd 7° 41′ W. ✳ ☾. This is the fourth time the Equator has been cross'd during the Voyage.

16. N. Lat. 6° 0′; W. Long. 30° 38′. Azi. 6° 48′ W. O ☾. Dull times. Winds very light and baffling.

20. N. Lat. 7° 28′; W. Long. 33° 26′; Variation 2° 26′ W. ☉ ☾. This day took the NE. trade winds, having lost the SE. trades in Lat. 4° 30′ North. Winds between have generally been from the West'd but very light.

22. N. Lat. 9° 58′; W. Long. 36° 49′; Azi. 2° 26′ W. Pleasant trade winds. Employ'd painting ship, etc.

24. N. Lat. 12° 38′; W. Long. 41° 0′; Amp'd 3° 7′ W. Pleasant trade winds. Employ'd painting ship, etc.

27. N. Lat. 17° 55′; W. Long. 46° 36′; Azi. 4° 36′ W. Generally fresh winds. No Birds, or Fish.

30. N. Lat. 22° 11′; W. Long. 51° 2′; Azi. & Amp'd 3° 10′ W.

16 ☉ ☉ ☾ ✳ ☾ ☾ Sights

Gentle trades and fair weather. Several sail pass'd at a *distance.*

July 2. N. Lat. 24° 29′; W. Long. 53° 11′; Azi. 2° 46′ W. O ☾. Spoke an English Brig, under American colours, from New London, bound to Grenada, loaded with stock. Was oblig'd to fire several shot a head of him before he wou'd stop. Purchas'd out of her many Sheep Hogs etc., with two tierces

Bread. This was quite a seasonable Supply, as we had been eating maggotty bread for this some time.

5. N. Lat. 25° 33′; W. Long. 56° 13′. Spoke two Sloops from Portland for Guadal[oupe].

8. N. Lat. 28° 16′; W. Long. 59° 35′; Variation 1° 28′ E. O ☾. This day the NE. trade wind left us, took it from the Southward.

18. N. Lat. 40° 17′; W. Long. 65° 15′; Variation 14° 55′ W. O ☾ ✳ ☾. Spoke the Brig *Betsey* from New York, Wm. Williams Master, bound to Amsterdam. Have experienc'd much blowing weather from the North and West since leaving the Trades, and generally squalls of rain. Ship's Crew are all in health, but anxious to get home, as the Ship's provisions have grown quite bad and but little of it left.

20. N. Lat. 40° 23′; W. Long. 67° 51′; Azi. & Amp'd 12° 17′ W. Winds from the Northward.

21. N. Lat. 40° 29′; W. Long. 68° 35′; Azi. 7° 16′ W. Dull times for men in a hurry. The *Columbia* is in fine order, having given the rigging a complete overhaul since leaving St. Helena. Rounded to and got soundings 67 fm. fine black and white sand.

22. N. Lat. 42° 11′; W. Long. 68° 45′. At Sunset sounded, in 38 fm. gray sand. Spoke a Sloop from Newbury port, bound to the West Indies, told us Cape Cod bore NW. 30 leagues. At Midnight shoald our water pretty sudden, from 20 to 15, 12, 10 and 8 fm., fine white sand on Georges Shoal; hauld to the East and soon deep'd it again to 30 fm. At Noon Latt. as above, soundings in 40 fathom. Wind from the WSW. Hard luck.

24. Lower'd the yawl and sent her on board a fishing Schooner in sight to the west'd, it being nearly calm. At Sunset the boat return'd and Officer reported that the Skipper of the Schooner cou'd not spare any salt provisions, but sold us 3 Bar'l Salt Mackarell and about 300 Ship Biscuit. These last were very grateful. Divided them fore and aft among the Crew. A breeze sprang up from the Eastward pt., all sail, and at daylight saw Cape Cod bearing SW. at 6 leagues, and the Gurnett WBS, the land abreast us on the South Shore, 4

leagues distance. Several sail in sight. Employ'd turning to Windward, the wind having shifted to the NW.

ARRIVED AT BOSTON

25. Light breezes and pleasant weather. At 1 P. M. nearly abreast of Cohassett Rocks, almost calm. At Sunset we had got too near to Hassett Ledges, by reason of the tide. However a small breeze sprang up and we san'd off. At daylight Boston Light bore WBN. 3 leagues distant. At 8 A. M. a pilot came on board and took charge to take the Ship to *Boston.* At Meridian pass'd the Light house, with a light air from the Eastward. At 6 we pass'd Castle *William,* and gave a federal salute, which was return'd. A fine Breeze at SE. At 7 anchored off the Long wharfe in the Stream and saluted the town, with 11 Guns which was return'd from the Wharfes, with three welcome *Huzzas.*

☞ At making Boston Light, from which place we took our departure, we have just made 360 degrees of Longitude West, which is the Circumference of our Globe—of course we have lost one complete day. It was Friday at Boston, and Thursday with us. 'Tis impossible to express our feelings at again meeting with our friends. But the loss of an affectionate and much lov'd Sister, during my absence, was a great obstacle to the happiness I shou'd otherways have enjoy'd.

So Ends the Remarks on *Columbia's* Voyage.

JOHN BOIT.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF PORT TEMPEST AND MASSACRE COVE.

The identification of Port Tempest and Massacre Cove is a subject that has attracted much attention; many have tried to solve it, but none of these solutions have been accepted by the students of Pacific Coast history. Professor E. S. Meany has prepared a short but interesting note upon this difficulty, which will be found in the Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xii, p. 15. In such circumstances the identification of Port Tempest with the western end of Tongass Narrows, or Revillagigedo Channel, is offered with deference; it is not a case for dogmatizing; it is essentially a case in which reasons must be given for the faith which is held.

In this search Boit's journal is of little assistance; and Haswell's Log unfortunately does not commence until August, just as the *Columbia* is preparing to leave the ill-fated shore. Hoskins, very fortunately, is quite full in his account of the two spots and Brown's Sound in general. At the outset it must be premised that the latitude and longitude of the early traders, with the single exception of Ingraham, are quite unsafe guides; the latitude is sometimes nearly right, the longitude, never. So, to, the distances, like those of the land traders, are only to be taken, in most cases, as approximations.

As Boit's journal shows, the *Columbia* left Cumshewa Inlet, Queen Charlotte Islands, on 1st August. Hoskins gives her courses thereafter; but Boit's

statement that she stood along the shore about three or four leagues from land shows that it was the mainland—the depths he gives could not be gotten at that distance from the Queen Charlotte Islands' shore. Through Hecate Strait, up which she is sailing, there is a current of one to two knots in a northeasterly direction. Thick fog comes on and a heavy gale from the southeast, which continue for two days, during which the *Columbia* beats to and fro. On the 3rd August the fog lifts, an indifferent observation is taken, and the ship is found embayed. This spot, it is suggested, was the stretch of water immediately to the *eastward* of Prince of Wales Island. Captain Gray then, says Hoskins, determined to stand "to the northward through what was supposed to be a strait between the continent and some islands." Upon the foregoing hypothesis this strait would be between Prince of Wales Island and the Gravina Islands. After being driven in that direction by the southeast gale for three hours, land was seen in every direction but the westward; this means that in the fog Kasaan Bay, which lay ahead, seemed open water. The ship pursued her course and two hours later "the land was seen close aboard"; then a passage opened to the northwest. This, it is submitted, is Clarence Strait; but, being directly to leeward, it was thought unwise to enter it, and an effort was made to find a harbour on the weather shore. Reaching that shore—the eastern—Boit says a small opening appeared, the *Columbia* made for it, and anchored under a point of land in Port Tempest. If the other suggested identifications be correct, this opening will be the western end of Revillagigedo Channel, otherwise Tongass Narrows, in southern Alaska, and the "point of land," the western end of Gravina Island. Hoskins gives its position as 55° 15′ north, longitude 132° 20′ west; the situation of the western end of Revillagigedo Channel is about 55° 25′ north and 131° 45′ west; the difference is no greater than is to be found over and over again in the journal, though the longitude is usually too far east.

Hoskins describes Brown's Sound, as the stretch of water in the neighborhood of Port Tempest was called. The above suggested site of Port Tempest fits his description exactly. After stating that the sound has many arms, he proceeds to specify them; the geography of the suggested locality answers the requirements in an appealing and convincing manner. The first branch that Hoskins mentions is that upon which Port Tempest was situated; it trended east inclining to south as far as the eye could reach; this is Revillagigedo Channel. There was another arm extending to the north; this is Behm Canal. Then another running in a northwesterly course "up which the natives informed me was a village called Cahta"; this is Kasaan Bay, on which the Indian village of Cahta or Carta exists today. There was another arm leading west northwest, in which the horizon was clear to the limit of vision, and which he took to be a strait; this is Clarence Strait. Finally there was another arm stretching to the west southerly, "up which I was informed by the natives was their village of Sushin"; this is Cholmondeley Sound, on which is the abandoned Indian village of Sushin or Sushan, Chasina or Chachina! Having disposed of the large branches, Hoskins adds that there were other smaller inlets; these are Baker Inlet, Skowl Bay, etc.

The general geography of the suggested site of Port Tempest being thus shown to correspond with Hoskins' description, it will now be shown that the suggested spot fits also with the details that he furnishes. At Port Tempest, he tells us there were "also two small islands which afforded some little shelter"; and at the western end of Revillagigedo Channel is Guard Island, which is described in the Alaska Coast Pilot, 1883, p. 82, as "consisting of rocks uniting at low water two low, rocky, high-water islets, one west from and considerably larger than the other, and both bearing shrubs and a few trees." Vancouver also mentions them as "two small islands with some trees upon them, S 40 W, half a league distant" from Point Vallemar. Voyage, vol. 4, p. 184, 8vo. ed. Again, Hoskins says that from Port Tempest "the land to the northward was about four miles and that to the southward one mile distant." Here also the geography agrees. From Guard Island, at the western entrance of Revillagigedo Channel, to Cape Camano, the nearest land to the north, the distance is four and a half miles, and from that island to the western end of Gravina Island—Point Vallemar, the nearest land to the southward—is about two miles.

And finally, in these small matters, Hoskins and Boit both mention the catching of salmon, but the latter, as usual, does not enter into details. Hoskins again comes to our aid. He says they went to a "river about six miles to the southward of the ship." That is, they went down Revillagigedo Channel six miles. At that distance lies Ward Cove. "A creek forming a small bank at its mouth falls in at the head of the cove"; Alaska Coast Pilot, 1883, p. 81. The method of fishing shows that the "river" was only a brook, for the men waded into the water, threshing it with long poles and scaring the fish down the fall, where they were gaffed with harpoons, boat hooks, etc.

Leaving the geographical portion of the subject, a word may be said ethnographically. The Indians met in the vicinity of Port Tempest, as Hoskins records, spoke the same language and had many of the customs of the natives of Queen Charlotte Islands. They were therefore plainly the Kaigani Haida, an intrusion into the Tlingit territory, occupying the southern part of Prince of Wales Island

and the adjacent archipelago. They came from the villages already mentioned, Sushin and Cahta, the most easterly and northerly residences of the Kaigani Haida. Hoskins tells of the visit of a strange Chief and of the terror which it inspired in the Kaigani Haida. This stranger was, of course, of the Tlingit stock; the boundary between the two peoples was only some thirty miles northerly from the spot now suggested as being Port Tempest. This stranger spoke a language which the Americans could not understand; they had never met the Tlingit before, but had been confined to the Haida and the Tsimshean in the northern waters. It may be added that Vancouver had an exactly similar experience; see his Voyage, vol. 4, p. 225, 8vo. ed. 1801.

If Port Tempest be settled, there is no difficulty in locating Massacre Cove. Its exact position cannot perhaps be fixed, but its situation can, in a general way, be readily indicated. It was on the opposite, i. e., the western, side of Brown's Sound, as Boit's entry of 8th August shows. This would place it on the eastern shore of Prince of Wales Island. From it Port Tempest bore NEBN; in other words, Massacre Cove was SEBE from Port Tempest. This is borne out by the compass bearings in Boit's entry of 14th August. Massacre Cove therefore must lie between Cholmondeley Sound and Skowl Bay, perhaps about four miles southerly from Island Point, the entrance of the latter. Boit's statement that the distance between Port Tempest and Massacre Cove is twelve leagues is an exaggeration; if these identifications are correct, the real distance, as the crow flies, is about ten or twelve miles.

These reasons lead to the position that Port Tempest is identical with the western end of Revillagigedo Channel. It is not urged that they conclusively settle the question. They are merely put forward as a contribution to the effort to solve a problem that, though small and unimportant, is attractive because of its very difficulties.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge, gratefully, my indebtedness to Dr. C. F. Newcombe, of Victoria, B. C., for his assistance in working out this identification. His local knowledge of the region is invaluable.

NOTE I.

For the location of the villages of Cahta and Sushan I am indebted to Dr. C. F. Newcombe, of Victoria, B. C. I append a portion of a recent letter on this point. "With reference to Cahta and Sushan, I am in a different position, having visited both places. The present Cahta, now spelt Carta, is at the head of Kasaan Inlet on the East side of Prince of Wales Island, but no doubt in early days included the present Indian village of Kasaan, which is nearer the mouth of the Inlet. An early copy by Arrowsmith in the Provincial Library, dated Jan. 1st, 1795, gives the name spelt Kada. Sushan is spelt in early days in several manners, as you will find by reference to "The Alaska Coast Pilot." It is right at the entrance of Cholmondeley Sound, and has long been deserted."

REMNANT OF OFFICIAL LOG OF THE COLUMBIA

ANNOTATIONS BY T. C. ELLIOTT.

Text in Greenhow, 1848 Edition, p. 434.

Extract from the Second Volume of the **LOG BOOK OF THE SHIP COLUMBIA,** *of Boston, commanded by Robert Gray, containing the Account of her Entrance into Gray's Harbor and the Columbia River.*

May 7th, 1792 A. M.—Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-boat, and went in search of an anchoring-place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather current. At one P. M., the boat, returned, having no place where the ship could anchor with safety[1]; made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw from our mast-head, a passage in between the sand-bars. At half past three, bore away, and ran in north-east by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At five, P. M., came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude observed this day was 46 degrees 58 minutes north.

May 10th—Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives along side; at noon all the canoes left us. At one, P. M., began to unmoor, took up the best bower anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half past four, (being high water,) hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.[2]

May 11th.—At half past seven, we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore.[3] At

1 This log makes no mention of the sending of a small boat ahead of the ship, either here or at the mouth of the Columbia river, which precaution is mentioned by Mr. Boit in his journal. Neither does Capt. Gray mention any observations for longitude, as Mr. Boit does. For more extended comments see the Boit Journal printed herewith.

2 This entry indicates that Capt. Gray's anchorage was not far inside the entrance, but any attempt to designate it would be mere speculation. The presumption is in favor of the bay behind one of the capes.

3 This entry written at evening on the 11th, clearly states that the ship left Gray's Harbor on the evening of the 10th. Boit erroneously puts the date as the 11th.

eight, P. m., the entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-south-east half east, and the northern north-north-west; sent up the main top-gallant-yard and set all sail. At four, A. M., saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-south-east, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At eight, A. M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the Harbor, bore away, and run in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At one, P. M., came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand.[4] The entrance between the bars bore west-south-west, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half a mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles' distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water-casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

May 12th.—Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the best bower-anchor, and veered out on both cables; sent down the main-top-gallant-yard; filled up all the water-casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales, and rainy, dirty weather.

May 13th.—Fresh winds and rainy weather; many natives along-side; hove up the best bower-anchor; seamen and tradesmen at their various departments.

May 14th.—Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon, weighed and came to sail, standing up the river north-east by east; we found the channel very narrow. At four, P. M., we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom. At half past four, the ship took ground, but

4 This anchorage, ½ mile off shore between Pt. Ellice and McGowans Station, was exposed to the wind and current, which fact partly explains the use of more than one anchor and the determination to move further up the river two days later.

she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedge and hawser. The jolly-boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable farther up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends,[5] with rainy weather; many natives alongside.

May 15th.—Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from the different tribes came alongside. At ten, A. M., unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring-place; smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

May 16th.—Light airs and cloudy. At four, A. M., hove up the anchor and towed down about three miles, with the last of the ebb tide; came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly-boat sounding the channel. At ten, A. M., a fresh breeze came up the river. With the first of the ebb-tide we got under way, and beat down the river. At one, (from its being very squally,) we came to, about two miles from the village, (*Chinook*) which bore west-south-west; many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.[6]

May 17th.—Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside; calkers calking the pinnace; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smiths and carpenters at their departments.

May 18th.—Pleasant weather. At four in the morning, began to heave ahead; at half past, came to sail, standing down the river with the ebb tide; at seven, (being slack water and the wind fluttering,) we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore south-west by west, distant three miles. The north point of the harbor bore north-west,

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5 This day Capt. Gray proceeded around Point Ellice and past Cliff Point and Knappton as far as some sand bar in the shallow waters off the wide entrance to Gray's Bay, presumably more than half the distance across the entrance to that bay. By soundings from his small boats he then discovered that the deep water channel crossed the river above him, from Harrington's Point to Tongue Point, and that his ship was not in a safe place, and he therefore dropped down the following morning to a better anchorage off Point Gray (Frankfort).

6 Today the ship again dropped down stream, first to anchor opposite Knappton and later to the upper or lea side of Point Ellice, where she remained until the 18th.

distant two miles; the south bore south-east, distant three and a half miles. At nine, a breeze came up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again; came to anchor with the kedge and hawser; veered out fifty fathoms. Noon, pleasant. Latitude observed, 46 degrees 17 minutes north. At one, came to sail with the first of the ebb tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship, and stood into the river again. At four, came to in six fathoms; good holding-ground about six or seven miles up; many canoes along side.[7]

May 19th.—Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments. Captain Gray gave this river the name of *Columbia's River,* and the north side of the entrance *Cape Hancock,* the south, *Adams's Point.*

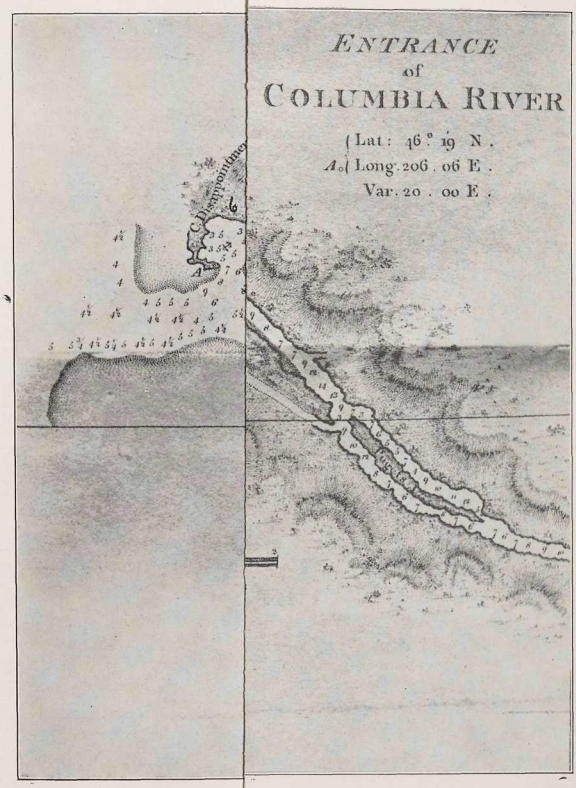
May 20th.—Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At one, P. M. (being full sea,) took up the anchor, and made sail, standing down the river. At two, the wind left us, we being on the bar with a very strong tide, which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide; so we were obliged to bring up in three and a half fathoms, the tide running five knots. At three quarters past two, a fresh wind came in from seaward; we immediately came to sail, and beat over the bar, having from five to seven fathoms water in the channel. At five, P. M., we were out, clear of all bars, and in twenty fathoms water.[8] A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to best advantage. At eight, Cape Hancock bore southeast, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north by west. At nine, in steering and top-gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

May 21st.—At six, A. M., the nearest land in sight bore east-south-east, distant eight leagues. At seven, set top-gallant-

7 This day Capt. Gray sailed down stream with the intention of crossing out, but, because of unfavorable conditions, returned up river again to an anchorage off Chinook Point (Fort Columbia), which was a very favorable spot for observing the capes and the entrance.

8 Good-bye to "Columbia's River," after a narrow escape from disaster upon Peacock and Clatsop spits on the way out.

sails and light stay-sails. At eleven set steering sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant, agreeable weather. The entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore south-east by east half east, distant five leagues.


ENTRANCE
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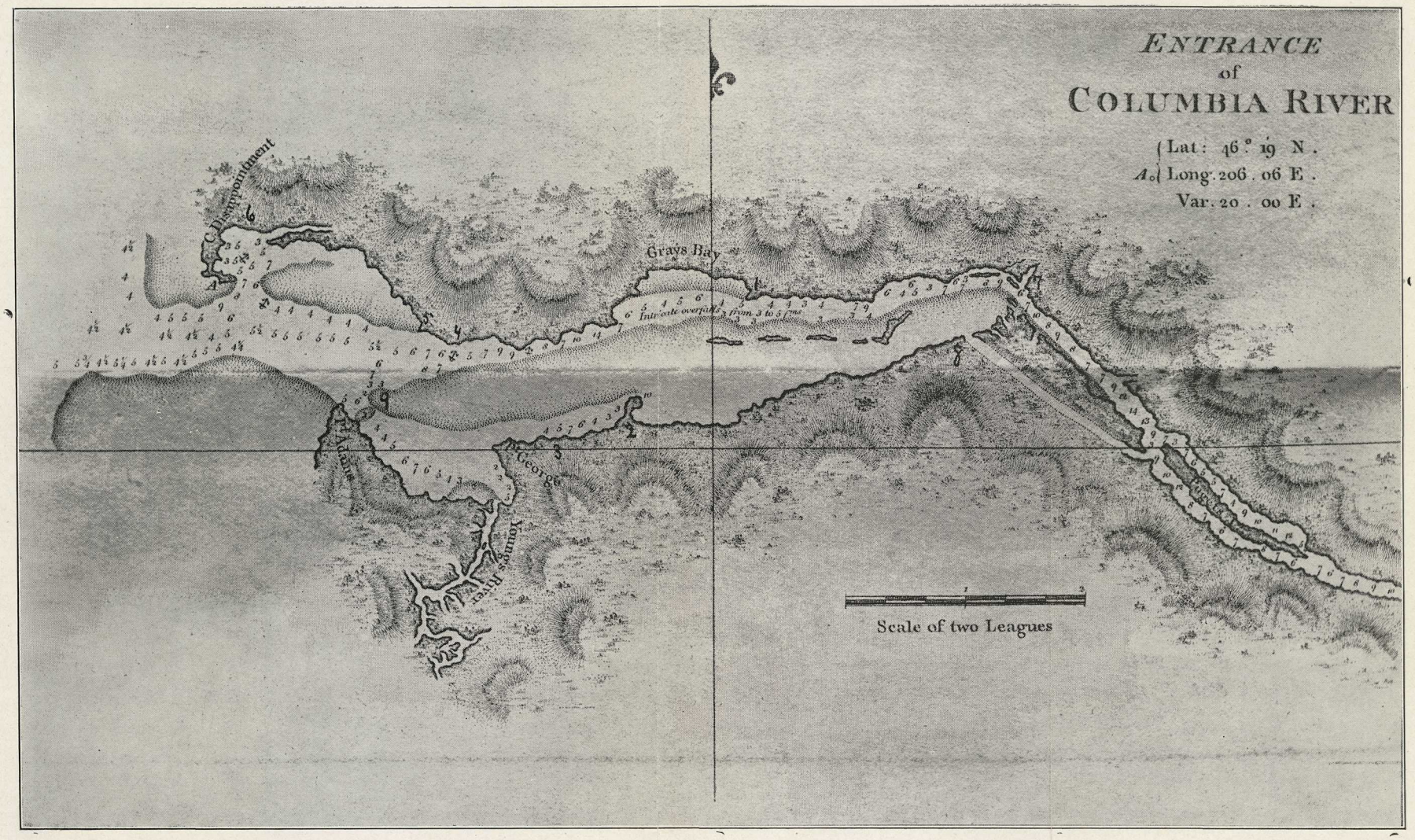
ENTRANCE
of
COLUMBIA RIVER
Lat: 46° 19 N.
A. Long. 206. 06 E.
Var. 20. 00 E.
C. Disappointment
Grays Bay
Intervale overfalls from 3 to 5 fms
Pt. Adams
C. George
Youngs River
Scale of two Leagues