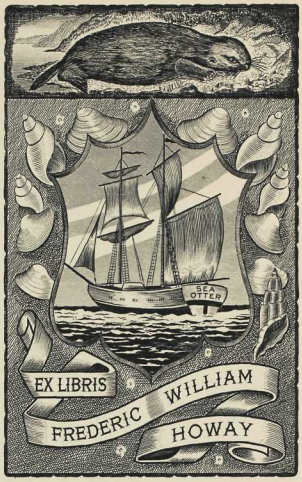
Early Voyages of The Pacific

By ARCHIE W. SHIELS



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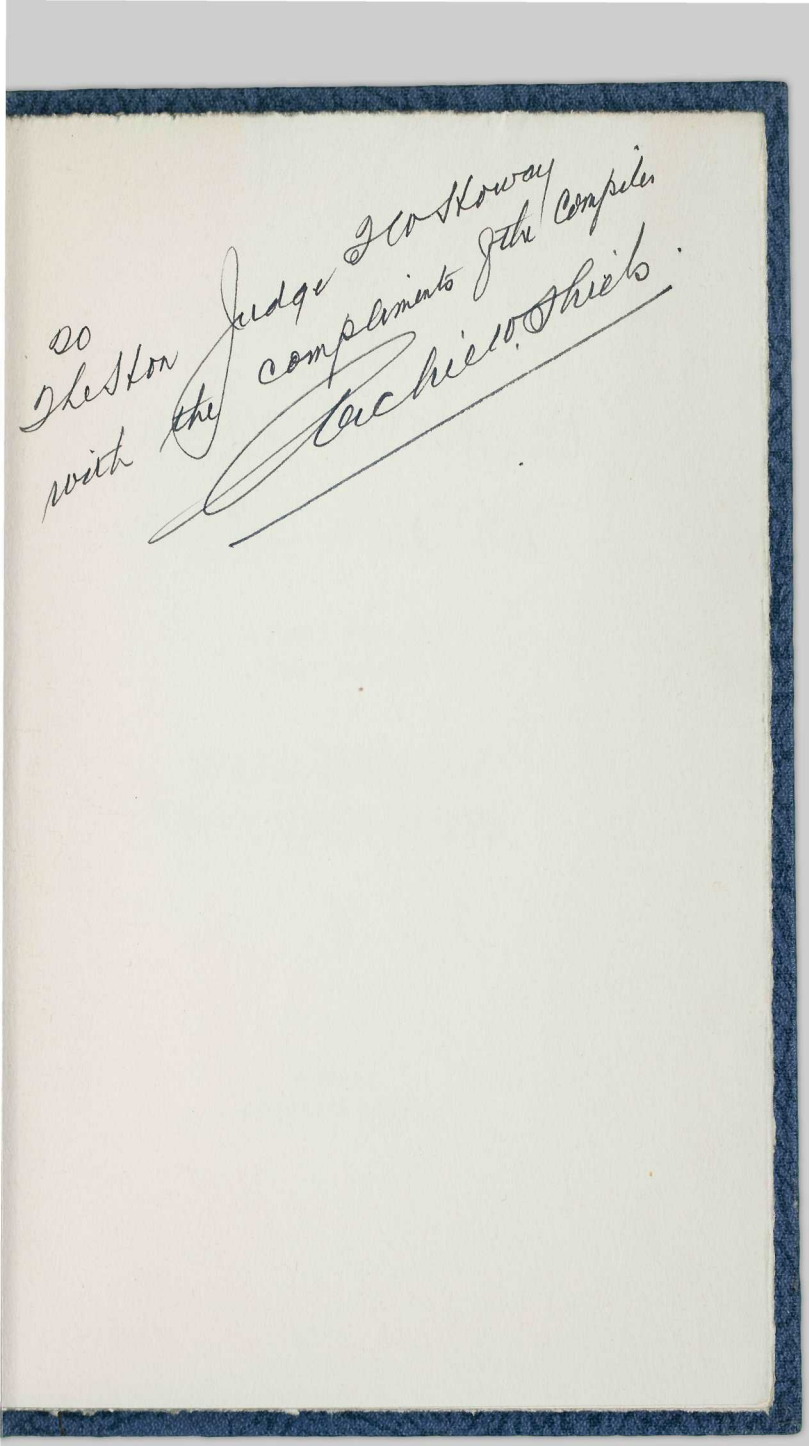

To
Theston Judge Holloway
with the compliments of the Compiler
Archie W. Shiels.

EARLY VOYAGES of THE PACIFIC

A FEW NOTES ON
THE DAYS OF

IRON MEN *and* WOODEN SHIPS

Compiled by
ARCHIE W. SHIELS

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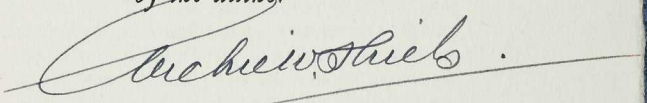

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Bellingham, Washington
Christmas 1930

BELLINGHAM

BELLINGHAM, a city on the bay of the same name, in Whatcom County, Washington. The first white man to enter the bay was the Spaniard, Eliza, in 1791, who named it Seno de Gaston or Gulf of Gaston. On June 11, 1792, the bay was surveyed by Joseph Whidby in a boat excursion under Vancouver. The latter, on receiving his officer's report, charted the name Bellingham Bay. He does not say for whom the name was given, but he frequently associated the surnames and Christian names of those honored, by giving them to nearby or related geographic features. He gave the name of Point William to the prominent point south of the entrance to the bay. In studying up his contemporaries, it was found that Sir William Bellingham checked over Vancouver's supplies and accounts as he was leaving England. There is very little doubt that Sir William Bellingham was the man thus honored. In that same year, 1792, the Spaniards of the Sutilly Mexicana expedition, again charted the bay and sought to retain a form of Spanish name by calling it Bahia de Gaston. The Spanish charts were not published for years, while the British charts appeared promptly and fixed the name permanently. David Thompson of the Northwest Company of Montreal, referred to the bay as Ballsam Bay. The United States Coast Survey in 1854 showed the northern portion of the bay as Gaston Bay, a partial recognition of the older Spanish name. The first town on the bay was given the Indian name, Whatcom. Later there were established the towns of Sehome and Fairhaven. There were several combinations of these rival settlements, all of which later joined in the one City of Bellingham.*

*Origin of Washington geographic names—Edmond S. Meany

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INTRODUCTION

ONE evening last summer at a meeting of the Beefsteak Club, the "gang" were all sitting around talking after dinner; Doctor Kirkpatrick and myself went off to a corner, talking on our favorite topic, "Old Books and the Early History of the Pacific Coast." Henry, our genial O. B. T., seeing us together, called out from the other end of the room, "Look here, boys! There are the two book nuts at it again! I'll bet they are discussing something that happened in this part of the country, either in the calendar according to B. C. or thereabouts." Whereupon the genial doctor said, "Archie, that gives me an idea. Why don't you prepare a paper for the Club on the early history of the Pacific Coast and let us educate these savages around here about their own country?" So the following ramblings are in response to his suggestion. If you enjoy reading them I shall be more than satisfied. If you do not the remedy is simple — sandbag Doctor Kirkpatrick for turning me loose on the subject.

EARLY SPANISH VOYAGES

It is not altogether uncommon nowadays to have some of the large manufacturers, when soliciting your business, tell you that you can "write your own ticket" as far as price is concerned. The writer knows the chief executive on the Pacific Coast for one of the world's largest manufacturers, who told me a few months ago that he had several customers on his books (including my own company) that he was quite willing to allow to do this, and that none of them had taken advantage of it.

To the uninitiated this may be called "modern business methods," but to the student of the early Spanish voyages to this Coast, it is to use a term so often employed in our moving pictures, just another of "those old Spanish customs" revived.

Take, for instance, Balboa, when he first saw the Pacific Ocean, we quote: *

"I take possession of earth, air, and water for Spain for all time, past, present, or to come, without contradiction, North and South, with all the seas from the Pole Arctic to the Pole Antarctic, both now, and as long as the world endures, until the final day of Judgment."

If that is not a case of writing your own ticket, I wonder what is?

Then take Cortez. He did not want very much for his services to Spain. We quote from his request to the Spanish monarch for what he thought he was entitled to: * *

"He respectfully asks for a contract for six years, commencing to run in 1522, the year in which he discovered the South Sea. During these years he would explore the coast of the sea for a distance of 400 leagues, or more if necessary. In return for his services he wished to be made governor for life of what he might discover, and after him his heirs and successors forever, he to receive one-tenth for himself and heirs

*Agnes Laut Vikings of the Pacific.

**Henry Wagner, early Spanish voyager to Northwest coast.

of whatever gold, silver or precious stones or metals that he might discover. Should he discover three islands and make them available for Spanish trade, he was to receive for himself and his heirs forever any one of the three he might select. If only mainland discovered he and his heirs to have one out of every three towns or cities founded, with lordship over them now and forever."

If a region were discovered today where gold was valued less than trucks of gravel, and ropes of the finest pearls could be obtained in barter for strings of glass beads, it is not hard to visualize the kind of a stampede there would be to reach the mecca. This then was the chief incentive of Spain's early voyage to the Northwest Coast of America after the discovery of this continent by Columbus.

Native temples were found in Chile, in Peru, in Central America and in Mexico where gold literally lined the walls, silver paved the floors, and handfuls of pearls were as thoughtlessly thrown into the laps of conquerors as shells might be tossed about at a modern clam bake.

Cortez and his party of gold-seekers landed on the Coast of Mexico in 1519, and the story of the next few years of his labors makes very interesting reading. By 1523 his operations had extended to such an extent that he found it necessary to construct more ships, and so at Zacatula, close to the mouth of the Balsas, he started a shipyard, despite the fact that the only thing on the spot was the timber. Everything else had to be brought from Mexico.

Ullao was the first navigator, of whom we have any knowledge to reach the Northwest Coast of America, using that term in its broadest sense as representing the Coast from Cape San Lucas, indefinitely to the north. Ullao was, of course, one of the lieutenants of Cortez, working under his orders.

The voyages of Francisco de Bolanas and Juan Cabrillo, both commenced in 1541, and from then on there is one grand procession of explorers. Spanish ships plied a trade, rich beyond the dreams of avarice, between the gold realms of Peru and the spice islands of the Philippines. The chivalry of the Spanish nobility suddenly became a chivalry of the high seas. Religious zeal burned to a flame against those gold-lined pagan temples. It was easy to believe that the transfer of wedges of gold from heathen hands to

Spain was a veritable despoiling of the devil's treasure boxes, glorious in the sight of God. The trackless sea became the path to fortune.

The motive of Spain was to try and shut out the rest of the world from her new-found treasure box. The whole Pacific was to be kept a closed sea. Spain sent her sailors across Panama to build ships for the Pacific. The sea that bore her treasure craft —millions upon millions of pounds sterling in pure gold, silver, emeralds and pearls—was as closed to the rest of the world, as if walled around with only one chain-gate. And that at Panama, where Spain kept the key. *

We have spoken of Spain's effort to keep the new-found Mecca for herself, and in this she was for a time successful, till Sir Francis Drake came upon the scene. *

That is, the sea was shut till Drake came coursing round the world, and his coming was so utterly impossible to the Spanish mind that half the treasure ships scuttled by the English pirate mistook him for a visiting Spaniard till the rallying cry, "God and Saint George!" awakened them from their dream.

It was by accident the English first found themselves in the waters of the Spanish Main. John Hawkins had been cruising the West Indies exchanging slaves for gold, when an ominous stillness fell on the sea. The palm trees took on the hard glisten of metal leaves. The sunless sky turned yellow, the sea to brass; and before the six English ships could find shelter, a hurricane broke that flailed the fleet under sails torn to tatters clear across the Gulf of Mexico to Vera Cruz, the stronghold of Spanish power.

But Hawkins feared neither man nor devil. He reefed his storm-torn sails, had the stoppers out of his cannon in readiness, his gunners alert, ran up the English ensign, and boldly towed his fleet into port directly under Spanish guns. Sending a messenger ashore, he explained that he was sorry to intrude on forbidden waters, but that he needed to careen his ships for the repair of leakages, and now asked permission from the viceroy to refit. Perhaps, in his heart, the English adventurer wasn't sorry to get an inner glimpse of Mexico's defenses. As he waited for permission, there sailed into the harbor the Spanish fleet itself, twelve merchantmen rigged as frigates, loaded with treasure to the value

*Agnes Laut Vikings of the Pacific.

of £1,800,000. The viceroy of Mexico, Don Martin Henriquez himself, commanded the fleet. English and Spanish ships dipped colors to each other as courteous hidalgoes might doff hats, and the guns roared each other salutes that set the seas churning. Master John Hawkins quaffed mug after mug of foaming beer with the boisterous boast that if the Spaniards thought to frighten him with a waste of powder and smoke he could play the same game, and "singe the don's beard."

Came a messenger, then, clad in mail to his teeth, very pompous, very gracious, very profuse of welcome, with a guarantee in writing from the viceroy of security for Hawkins while dismantling the English ships. In order to avoid clashes among the common soldiers the fortified island was assigned for the English to disembark. It was August 12, 1568. Darkness fell with the warm velvet caress of a tropic sea. Half the crew had landed, half the cannon been trundled ashore for the vessels to be beached next day, when Hawkins noticed torches—a thousand torches—glistening above the mailed armor of a thousand Spanish soldiers marching down from the fort and being swiftly transferred to the frigates. A blare of Spanish trumpets blew to arms! The waters were suddenly alight with the flare of five fire-rafts drifting straight where the disarmed English fleet lay moored. Hawkins had just called his page to hand round mugs of beer, when a cannon-shot splintering through the mastarms overhead ripped the tankard out of his hand.

"God and Saint George," thundered the enraged Englishman, "down with the traitorous devils!"

No time to save sailors ashore! The blazing rafts had already bumped keels with the moored fleet. No chance to raise anchors! The Spanish frigates were already abreast in a life-and-death grapple; soldiers boarding the English decks, sabring the crews, hurling hand grenades down the hatches to blow up the powder magazines. Hawkins roared "to cut the cables." It was a hand-to-hand slaughter on decks slippery with blood. No light but the musketry fire and glare of burning masts! The little English company were fighting like wild beasts trapped, when with a thunderclap that tore bottom out of hull—Hawkins' ship flew into midair, a flaring, fiery wreck—then sank in the heaving trough of the sea, carrying down five hundred Spaniards to a watery grave. Cutlass in hand, heels-over-head went Hawkins into

the sea. The hell of smoke, of flaming mast poles, of blazing musketry, of churning water hid him. Then a rope's end flung out by some friend gave handhold. He was up the sides of a ship that had cut hawsers and off before the fire-rafts came! Sails were hoisted to the seaward breeze. In the carnage of fire and blood the Spaniards did not see the two smallest English vessels scudding the wind as if fiend-chased. Every light on the decks was put out. Then the dark of the tropic night hid them. Without food, without arms, with scarcely a remnant of their crews, the two ships drifted to sea.

Not a man of the sailors ashore escaped. All were butchered, or taken prisoners for a fate worse than butchery—to be torn apart in the market-place of Vera Cruz, baited in the streets to the yells of onlookers, hung by the arms to out-of-doors scaffolding to die by inches, or be torn by vultures. The two ships at sea were in terrible plight. North, west, south was the Spanish foe. Food, there was none. The crews ate the dogs, monkeys, parrots on board. Then they set traps for the rats of the hold. The starving seamen begged to be marooned. They would risk Spanish cruelty to escape starvation. Hawkins landed three-quarters of the remnant crews either in Yucatan or Florida. Then he crept lamely back to England, where he moored in January, 1569.

Of the six splendid ships that had spread their sails from Plymouth, only the Minion and Judith came back; and those two had been under command of a thick-set, stocky, red-haired English boy about twenty-four years of age—Francis Drake, of Devon, one of twelve sons of a poor clergyman, who eked out a living by reading prayers for the Queen's Navy Sundays, playing sailor week days. Francis, the eldest son, was born in the hull of an old vessel where the family had taken refuge in time of religious persecution. In spite of his humble origin, Sir Francis Russell had stood as his god-father at his baptism. The Earl of Bedford had been his patron. John Hawkins, a relative, supplied money for his education. Apprenticed before the mast from his twelfth year, Drake became purser to Biscay at eighteen; and so faithfully had he worked his way—when the master of the sloop died, it was bequeathed to young Drake. Emulous of becoming a great sailor like Hawkins, Drake sold the sloop and invested everything he owned in Hawkins' venture to the West Indies. He was ruined to his last penny by Spanish treachery. It was almost a religion for England to hate

Spain at that time. Drake hated tenfold more now. Spain had taught the world to keep off her treasure box. Would Drake accept the lesson, or challenge it?

Men who master destiny rise, like the Phoenix, from the ashes of their own ruin. In the language of the street, when they fall—these men of destiny—they make a point of falling upstairs. Amid the ruin of massacre in Mexico, Drake brought away one fact—memory of Spanish gold to the value of £1,800,000. Where did it come from? Was the secret of that gold the true reason for Spain's resentment against all intruders? Drake had coasted Florida and the West Indies. He knew they yielded no such harvest. Then it must come from one of three other regions—South America, Central America or Mexico.

For two years Drake prospected for the sources of that golden wealth. In the Dragon and Swan he cruised the Spanish Main during 1570. In 1571 he was out again in the Swan. By 1572 he knew the secret of that gold—gold in shiploads, in caravans of one thousand mules, in masses that filled from cellar to attic of the King's Treasure House, where tribute of one-fifth was collected for royalty. It came from the subjugated Kingdom of Peru, by boat up the Pacific to the Port of Panama, by pack-train across the isthmus—mountainous, rugged, forests of mangroves tangled with vines, bogs that were bottomless—to Nombre de Dios, the Spanish fort on the Atlantic side, which had become the storehouse of all New Spain. Drake took counsel of no one.

Next year he was back on the Spanish Main, in the Pacha, forty-seven men; his brother John, commanding the Swan with twenty-six of a crew, only one man older than fifty. The rest were mere boys with hate in their hearts for Spanish blood and love in their hearts for Spanish gold. Touching at a hidden cove for provisions left the year before, Drake found this warning from a former comrade, stuck to the bark of a tree by a hunting knife: "Captain Drake. If you do fortune into this port, haste away; for the Spaniards have betrayed this place, and taken all away that you left here. Your loving friend, John Garret."

Heeding the warning, Drake hastened away to the Isle of Pinos, off the isthmus, left the ships at a concealed cove there, armed fifty-three of his boldest fellows with muskets, crossbows, pikes and spontoons. Then he called for drummers and trumpeters, and rowed in a small boat for Nombre de Dois, the treasure house of

New Spain. The small boat kept on the offing till dark, then sent ashore for some Indians—half-breeds whom Spanish cruelty had driven to revolt. This increased Drake's force to 150 men. Silently, just as the moon emerged from clouds lighting up harbor and town, the long boat glided into Nombre de Dois. A high platform, mounted with brass cannon, fronted the water. Behind were thirty houses, thatch-roofed, whitewashed, palisaded, surrounded by courtyards with an almost European pomp. The King's Treasure House stood at one end of the market. Near it was a chapel with high wooden steeple.

A Spanish ship lay furled in port. From this glided out a punt poled like mad by a Spaniard racing to reach the platform first. Drake got athwart the fellow's patch, knocked him over, gagged his yells, and was up the platform before the sleepy gunner on guard was well awake. The sentry only paused to make sure that the men scrambling up the fort were not ghosts. Then he tore at the top of his speed for the alarm-bell of the chapel, and, clapping down the hatch door of the steeple stairs in the faces of the pursuing Englishmen, rang the bells like a demon possessed.

Leaving twelve men to hold the platform as a retreat, Drake sent sixteen to attack the King's Treasure House just at the moment he himself, with his one hundred men, should succeed in drawing the entire Spanish garrison to a sham battle on the marketplace. The cannon on the platform were spiked and overturned. Drums beating, trumpets blowing, torches aflare, the English freebooter marched straight to the market. Up at the Treasure House John Drake and Oxenham had burst open the doors of the storeroom just as the saddled mules came galloping to carry the booty beyond danger. A lighted candle on the cellar stair showed silver piled bar on bar to the value of £1,000,000. Down on the market the English trumpeter lay dead. Drake had fallen from a sword slash, and snatched up by comrades, the wound stanched by a scarf, he was carried back to the boat, where the raiders made good their escape, richer by a million pounds with the loss of only one man.

Drake cruised the Spanish Main six more months. From the Indians he learned that the mule trains with the yearly output of Peruvian gold would leave the Pacific in midwinter to cross overland to Nombre de Dois. No use trying to raid the fort again! Spain would not be caught napping a second time. But Pedro, a Panama Indian, had volunteered to guide a small band of lightly-

equipped English—inland behind Nombre de Dois, to the halfway house where the gold caravans stopped. The audacity of the project is unparalleled. Eighteen boys led by a man yet in his thirtieth year accompanied by Indians were to invade a tangled thicket of hostile country, cut off from retreat, the forts of the enemy—the cruelest enemy in Christiandom—on each side, no provisions but what each carried in his haversack!

Led by the Indian Pedro, the freebooters struck across country, picked up the trail behind Nombre de Dois, marched by night, hid by day; Indian scouts sending back word when a Spaniard was seen, the English scudding to ambush in the tangled woods. Twelve days and nights they marched. At ten in the morning of February 11, they were on the Great Divide. Pedro led Drake to the top of the hill. Up the trunk of an enormous tree the Indians had cut steps to a kind of bower, or lookout. Up clambered Francis Drake. Then he looked westward.

Mountains, hills, forested valleys, rolled from his feet westward. Beyond—what? The shining expanses of the fabled South Sea! The Pacific silver in the morning light! A New World of Waters, where the sun's track seemed to pave a new path, a path of gold, to the mystic Orient! Never before had English eyes seen these waters! Never yet English prow cut these waters! Where did they lead—the endlessly rolling billows? For Drake, they seemed to lead to a New World of Dreams—dreams of gold, of glory, of immortal fame. He came down from the lookout so overcome with a great inspiration that he could not speak. Then, as with Balboa, the fire of a splendid enthusiasm lighted up the mean purposes of the adventurer to a higher manhood. Before his followers, he fell on his knees and prayed Almighty God to grant him the supreme honor of sailing an English ship on that sea!

That night the Indian came back with word that the mule train laiden with gold was close on the trail. Drake scattered his men on each side of the road flat on their faces in high grass. Wealth was almost in their grasp. Hope beat riotous in the young bloods. No sound but the whir of wings as great tropic insects flitted through the dark with flashes of fire; or the clank of a soldier unstrapping haversack to steel courage by a drink of grog! An hour passed! Two hours before the eager ears pressed to earth detected a padded hoofbeat over grass. Then a bell tinkled, as the leader of the pack came in sight. Drunk with the glory of the day

or too much grog, some fool sailor leaped in midair with an exultant yell! In a second the mule train had stampeded.

By the time Drake came to the halfway house, the gold was hidden in the woods, and the Spaniards fleeing for their lives; though an old chronicle declares "the general" went from house to house assuring the Spanish ladies they were safe. The Spaniards of Tierra Firme were simply paralyzed with fright at the apparition of pirates in the center of the kingdom. Then scouts brought word of double danger. On the Atlantic side, Spanish frigates were searching for Drake's ships; from the Pacific, two hundred horsemen were advancing in hot pursuit. Between the two—was he trapped? Not he! Overland went the scout to the ships—Drake's own gold toothpick as token—bidding them keep offshore. He would find means to come out to them. Then he retreated over the trail at lightning pace, sleeping only in ambush, eating in snatches, coming out on the coast far distant from Nombre de Dios and Spanish frigates. Binding driftwood into a raft, Drake hoisted sail of floursacks. Saying good-bye to the Indian, the freebooter noticed Pedro's eyes wander to the gold-embossed Turkish scimeter in his own hand, and at once presented scabbard and blade to the astonished savage. In gratitude the Indian tossed three wedges of gold to the raft now sheering out with the tide to sea. These Drake gave to his men. Six hours the raft was drifting to the sails on the offing. Such seas were slopping across the water-logged driftwood that the men were to their waists in water when the sailboats came to the rescue.

On Sunday morning, August 9, 1573, the ships were once more in Plymouth. Whispers ran through the assembled congregations of the churches that Drake, the bold sea-rover, was entering port loaded with foreign treasure. Out rushed every man, woman and child, leaving the scandalized preachers thundering to empty pews. *

*Agnes Laut Vikings of the Pacific.

PANAMA

Balboa was, as far as we know, the first man to see the Pacific when he marched across Panama in 1513. The building of a canal across the isthmus, however, was first suggested by Portugal in 1550. In 1551 DeGoman, the Spanish historian, submitted a

memorial to Phillip II urging that the work of building the canal be undertaken at once. It was not until 1771 that the Spanish government ordered the project surveyed, and from then on the governments of Great Britain, Spain and France seem to have shown more or less interest in the undertaking. In 1838 one of the British consuls strongly urged his government to build the canal, pointing out that the voyage from Valparaiso to London took 100 days, from Lima one hundred and ten days, and from Guayaquil one hundred and twenty-five days; whereas, if a canal route be established the voyage could be made in sixty-two, fifty-one and forty-six days respectively. This, he added:

"Would enable the British settlers to be in close touch by correspondence with friends and family, and enable consuls in these quarters to more promptly convey to the government such dispatches as in their judgment be in the interest of British trade."

Some attention must have been paid to his suggestion, for we find that the matter went far enough for a proposal to be made for the establishment of a steamer line to and from Great Britain and South America, if the project were carried through, and the opportunity to subscribe for stock in the new company was offered to the public.

REZANOV'S VISIT TO CALIFORNIA, 1806

Count Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov, Russian ambassador, arrived in San Francisco March 27, 1806, in the vessel Juno, from Sitka. They had sailed from Sitka, Alaska, on February 25, the voyage having been undertaken to try and secure food supplies for the Russian port at Sitka, where much hardship had been endured all winter for lack of food. Probably his voyage would not have been such an outstanding one, from a California point of view, had he not fallen in love with and sought the hand of the Donna Conception de Arquella, daughter of the Spanish governor of California. It makes a pretty story, even if it has been suggested that at first at least, it was not all love on his part that prompted him, but rather a desire to further the interests of his Imperial Czar.

On May 21, Rezanov left San Francisco on the return trip to Sitka, where he arrived on June 19, sailing almost immediately afterwards for Kamchatka. He arrived there on September 24

and left on the long overland journey to St. Petersburg to make his reports to his government and to seek permission from the Czar for his marriage to the Donna Conception.

Never a very robust man, and much weakened by the hardships of his long journey, he was seized with a violent fever while on the overland journey and died at Krasnoyarsk on March 1, 1807.

His faithful lover waited his return in vain, never married, and when the first convent was founded in California, joined the order and retired from the world, remaining in the order until her death in 1857. Most of you likely have read her story in Brete Hart's poem, "Conception de Arquella."

Before leaving California mention should be made of the two visits to San Francisco of the Brtish captain, George Vancouver, the first in November, 1792. On this occasion every courtesy was shown him, he and seven of his officers making an excursion inland to Santa Clara, being the first foreigners to penetrate so far into the interior.

His second visit, arriving October 19, 1793, was a very different one; that is, he did not find the same welcome as he had before. Commandant Sal, now in charge of the San Francisco post, politely but firmly, advised him that he was an unwelcome visitor and that of all his crew, only himself and one officer would be permitted to land. This annoyed Vancouver very much and he sailed south on the twenty-fourth for Monterey, arriving there on November 1. Here also he was not welcome and sailed again November 5, arriving at Santa Barbara on the eleventh. Here he was received more cordially by Commandant Goycoecha, and remained in port till November 18, sailing from there to the Sandwich Island (Hawaii.)

WASHINGTON and BRITISH COLUMBIA

Nearly all of the early navigators seem to have made Nootka, B. C., their base of operations and so it may be of interest to you to read Judge Howay's very able paper, "The Spanish Settlement at Nootka," published in July, 1917, in the Washington Historical Quarterly, from which we quote:

THE SPANISH SETTLEMENT AT NOOTKA

After Captain Cook's third voyage maritime traders began to resort to this coast, lured by the stories of its illimitable wealth in furs and skins. Spain looked with jealous eye upon this trade, which, besides enriching other countries to her detriment, was regarded as an infringement of her territory and a trespass upon her closed sea—the immense Pacific Ocean. This lay at the root of the struggle between Britain and Spain, known as the Nootka Dispute.

To assert her rights and to maintain her position it was determined to found a Spanish settlement at Nootka Sound. Accordingly, in the spring of 1789, two vessels were dispatched from San Blas in Mexico with colonists for this proposed venture. Shortly after their arrival some English vessels from China, operated by John Meares, a lieutenant of the Royal Navy, were seized and their crews imprisoned. This brought the relative claims of Great Britain and Spain on the coast into conflict. During the early summer the Spaniards built upon the higest point of the island dominating Friendly Cove, a fort mounting ten cannon and nearby a barracks for the garrison.

On the semi-circular shore of Friendly Cove, with its wide stretch of white sea-sand, Maquinna, the famous chief of Nootka, had his summer village. From pre-historic days the spot had been

a village site. It combined proximity to the fishing grounds, safety for canoes and abundance of fresh water. But the uncivilized must make room for the civilized. The site of the Indian village was also convenient for the Spaniards. Maquinna and his subjects were, therefore, forced to abandon their old homes and select a new locality some five or six miles farther up the sound. With great sorrow, as Maquinna told Jewitt, they found themselves compelled at the behest of a stranger to quit the home of their forefathers. Except from the sentimental point of view this was not a serious matter, for they were in the habit of regularly changing their homes at least twice a year. On such occasions everything was removed except the upright posts which formed the skeleton of the building. In their stead, though but slowly, now rose the Spanish village. By the end of July only three houses had been built—a workshop, a bakery and a lodging house. It must be confessed that in external appearance and in the regularity of its laying out the new village had very little to boast of over the efforts of the untutored savage.

In this spot, so wild and new, so far from any other Spanish settlement, a ceremony dazzling with all the pomp of circumstance so dear to the Castilian heart, occured in June, 1789. It was the formal taking of possession, an empty ceremony frequently performed, upon which Spain greatly relied as placing her ownership beyond dispute. In the archives the instrument of possession, a long, very formal and high-sounding document, is preserved. As it gives a complete description of this mediaeval custom the following translation may prove of interest:

"In the Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, One True God in three Distinct Persons, who is the creative principle and creator of all things, without whom nothing good can be instituted, achieved or preserved, and;

"Whereas, the principle of everything good must be in God, and

"Therefore, it behooves us to begin it in God—for the glory and honor of His most holy name.

"Therefore, know all men to whom these presents and the present Chart of Possession shall come that:

"Today being Wednesday the 24th day of June, 1789, on the arrival of the Frigate named Nuestra Senora del Rosario (Alias La Princessa), together with the packet boat San

Carlos el Filipino, both belonging to His Most Mighty, Illustrious and Catholic Majesty Carlos the III, King of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of all the Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarra, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorea, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Corsica, of Cordova, of Murcia Jaen, of the Algarves, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the Eastern Indies and Western Islands, and of the (foreshore) first land y Tierra prime del Mar Oceana" in the Oceanic Sea, Archduke of Asturia, Duke of Bologna, of Brabant, and Milan, Count of Aspurg, Flanders, Tyrol, and Barcelona, Lord of Biscay and Molina, the said frigate and packet-boat, by Command of His Excellency Don Manuel Antonio Florez Maldonado Martinez de Angul y Bodquin, of Knight of the Order of Calatrava, Commander of Nolino and Laguna Rota, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armada, Viceroy and Captain of New Spain, President of the Royal Audiencia, and Sub-Delegate General of Corres in the said Kingdom; having sailed from the Port of San Blas, on the Southern Sea, in the Government of the Viceroy, aforesaid, on the 17th day of February in the same year, for the purpose of discovery along the coast from Monterey northwards. This expedition being under the command-in-chief of Don Estevan Jose Martinez, Ensign of Marine, in the Royal Armada; and said expedition being anchored in the port of Santa Cruz, one of the numerous harbors contained in the Bay of San Lorenzo de Nuca, with the aforesaid frigate of his command and the packet-boat of his following. Said commander-in-chief having disemarked with the officers of both ships, with the groops, and a number of the sailors, together with the Fathers Chaplains Don Jose Lopez de Nava and Don Jose Maria Diaz and the four Missionaries of the Order of San Francis of the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mezico, Brother Severo Petero, (president) Brother Lorenzo Lacies, Brother Jose Espi, and Brother Francisco Sanchez—the said Commander drew out a cross, which he worshipped devoutly on his knees, together with all those who accompanied him: then the Chaplains and Friars sang 'Te Deum Laudamus'—and the canticle having been concluded the Commander said in a loud voice: 'In the name of His Majesty the King Don Carlos the III—Our Sovereign whom may God keep many years, with an increase of our

Dominions, and Kingdoms—for the service of God, and for the good and prosperity of his vassals, and for the interests of the mighty lords the kings, his heirs and successors in the future as his commander of these ships, and by virtue of the orders and instructions which were given to me in his royal name, by the aforesaid His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain, I take, and I have taken, I seize, and I have seized possession of this soil, where I have at present disembarked which had been formerly discovered by us, in the year 1774 —and once more, on the present day—for all time to come, in the said Royal Name, and in the name of the Royal Crown of Castile and Leon, as aforesaid—As if it was my own thing, which it is, and shall be, and, which really belongs to the King aforesaid, by reason of the donation and the bull 'Expedio Motu Proprio' of our Most Holy Father Alexander VI, Pontiff of Rome, by which he donated to Most High and Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand V and Isabel, his spouse, Kings of Castile and Leon, of illustrious memory, and to their successors, and heirs—one-half the world—by deed made at Rome on the 4th of May in the year 1493—by virture of which these present lands belong to the said Royal Crown of Castile and Leon, and as such I take and I have taken possession of these lands aforesaid, and the adjoining districts, seas, rivers, ports, bays, gulfs, archipelagos, and this Port of Santa Cruz, in the island named by Martinez—among the many which are enclosed in the Bay of San Lorenzo de Nuca—which bay is situated in latitude North 49 degrees, 33 minutes and longitude 20 degrees, 18 minutes—West of the Meridian of San Blas where I am at present anchored with the said frigate and packet-boat of my command, and I place them, and they shall be placed under the dominion, and power of the said Royal Crown of Castile and Leon, as aforesaid, and as if it was my own property, which it is." And as a sign of such possession he drew his sword which had hung by his side, and with it counted the trees, the branches, and the lands, he disturbed the stones on the beach and in the fields without encountering any opposition, asking those present to be witnesses of these facts, and to me, Rafael de Canizares, who am the notary, appointed to this expedition by the commander-in-chief he ordered me to relate the facts in due form, as a public testimony thereof.

Then taking a large cross on his shoulders, and the crews of both ships having been formed in marching column, armed with guns and other weapons, the procession marched out, the Chaplains and Friars chanting the Litany of "Rogation"—the whole troup responding—and the procession having halted, the Commander planted the cross in the ground, and made a heap of stones at the foot thereof—as a sign and in memory of the taking of possession in the name of His Catholic Majesty Carlos III, King of all Spain (whom God keep)—of all these lands and neighboring districts discovered, continuous and contiguous—and gave the name of Santa Cruz to this port, as has been said. And when the cross was planted, they worshipped it once more, and all prayed, demanding in supplication from our Lord, Jesus Christ, that He should accept their offering, because everything had been done for the glory and honor of His holy name, and in order to exalt, and enrich our holy Catholic faith—and to introduce the world of the Holy Gospel among these savage nations, which until the present time had been kept in ignorance of the true knowledge and doctrine—which will guard them and deliver them from the snares and perils of the Demon and from the blindness in which they have lived—for the salvation of their souls—after which the chaplains and friars began chanting the hymn, "Vezilla Regis." Following this, a solemn high mass was celebrated on an altar which the Commander had caused to be erected, by the Rev. Chaplain of our frigate, Don Jose Lopez de Nava, assisted by the chaplain of the packet-boat, Don Jose Maria Diaz, and the four friars aforesaid—this being the first mass which was said in this land in honor of our Lord God Almighty—and for the extirpation of the Devil and of all idolatry. The sermon was given by the Very Rev. Father President, Severo Patero, Apostolic Missionary of the Order of San Francis and of the Royal College of San Ferdinand of Propaganda of the Faith, of the City of Mexico.

This function being concluded, the aforesaid Commander as a further sign and testimony of the taking of possession, caused a tree to be cut, which he had made into a cross, into which he engraved the Holy Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, with four capital letters, I. N. R. I., and wrote at the foot of the cross: "Carolus tertius, Rex Hispaniorum."

In witness whereof these presents were signed by the Commander, and witnessed by the Captain of the Packet-boat, San Carlos; Don Gonzales Lopez de Haro; the first pilot of the Armada, Don Jose Tovar, the chaplains aforesaid; Don Jose Lopez de Nava, Don Jose Maria Diaz, and the four friars of the College of San Ferdinan—and I, the Notary, appointed by the said Commander, authenticate these presents as a true testimony of what took place—as it has been related herewith.

Signed,

Estevan Jose Martinez, Gonzales Lopez de Haro, Jose Tovan y Taniariz, Dr. Jose Alexandro Lopez de Nava,

Before me, Rafael Canizares, Antonio Bonillaz, this is a copy: Mexico 27th August, 1789.

Rafael Canizares, Antonio Bonillaz.

The Spanish settlement, so pompously launched, was abandoned late in the autumn of 1789, the fort dismantled, and everything taken back to San Blas. This step had been ordered almost as soon as the expedition sailed. The reason is unknown. Flores, the viceroy of Mexico, under whose direction the step was taken, seems to have been of a vacillating nature. His successor, Revilla Gigedo, following the royal instructions, purposed to sustain with vigor the new establishment at Nootka, and had already planned to send three vessels with complete equipment, supplies and reinforcements. The unexpected return of Martinez with the whole Nootka settlement completely shattered his arrangements. He was determined, nevertheless, to maintain effectively the Spanish possession of the port, not only for its inherent value, but to prevent its being occupied by the British, who had entered into the maritime trade with great energy and contemplated the erection of trading posts on the coast.

He re-cast his schemes, and in February, 1790, three vessels, well-fitted and carrying supplies for a year, sailed from San Blas for Nootka. A garrison, consisting of two corporals and eighteen privates, formed part of the expedition. Eliza, the new commandante, was instructed to re-establish the fort; to erect the necessary buildings; to seek the friendship of the natives; to defend the settlement from attack by them or by any foreign power; and to explore carefully the northern coast and the Strait of Fuca. In

the last order can be seen a remnant of the belief in the Northwest Passage.

The first official act was the re-taking of possession, with all the glitter and glamour of the preceding occasion. The abandoned fort and barracks were re-established. And now upon the shores of Friendly Cove arose a little Spanish village; the earlier attempt had scarcely reached the point where it could properly be called a village. The gigantic firs were felled to make room for the irregularly built houses, which were scattered along the one straggling street. All day long, thrown back from the heights of San Miguel, the sound of axe and hammer re-echoed over the narrow waters of the placid cove.

The most imposing structure, occupying a prominent position almost in the center of the horseshoe shore, was the dwelling of the commandante, Eliza, and later Quadra and Alva. Clustered about it were some sixteen houses: storerooms for the supplies for the settlement and for war materials for the fort and the vessels, a hospital, a bakery, blacksmith's and carpenter's workshops, and residence for the officers and men. The church, too, with the priest's house and the church yard, stood in a conspicuous position. The impressiveness of the primeval stillness of Sabbaths and holy days was only increased by the mellow notes of the angelus and the sweet and solemn hymn of the devout worshippers. But in the eyes of the natives, Father Catala, the Franciscan monk, was the possessor of a strange magical power, akin to that of their medicine men.

A brick-lined well, whose ruins yet remain, supplied the little village with abundance of *buen agua,* as the old plan has it. Gardens and enclosures for domestic animals edged their way amongst the blackened stumps. And in the background, hemming in the scene, was the dense forest, with its mighty colonnades, dense, dank, and sombre. From the commandante's residence ran a narrow, winding path, about a mile in length, leading to the little lake, so familiar in later years, as the place where Jewitt, the captive of Nootka, was accustomed to spend his Sundays.

The settlement was purely military. It existed by official order only, and not as a result of voluntary action. Of colonists, in the real sense of the word, there were none. Family life was unknown. So far as any records show the whole population was male.

The garrison, having no military duties to perform, gave their attention to cultivation. The soil was found to be productive. Vegetables of all kinds were grown plentifully, in these, the first gardens in Old Oregon. Years afterwards Jewitt found on the spot, self-propagated onions, peas and turnips, though the latter had so deteriorated that nothing but the tops was fit to be eaten. When wheat and corn were tried, however, the results were disappointing, owing probably, to the proximity of the ocean. Vancouver has very little to say about the gardens of the settlement. He gave his attention to livestock, and reports that "the poultry, consisting of fowls and turkeys, was in excellent condition and in abundance, as were the black cattle and swine."

The settlement was a piece of Old Spain, in miniature. Spanish manners, customs and ideals held sway as rigidly upon the wild shores of Nootka as in the precincts of Madrid. All vessels, royal or merchant, entering the sound, saluted the fort punctiliously and received the same courtesy in return. The commandantes, or governors, Eliza, Quadra and Alava, vied in extending to all visitors the Spanish grace of hospitality. They kept open-house and showered upon British naval officers and "Boston peddlers" alike, generous gifts of the produce of the establishment and of luxuries imported across half a world.

Vancouver mentions that he and his officers dined with Quadra and were gratified with a repast "such as they had been lately but little accustomed to or had the most distant idea of meeting with in this wild region." A dinner of five courses, consisting, as he says, of "a superfluity of the best provisions," was served with great elegance. Captain Ingraham, of the *Hope*, a Boston trading vessel, tells us that when he dined with Quadra he had "an excellent dinner, everything being served on silver." He adds, somewhat naively, that knowing the general Spanish custom of taking a siesta, he retired soon after the meal.

Other trading captains were the commandante's house guests. Many were supplied with store-houses for the landing of their ships; and to all were freely given the assistance of Spanish launches to tow their vessels into and out of the sound, and of Spanish carpenters to aid them in making their repairs, and generally every kindness or good office that the most tender concern for their welfare could suggest.

When Ingram was about to sail from Nootka, the Spanish commander, Quadra, sent to him "forty fresh salmon, some fresh pork, eggs, butter, fifty loaves of new bread, some wine, brandy, and a good supply of cabbage, salad, etc., which, considering the part of the world we are in, I thought a very handsome present. Not a day passed during our stay in this port, but every ship, without respect to nation or person, received marks of Don Juan's hospitality."

Even the untutored savage showed the beneficial effects of daily intercourse with the Spanish settlement. Maquinna and his brother, who as the head chiefs of the tribes of the vicinity, were frequent guests at Quadra's table, soon abandoned their uncouth way of eating, became quite proficient in the use of knife and fork, and learned to behave almost decorously. Most of the chiefs, not excepting treacherous old Maquinna himself, commenced to exhibit considerable polish in their conduct, meeting or parting with strangers with a great deal of ceremony, copied from their Spanish mentors, and bowing and scraping "Adieu, Senor," in the most approved Castilian style.

For five years this strange settlement existed. It did not grow; it was not intended to grow. Called into existence at the behest of the Viceroy of Mexico, it depended upon that part of the Spanish dominions for its continued existence. It was never self-sustaining, and, outside of the cattle and vegetables raised, it made no effort to become so. No storekeepers or traders of any kind resided there. It had no commerce—it desired none. No vessels came to trade with it. Such merchant vessels as did cast anchor in the Port of Nootka, sought the trade of the neighboring Indian tribes, and the Indians looked only to these vessels for trade. The settlement was intended principally as a support of the claim of Spanish sovereignty, though it afforded a place of refuge and a center of operations for the three or four Spanish public vessels on the northern part of the coast. It is true that soon after its establishment the Nootka convention provided for its abandonment. It might therefore be urged that under such circumstances it could not be expected to grow. But, apart from that agreement, its nature and purpose contained no germ of growth. It was created by official action. It was terminated by the same.

In March, 1795, as a result of the arrangement arrived at by Great Britain and Spain, the flag of Castile and Leon was lowered on the ramparts of San Miguel, never to float again. So unpretentious was the ceremony on that occasion that no details of the event have been preserved. The practical English mind was more interested in the result than in the formalities. Once more the fort was dismantled, on this occasion, permanently. The buildings were abandoned, and in part destroyed; and, with gladsome hearts it may be assumed, the Spaniards returned to Mexico.

No sooner had they departed than down upon the scene swooped the natives, rejoicing greatly to re-occupy their old village site, with such added improvements as remained. Every bit of iron, every scrap of metal left behind, was greedily seized upon. This search completed the demolition of the Spanish buildings. To the Indians the churchyard was a veritable mine. Like ghouls they exhumed the coffins for the sake of the nails, which they converted into fish hooks.

Soon all evidence of civilization was blotted out. The Indian came again into his own, and once more there arose on the shores of Friendly Cove a native village, with its dozens of canoes drawn up on the beautiful stretch of sloping sand. Jewitt, who was at Nootka eight years later, mentions only the foundations of the church and of the governor's house as remaining. Today evidences of the existence of the old well can be found, and an indistinct ridge shows where the houses stood. Occasionally one of those old-fashioned, strange-shaped Spanish bricks is dug up. Of the frowning fort, so prominent in the Spanish pictures of Nootka, no vestige remains. Ichabod! Ichabod!

But though so soon and so completely vanished all material evidence of Spanish occupation, others of a less tangible kind remain. Tradition points out the site of the governor's house, the church, and the burial ground. Spanish numbers up to ten can be counted by many Indians of the neighborhood, though only a linquist could recognize their identity. Roman Catholic forms of worship and customs at Christmastide are still remembered. The late Father Brabant writes:

"I asked him if there was any priest in Nootka during the time of the Spaniards' occupation of the fort and cove. He at once brightened up and began his narrative: 'Oh yes, there were priests—two priests, very heavy and very corpulent—they had no

hair, were almost completely bald, and when the sun stops (solstice of winter) they had two babies! My grand-uncle used to go and see the people in church (indicating the place where the chapel was erected, close to where the chief has his house now) and the people would go on their knees and get up; yes, there were priests —two big bald men, and the Spaniards kept Sunday.' . .

"The description of the Indian is very accurate. The priests are described as corpulent, for the Franciscan monks wear heavy cloaks, and even a delicate man looks robust when clad in their robes. These Franciscan monks came from South America and Spain. Their heads were considered bald by the Indians, though the appearance was a consequence of the tonsure or shaved head of the monk, it being a point of their rules and description to wear the tonsure. The babes at the time of the solstice of winter, Christmastide, were noticed in the church by the Indians, it being the practice in many Roman Catholic churches to erect a crib as a representation of Christ's birth in the stable of Bethlehem, only the Indian mentions two babes instead of one, the other may have been a statue of the Virgin Mother of our Saviour. An Indian woman one day sang at my request, different Catholic hymns before the late Archbishop Seghers."—F. W. Howay.

Captain James Cook was the earliest of our British explorers to accomplish much on the coast from the Columbia River north, and strange as it may seem, he missed both the Columbia River and the Straits of San Juan de Fuca.

Leaving England in 1776 he did not arrive on our coast till 1778. Having heard of the Straits named for the Old Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, he was on the lookout for them. We read from his Journal:

> *"On March 23 rocks were seen lying off a high point capped with trees, behind which might be a strait; but a gale ashore and a lashing tide sent our ships scudding for the offing through fog and rain. Cook named the delusive point Cape Flattery and added, it is in this very latitude that geographers have placed the pretended Straits of Juan de Fuca, but we saw nothing like it; nor is there the least possibility that any such exist."*

Continuing, he arrived two days later at Nootka, where he remained some time overhauling his ships, leaving there about the end of April. Early in May he was abreast of Sitka, and on

May 4 sighted the Fairweather Range (Gulf of Alaska.) Continuing, he finally reached Bristol Bay in August, and following the mainland finally reached the westernmost point of North America, Cape Prince of Wales. Returning, he left Unalaska on October 26, arriving back at the Sandwich Islands early in 1779, where he was murdered a short time later.

Soon after the report of Cook's discoveries were made public there commenced what might be called "The Fur-Trading Period." In 1786 four expeditions were organized in different parts of the globe to engage in this new trade, without any knowledge of each other's designs. *

The first of these so-called traders to arrive on the coast was Captain James Hanna, who reached Nootka in August, 1875, his vessel being seventy-two tons burden, his furs netting him $26,000 in China.

He made a second voyage in 1786 in the Sea Otter, a vessel of 120 tons. However, in the interval two other vessels had been at Nootka, so this venture was not a financial success.

The year 1786 also saw both Portlock and Dixon on the coast, although neither commander called at Nootka. They were, however, in Cooks Inlet (Alaska) in July of that year. Returning again in 1787, they were both at Nootka and the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Barclay and Duncan, both British captains, were on the Coast in 1787. And in 1788 Kendrick and Grey (American) arrived, Grey later being the discoverer of the Columbia River—being published by the Oregon Historical Society under the title, "John Boit's Journal."

Captain John Meares arrived in 1788. He seems to have had rather a man-sized imagination, and many of his fellow officers and the other commanders have at various times taken rather sharp issue with him on the question of his maps and charts. This is especially true of Dixon. A very able book has lately been written by Judge F. W. Howay entitled, "The Dixon-Meares Controversy."

Vancouver did not arrive with his vessels until 1792, the, Discovery and the Chatham both being under his command. He, of course, is much better known on this coast than any of the other early navigators, for on his voyage he charted most of our waters

*Begg's History of British Columbia.

and named most of our mountains, some rivers, bays and sounds, and a great many ocean points and capes, as well as towns.

On June 22 while engaged in his survey work he found two Spanish vessels under command of Captain Galliano and Captain Valdez, anchored near Point Grey (Vancouver, B. C.) They also were engaged in survey work. The Spaniards were most cordial to Vancouver and told him that four other Spanish vessels awaited him at Nootka.

Continuing on his voyage, Vancouver rounded Cape Scott (Queen Charlotte Sound) on August 25 and reached Nootka on the 27th. Here he found awaiting him Senor Don Juan Francisco de la y Bodega Quadra, commander of the Marine Establishment of San Blas and California.

Quadra and Vancouver had met to discuss and try to settle certain claims for damages that Captain Meares claimed the Spanish had caused him. We have no desire to go into that question here. In fact, nothing was definitely settled at this time.

Quadra left Nootka on September 22, 1792, for California. Vancouver left for the Sandwich Islands on October 12. Senor Quadra died in California the following March and was succeeded by General Jose Manuel de Alva as commissioner for the settlement of the Nootka disputes. It may well be noted here that our Vancouver Island of today was first named by Vancouver—"The Island of Vancouver and Quadra," thus honoring his Spanish friend.

The year 1792 seems to have been a busy one at Nootka, no less than thirty-two vessels calling there during the year. Of this number, twelve were British, eight were American, one French, eight Spanish and three Portuguese.

Vancouver returned in 1794 to continue his survey work and also take up once more the Nootka question, which unknown to him had been settled in Madrid on January 11 of the same year. In 1795 the Spanish and British commissioners arrived at Nootka and the flag of the former nation was hauled down and the flag of Britain hoisted upon the fort on March 28. Vancouver died in England in 1798.

Much could be added to this paper if time permitted, for from then on, ships were regular callers at Nootka. The story of Maquinna, the Indian chief, is also one of much interest, but this

must wait until another time, as this brief work has already extended far beyond our original intention.

AN APPRECIATION

This review being more or less of an historical nature, it was not our purpose to eulogize any particular person, but we feel that no sketch dealing with the ships of the Pacific Coast would be complete without a brief mention of a quiet, unassuming gentleman who is living in Victoria, having retired from active duty a short time ago. British Columbia owes much to the early navigators of the day of Vancouver, Cook, Dixon, Portlock, Quadra, and many others, and to them we pay all honor and homage, but how about this navigator of today, whose genius and foresight has given to British Columbia what is acknowledged to be the most modern, up-to-date, and in every way, finest fleet of coastal vessels in the world? Captain J. W. Troup in building up this fleet for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has, in our opinion, done as much for the development of the whole Pacific Northwest as any of its pioneers, for the fleet that has been built up under his direction has, and is still, doing more than any other factor to advertise the scenic charm of our inland waterways, and by so doing has attracted more and more each season in increasing numbers—the only crop in the world that is never a failure—the tourist. For the tourist of today in this part of the world, if his judgment is good, is the citizen of tomorrow. And so, Commodore, we nominate you for a place in British Columbia's Hall of Fame, and add the fervent hope that you may long be spared to enjoy the fruits of your labor, and to you "We touch our hearts as the Easterners do; 'May the peace of Allah abide with you.'"

—ARCHIE W. SHIELS.

ALASKA

All of you probably know something of the discovery of Alaska by Bering but we feel that a brief resume here would be in order.

The principal figures in the discovery, of course, are Bering and Chirikov. Spangberg, as a matter of fact, was second in command on the first expedition and Chirikov third. On the second, and successful voyage Chirikov replaced Spangberg as second in command, the latter having been detached from Bering's party and sent in charge of a party over towards Japan. Thus it is seldom one hears Spangberg's name linked with Alaska history. Bering, as you know, was a Dane, in the employ of the Russian government as a naval officer. Chirikov, also a naval officer, was a native born Russian.

As the discoverer and the actual place of discovery, there has been a good deal of controversy among historians, both at that time and in our day, and the more one reads, the more one is convinced—or at least I am—that there was what we might call a natural tendency on the part of the historians of the day to try and push forward the claims of Chirikov, the native Russian, as against Bering, an alien so to speak, and there seems to be little room to doubt the fact that original records of the expedition were "fixed" to further carry out this contention.

Various places are mentioned as to where land was first made, the claim for Bering being anywhere from Cape Hinchinbrook (the entrance to Prince William Sound) on the west, to Icy Bay on the east, while Chirikov's adherents claim land anywhere from Latuya Bay on the west, to Sitka on the south and east. It is notable, however, that even Chirikov's most ardent supporters do not claim that he made land to the westward of Bering, which in my opinion strengthens the latter's claim as the real discoverer. Neither one of them had a boat under them that could be called an ocean greyhound, and it is fair to assume that both boats made about the same speed. Chirikov, making land to the eastward of Bering, had more ground to cover and the two days claimed by

Bering's supporters to have elapsed between the two discoveries would just about be sufficient for Chirikov to make the extra distance.

There is no doubt in my mind as to where Bering made land. Unquestionably, it was at Cape St. Elias, at the island of "Big Kayak," and I will tell you why I am so sure of it.

I first went to Kayak in 1901 and shortly after arriving made the acquaintance of an old native, "Ish"—named on account of his age; they told me he was ninety, and he surely looked the part. He used to tell me many stories of the old days, and among them he told me the story of Bering's landing.

You will remember that Bering wrote that when his boat went ashore, they found an Indian camp, but that the natives had run off at the approach of the boat. To prove this, Bering took from the camp several of the Indians' cooking utensils, leaving in their place Russian trinkets. "Ish" told me that his father, a boy at the time, was present in the camp. He showed me a string of very peculiarly shaped beads, which he claimed his father had received as his share of "Bering's potlatch" and had in turn handed them down to "Ish," who looked upon them as his most treasured possession. So much for the place of discovery. Now as to the actual voyages themselves.

In the year 1724, the Czar of Russia called upon Bering to organize a party to go overland from St. Petersburg to the Pacific, and there build himself a ship or ships to go on a cruise in search of lands that might be claimed in the name of the Czar of all the Russians. Bering was at this time forty-four years old. He gathered together a party, consisting of three officers and forty-four men, and left St. Petersburg on the long overland journey on February 5, 1725.

On the last of September, 1726, he arrived at Okhotsk, but the principal portion of Bering's party did not arrive until the following spring and summer. In April, 1728, a boat was put upon the stocks, was completed and launched on July 10, and named the Gabriel. On July 20 the expedition sailed from the mouth of the River Kamtchatka. On August 15 the vessel passed through Bering Strait and entered the Arctic Ocean. What is now known as East Cape was sighted, and as the coastline bore to the westward after passing this cape, Bering decided that this proved the separation of Asia and America, and he accordingly returned to

Kamtchatka River on September 20. The expedition wintered on this river, and on June 5, 1729, began a second expedition. Meeting with contrary winds, Bering turned back after sailing some sixty miles, and sailed direct to Okhotsk and proceeded from there to St. Petersburg, where he arrived March 1, 1730.

Another expedition under Bering was started in 1733, under the Empress Anna, who was now the reigning monarch. Nearly 600 men, with an enormous amount of supplies, started from St. Petersburg.

This was to be a triple expedition. Siberia was to be mapped, the Arctic shores were to be charted, the coast of America was to be outlined to Mexico, the Kuril Islands and Japan were to be laid down. If America proved to be connected with Asia, one party was to attempt to find European colonies. Much exploring was done on the way to Okhotsk, where Bering arrived in the summer of 1737. The building of vessels for some of the other expeditions delayed Bering, but by June, 1740, he had completed the two ships for the voyage to America—the St. Peter and St. Paul. They were brig rigged, each was 80 feet long, 22 feet beam and 9½ feet depth of hold. They were of 108 tons burthen and carried 14 two and three-pounders. These vessels sailed late in 1740 for Avatcha Bay, where they wintered.

On June 4, 1741, the St. Peter, commanded by Bering, with seventy-seven officers and men, and the St. Paul, by Chirikov, with seventy-six officers and men, left Avatcha Bay for the voyage to America. On June 20 the vessels were separated in a storm and did not meet again.

On July 16, 1741, Bering sighted land, which proved to have been Cape St. Elias, near the present village of Katalla. On July 20, he anchored close inshore to Kay's Island of Captain Cook, now known as Kayak Island. Small boats were sent ashore and a settlement was found, but the inhabitants had fled on the approach of the boats. A number of the natives' household utensils were taken, and other things, such as beads, tobacco, etc., left in their place.

Bering left Kayak Island on July 21, and the next land he was near was probably what is now known as Shumagin Islands. One of the sailors, named Shumagin, died and was taken ashore for burial and the islands received their name from this circumstance.

From that time on, bad luck seems to have befallen Bering, and many of his men were taken sick with that most dreaded disease,

not only of that time but of the present day—scurvy. As time went on, the deaths were much more numerous, until finally there were not sufficient men to take care of the ship, and the St. Peter was wrecked on the shores of Bering Island, not more than 100 miles away from Avatcha, which port they were endeavoring to make. It was on November 5, 1741, that the boat was lost, and by this time Bering, himself, was almost dead with scurvy. They got him ashore safely, and put up a rude shelter in which he could dwell, but he died on December 8 of the same year.

Chirikov, after parting company with Bering, had an uneventful voyage until the time of his reaching the Alaska coast. Recent documents, which it has been my privilege to read, tend to show that Chirikov first made land in the vicinity of the part of the Alaska coast running from Latuya Bay, which is about ninety miles west of Cape Spencer, down as far as Lisianski Strait, which, as you know, is just inside Cape Spencer. Some authorities seem to feel that the loss of Chirikov's men occurred in Latuya Bay, similar to the loss of one boat's crew of LaPereuse, whom you will probably remember as one of the early navigators, and who lost a boat's crew while attempting a landing at this point. The facts seem fairly clear that Chirikov sent ashore two separate boats, and that neither one of them returned to the vessel.

We have just received a copy containing a translation of the original log of Chirikov's vessel, the St. Paul. This, along with many other items pertaining to Alaska, has been translated by Doctor Golder, and we do not believe we can do better than to quote his notes concerning the loss of Chirikov's men:

"The loss of Chirikov's men is the most dramatic incident of the voyage of the St. Paul. The question naturally arises, what was their fate? Has any account of this episode been handed down in the traditions of the Indian tribes of the region? This question was submitted to a number of authorities on the ethnology of the Pacific Coast. None of them had heard of any such tradition. Among previous investigators, Professor George Davidson, to judge by a footnote on page 20 of his 'The Tracks and Landfalls of Bering and Chirikov on the Northwest Coast of America,' San Francisco, 1901, made an attempt in 1901 to ascertain the traditions of the Tlingits through the medium of two members of the Alaska Commercial Company. It is not known that any information was secured."

One of the ethnologists consulted, Lieutenant George T. Emmons, whose study of a similar first contact between a Pacific Coast tribe and white men (The meeting between LaPereuse and the Tlingit, Amer. Anthropolgist, Vol. 13, 1911, pp. 294-298), together with his long labors among the Tlingits, makes him peculiarly well equipped to deal with this question, has likewise, during thirty years' investigation among the coast tribes, never been able to learn anything of the loss of Chirikov's men. However, in the communication that he kindly sends, he suggests that Chirikov's two boats may have been swamped in the strong tidal rips that occur at the mouths of such narrow fiord arms as Lisianski Strait, especially if they entered with the strength of a flood tide. That this might easily happen to small boats is evidenced by the fact that today even powerful steamers, as he states, enter Peril Strait, a similar passage somewhat farther south, only at slack water. The assumption that the boats were swamped and their occupants drowned would seem to be borne out by the fact that two native canoes put off from shore and approached the St. Paul. If the Russians had landed and if, in spite of Chirikov's admonitions to his men, there had been a fight, the natives, after this first experience of firearms, even if they had overpowered the landing parties, would certainly not have exposed themselves to the greater risk of facing the main body of the Russians. The fact that they approached the ship would rather prove their innocence. Also, the similarity of their call of "agai" as reported by Chirikov, to the Tlinglit "agou," which means "come here," would seem to imply friendly intentions. In most later instances the first meetings of natives of this coast with Europeans, before the Russians commenced to appropriate their hunting grounds, says Lieutenant Emmons in conclusion, were friendly; indeed, the Tlinglits were rather ready to trade.

The only suggestion of a tradition among the Coast tribes that might shed light on the loss of Chirikov's men is contained in a recently published book, "The Story of Sitka, the Historic Outpost of the Northwest Coast, the Chief Factory of the Russian American Company," by C. L. Andrews, Seattle, 1922. The relevant passages (pages 9-10) follow. The author assumes the locality of the tragedy to be Sitka Sound:

"Nearly two centuries have passed since the Russian seamen landed and no word has come from them. For more than seventy

years the Russian government sought for some sign of their fate. Tales were told of a colony of Russians existing on the coast, but each upon investigation proved but a rumor.

"There is a dim tradition among the Sitkas of men being lured ashore in the long ago. They say that Chief Annahootz, the predecessor of the chief of that name who was a firm friend of the whites at Sitka in 1878, was the leading actor in the tragedy. Annahootz dressed himself in the skin of a bear and played along the beach. So skilfully did he simulate the sinuous motions of the animal that the Russians in the excitement of the chase plunged into the woods in pursuit, and there the savage warriors killed them to a man, leaving none to tell the story. The disappearance of Chirikov's men has remained one of the many unsolved mysteries of the Northland, and their fate will never be known to a certainty."

After leaving Sitka on July 27, 1741, Chirikov seems to have had more or less trouble from the same sickness of scurvy as troubled Bering's men. He discovered and named on the homeward voyage Unalaska and Attu Islands, and met and talked with natives at both places.

On October 10, 1741, the St. Paul arrived safely in Avatcha Bay at 9 o'clock in the morning. The head of their scientific party, DeLisla de la Croyere, who had been sick with scurvy, died one hour after the vessel arrived. Captain Chirikov, also a very sick man, was taken ashore at the noon hour, and never fully recovered from the hardship of the voyage, dying a few years later.

What was left of Bering's party managed to reach Avatcha on August 27, 1742, after suffering hardships that would take far too long to tell you at this time.

The outstanding figure in Alaska early history during the days of Russian rule would seem to me to be Baranof, the governor of the country. An outstanding figure, he gave the best that was in him for the company in whose service he was, only to be rewarded in his old age by being removed from office, degraded, and left penniless to die of what we think may truly be called a broken heart. C. L. Andrews writing in the Washington Historical Quarterly in 1916, under the caption "Baranof the Builder," tells us:

ALASKA UNDER THE RUSSIANS

When Baranof, the Builder of Russian America, laid down the management of the Russian American Company in 1818, the dominion of the Czar in North America was at its greatest breadth. Its outposts were from St. Michael to Ross in California; from Sitka to Attu Island. For nearly thirty years he had been extending the limits of the possessions of his imperial master; enduring shipwrecks; fighting the wild tribes and reducing them to subjection; planting new posts; suppressing the sedition of the priests and the insubordination of his naval officers; his had been a busy life.

The popular picture of Baranof has been that of an iron-handed tyrant; a drinking despot who plied his subordinates with rum and then punished their familiarities with the knout. The real man as shown in his letters and the writings of those who knew him best is a very different character.

We find him at Unalaska, shipwrecked at the beginning of the winter of 1791 and on an island, where the government expeditions preceding him, with all the stores of their ship at command, suffered and died with the scurvy; living with his crew on the animals they killed, boiling salt from the sea for use, he passed the winter without the loss of a life. Building boats from the skins of the sea lions they killed, he made his way to Three Saints on Kodiak, 500 miles by sea, to take up the management of the colony placed there by Shelikof. Hardly had he received the goods of the post until he passed on in a skin bidarka to Prince William Sound, the Chugach Gulf of the Russians, thence to Cook Inlet, called by them the Kenai Gulf, to see his outposts, then back to Kodiak Island. There he at once arranged to transfer his main office to St. Paul's Harbor.

He was short of every kind of supplies, his ship was wrecked and a total loss, he had to leave men to salve the wreckage, his pro-

visions were lost, his trading goods were expended. He chose a place on Voskressenski Harbor, near the present Town of Seward, to build a ship to replace the one lost at Unalaska. The iron and anchors, the cordage and sails must be brought across Siberia, twice as far as from New York to Seattle, then shipped 3000 miles across the Pacific Ocean.

The sea otter grounds of the Aleutian Islands had been swept clean of the fur that was the life of his business. The bays of Kamishak and Kenai and the Chugach Gulf were failing fast under the competition of the Lebedef-Lastochkin Company who fought with Baranof's men and robbed them, and of the trade of the English who had for five or more years been frequenting those water. He sent Purtof down the coast to the eastward to find new hunting grounds and set himself to the task of assembling the material for a ship.

A builder, the Englishman Shiels, came on a ship from Okhotsk, with a meagre supply of materials. He was put to work and the keel was laid for the new vessel. Baranof gathered the iron from the wrecks, he searched for ore in the mountains, found it but could not smelt it; he made turpentine from the trees, and built a sawmill to cut the timber. He mixed his paints for the hull with whale oil, while he colored it with iron rust. He sent men out to search for the native copper of the Copper River, of which the Indians of that country brought pieces to him for trade. He burned bricks to build the Russian stoves in the houses and shipped others to Okhotsk.

In August, 1794, the first ship, the Phoenix, was completed, the first to be built on the west coast of North America, north of Vancouver Island. He sent her to Okhotsk with furs, and set to work to build two small sloops on the little island near St. Paul's Harbor, called Elovoi, or Spruce Island, where there is a growth of timber. They were completed and named the Delphin and the Olga, and were but about 40 feet in length, small craft for that stormy ocean.

A settlement was to be made at Yakutat Bay, for which thirty families of settlers had been sent by Shelikof, intended for agriculture. They were quarrelsome and undisciplined; felt they were going to the end of the earth, and were rebellious thereat. They were sent in a boat commanded by a lieutenant of the Imperial Navy who had been assigned to serve in the colony. The lieuten-

ant believed his dignity was lowered by taking orders from a mere trader so he sailed away to Nuchek and stayed there. A week later Baranof went to Yakutat in the Olga and found the settlers had not arrived. Weeks passed and no settlers; Baranof sailed to Sitka, passed in through the strait at the north he named Olga Strait after his boat, anchored in a bay where he placed a cross and called it *Krestof Zaliva,* or Cross Bay, that still bears his name, then he crossed the 600 miles of the Gulf of Alaska to the post at Nuchek to find that his missing ship had been there, ostensibly to get water, and had then sailed back to Kodiak Island.

Arriving at St. Paul's Harbor, he found that the priests and the insubordinate lieutenant had been sowing sedition and making the hunters and natives dissatisfied with their food, their pay, their houses, and attempting to undermine his authority. The hunters were not going out for sea otter the next year, the priests were not going to live on the *Yukali,* or dried fish, the lieutenant had been knouting the natives to show he was the man in command and that they must obey him. His letters say he quelled the incipient mutiny "perhaps at the risk of my life," he writes to Shelikof. He sent the most unruly to distant stations and kept the others under control for the winter. The situation was so unpleasant that he writes to Shelikof in the same letter:

> *"Old age is approaching, my constitution cannot bear up much longer, at night I must use a glass to read and write, and my cheerful spirit is on the wane. I feel it is beyond my power to fulfill and attend in person to all the important duties imposed on me. Besides this I hear that you take heed of every breath of calumny and slander that reaches you against me * * * I should not be judged by hearsay only * * * If long and faithful services have not gained me your confidence it is better that they should be at once severed."*

To the southeast coast he also sent a ship under Shiels to reconnoitre the grounds for the sea otter, for that was the life of the colony. His own observations at Sitka told him that he must go to that region for a new station. Shiels went to Bucarelli Bay and thence up the coast noting the bays and gathering skins to the number of 2000.

The next year, the summer of 1796, he placed the colony at Yakutat, building barracks and storehouses; left hunters and set-

tlers with their children to number of twenty persons; and named the colony New Russia. On the return voyage the ship Three Saints, was wrecked at Kamishak Bay.

Three years later with two vessels and 550 bidarkas of Aleut hunters he made his way to Sitka and buying of Chief Skay-eut-lelt a site for his settlement he built storehouses, barracks, and other houses, surrounding the whole with a stockade, protected by blockhouses on the angles. The lieutenant commanding one of his vessels, not liking the work of building forts, sailed away with all the furs gathered during the summer, went to Yakutat and took on board the agent of that settlement, went to Nuchek and loaded the finest furs that Kuskof had gathered, then lost his ship on Sukli (Montague) Island as he went to sea. Polomoshnoi, the Yakutat agent, and five men were drowned. Doubtless Baranof would have been gratified if the lieutenant, Talin, had also been drowned. His letters do not mention, but he mourns the loss of 22,000 rubles of his finest furs.

The winter was a trying one, for the provisions were poor and scanty. Sea lion and seal meat was the fare for most of the time. Of these they killed 45 sea lions and 250 seals. It was a stormy season and rain fell almost incessantly. Scurvy attacked the men and some died, but with spring and the herring run, the others grew better and no more deaths occurred.

With the coming of summer he sailed in the Olga to Kodiak, where he first learned of the loss of the Orel under command of Talin, and of the loss of the furs. He left Medvednikof in charge at Sitka, at the station which he speaks of as "we intended to call the new fort Novo Arkangelsk, but on the request of the men it was placed under the special protection of the Archistrategos St. Michael."

At Kodiak he heard that the coast was strewn with the wreckage of a ship. Various articles were cast up by the sea and finally a capstan was found that was identified as that belonging to the Phoenix and then they knew that their long-expected supply ship was lost, and with all on board. There would be nothing with which to pay his hunters for another year. But furs must be had. He sent men out to hunt sea birds with bright plumage and had the Aleut women to make gay parkas and other articles and when the summer came he paid his hunters in those articles, with the addition of what few stores he had remaining from the old stock.

The next year there came to St. Paul's the American ship Enterprise, with a cargo of trading goods, and, with furs, they were purchased, and this carried them through another winter.

In May Councillor Banner arrived in a bidarka from Unalaska, having come 500 miles to bring the messages that a charter had been granted by the Russian government to the Russian American Company, that Baranof had been made a stockholder, had been raised to the rank of a nobleman and would be permitted to wear the gold medal of the Order of St. Vladimir. Baranof was so rejoiced over the good tidings that he at once donated the sum of 1,000 rubles for the establishment of a school for the children of the Russians and the islanders.

By this message he also learned of the war in Europe and at once secreted his furs, fearing a raid from some vessel of the enemy. On June 21 the Ekaterina was despatched to Yakutat and Sitka with re-enforcements and supplies, but it was too late in sailing, for Sitka had already fallen before the attack of the Kolosh (Thlingit) warriors.

On June 24 came from Sitka the English ship Unicorn, commanded by Captain Barber, who had on board the survivors of the massacre of the post of Archistrategos St. Michael. He brought three Russians, two Aleuts and eighteen Kadak women, rescued from the garrison left at Old Sitka. He claimed that he had bought the captives at a great expense of goods and time and asked the sum of 50,000 rubles as a ransom.

Baranof was at Afognak when Barber arrived but returned as soon as the news reached him. He found from the stories of the survivors that not only was nothing paid for the release, but that Barber secured most of the sea otter at the post of which there were over 2,000 in the fur warehouses. He finally paid 10,000 rubles for the freedom of his people, and in addition bought guns and goods to the amount of 27,000 rubles.

This was a hard blow. The loss in men and munitions, in hunters and furs, could not be estimated, and the colony was not in position to endure losses. The situation was most unpromising, but with the magnitude of the difficulties his courage rose to meet them. The post must be re-established in order to keep the prestige of the company and of the Russian people.

Fortune was now changing for Baranof. Banner had been sent to Unalaska in the sloop Olga, to secure some supplies and

returned safely. From Okhotsk came the brig Alexander, the first supply ship for five long years, arriving September 13, and on November 1 the brig Elizabeth, dropped anchor in the harbor under command of Khvostoff, a skillful lieutenant of the Royal Navy. On these last two boats were more than 120 men, hunters and craftsmen, and supplies of all kinds for the stores. Orders came from the head office of the company appointing Baranof as chief manager of the American colonies. *"Glavnavo Pravtielya kolonii v' Amerikye."*

With the coming of spring in 1803 all was bustle and stir at the harbor of St. Paul. Banner was dispatched to Unalaska with orders to send a ship to the Seal Islands to take seals, for these islands and the Unalaska station were now under the control of Baranof for the first time. Khvostoff was ordered to Okhotsk with a cargo of fur valued at more than a million rubles. Baranof went to Yakutat in the Olga and thence to Sitka to inspect the ruined post. Plans were made for the re-instatement of the Russian rule on the islands in the coming year. Kuskof was instructed to build two small boats at Yakutat to use on the expedition, and Baranof returned to Kodiak to complete his arrangements and assemble his forces.

At Kodiak was Captain O'Keen, of the American ship Boston, who asked for a fleet of bidarkas and the Aleuts to man them, for a sea otter hunting voyage along the coast of California, offering half of the proceeds for the share of the company. Baranof accepted and gave him twenty bidarkas and the men under charge of a trusted employ named Shoetzof. The ship left October 26, sailed to San Diego Bay, California, then to San Quentin in Lower California, secured 1,100 sea otter skins and returned in March.

In April of 1804 Baranof gathered his forces, despatched 300 bidarkas with over 800 Aleuts under command of Demianenkof, while he sailed with the Ekaterina and the Alexander for Yakutat on the fourth of the month. At Yakutat Kuskof had ready the two boats ordered the previous year and they were named the Ermak and the "Rostislaf. The boats sailed down the coast toward Sitka, Baranof going in at Ledianof (Cross) Sound and hunting with the Aleuts in the passages among the islands, as far as Lynn Canal and then passing down Catham Strait and through Peril Strait, called *Pogibshie* by the Russians, securing 1,500 sea otter. In the harbor at Sitka was the ship Neva, under command of Lieutenant

Lisianski, the first Russian vessel to circumnavigate the world. She had come from Kronstad with a cargo of anchors, cables, guns, provisions, etc., for the use of the colony. Upon reaching Kodiak Captain Lisianski received a message from Baranof asking his assistance in the recapture of the post and he at once proceeded to the harbor.

On the Kekoor, or Katlean's Rock, as the Baranof Hill was called by the Russians, were the homes of the chiefs of the Sitka Kwan, Ska-yout-lelt, Ska-at-a-gech, and Ko-yough-kan, and on the top was a redoubt. Around the hill was the village. The inhabitants abandoned this position and went to the fort at the mouth of Indian River, *Kolosh Reka,* of the Russians, situated in what is now the park where the totems are placed.

The Russian ships were brought into the bay facing the Indian fort and after a siege of several days the defenders abandoned their position and retreated to Hoots-na-hoo where there was another stronghold. In an attack upon the fort Baranof was wounded in the arm and several sailors and Aleuts were killed and wounded. About thirty Indians were found dead in the enclosure after the retreat.

They began the building of the new fort and the settlement was called Novo Arkangelsk, or New Archangel. A thousand timbers were squared in the forest by the axes, a storehouse for the supplies was first built, then barracks for the men, and a house for the manager, all surrounded by a stockade of logs. The Neva sailed away to Kodiak for the winter, the Russians cleared away the forest and made the ground into gardens.

On June 10, 1805, the Neva set sail for Kronstad, via Canton, and on board was a cargo of fur, 3,000 sea otter, 150,000 seal skins, and other fur to the value of 450,000 rubles.

On August 26 into the port came the brig Maria, and on board was the chamberlain of the Czar, N. P. Rezanov, delegated by the company to make a tour of the colonies, and invested with special powers. He shared the hardships and the responsibilities of the situation with Baranof during the winter of 1805-6.

Provisions became short and the American ship Juno, coming into the port was purchased for 68,000 Spanish piastres. She was then sent to Kodiak for dried salmon, sea lion meat, etc., and she made the voyage and returned on November 13, with provisions and bad tidings. The brig Elizabeth was wrecked and most of her

cargo lost; six bidarkas loaded with furs sank and the men and furs went to the bottom of the sea; the fort at Yakutat had been destroyed by the Kolosh; a bidarka fleet under Demianonkof, numbering nearly 200 men, had perished in a storm on the ice-bound coast off Mount St. Elias.

The winter was a miserable one as told in Rezanov's letters and reports.

*"The site of the fort was selected on a large rock, or kekoor, which forms a peninsula in the bay * * * On top of the rock a temporary building has been erected, five fathoms long and three in width, with two rooms and alcoves. In one of the rooms I live and in the other both our ships captains * * * We all live poorly, but worse than all lives the founder of this place, in a miserable hut, so damp that the floor is always wet, and during the constant heavy rains the place leaks like a seive."*

On shore every one was busy, a wharf and landing was constructed; ways for the building of ships were laid and the keels were laid for an armed brig and a tender. Rezanov continues: "Our cannon are always loaded and not only are sentries with loaded guns posted everywhere, but arms of all kinds constitute the principal furniture of our rooms. The people employed as hunters are quarrelsome, drunkards, and so vicious that any community must call itself fortunate to have got rid of them. I can tell you that more than once I have found Mr. Baranof in hot tears because the Bostonian captain who is wintering here, and my doctor, found only a drunken republic here when the emperor, as they know, wished to establish his government here and sent me as a plenipotentiary. The deeply-rooted contempt of the upper classes (naval officers) for the commercial classes makes all of them play master here. It is true the chief agent holds rank in the civil service, which he has earned by his distinguished services, but the fact that he formerly was a trader is never lost sight of, and to our country's misfortune that means that he is not far removed from a rogue, and thus to obey him appears a humiliation to them. His brother sent him from Okhotsk, nine vedras of French brandy and three vedras of table wine, they were drank up. Mr. Koch sent him upon repeated request in the course of three years, two English watches. They were appropriated by officers and publicly worn, saying they were their own, and that

they paid for them, and Mr. Baranof, glad to receive the gold watch sent to him by you, did not care to investigate the matter any farther.

On board the ships under command of the naval officers was pandemonium during part of the winter. The best one of the lieutenants in the service, Khvostoff, "gets drunk and stays so for three months—drinks nine and one-half vedras of French brandy and two and one-half vedras of strong spirits, and gets his officers drunk * * * their insults and threats are incredible, they shoot off their cannon at night, all labor on the wharf is delayed on account of the drunkenness of the masters and mates." Midshipman Davidof asked to come ashore, "he could better live on the open beach than on the ship." Orders were given to shut off the liquors from the ships and Khovostoff laid a plan to capture Baranof and Rezanov, but they heard of it and surrounded the conspirators and disarmed them. When sobered Khovostof came and apologized.

The continuous insults caused Baranof and his chief assistant, Kuskof, to present their resignations to Rezanov, but he refused to accept them and ordered them to return to their duties.

In February, 1805, the supply of provisions became low and Rezanov went on the "Juno" to California to purchase breadstuffs. On his way he attempted to enter the mouth of the Columbia River, with the view of establishing a settlement at that place. This was the year that Lewis and Clarke reached that point.

The tender "Avoss" and the brig "Sitka" were turned off the ways at the shipyard. The main countinghouse was transferred from Kodiak to Sitka. The American ships that were coming along the coast to trade with the Indians were persuaded that it was to their interest to sell their cargoes at the post for furs rather than to attempt to deal with the natives direct. The insubordinate officers were gradually eliminated from the service.

Sea otter were hunted through the sounds by the brigades of Aleuts under convoy of armed sailing vessels. The summer of 1805 a party under Buikadorof went to Khoontzofsky (Chatham) Strait, and to Kinovsky Bay (Prince Frederick Sound), securing 1,645 skins, but they were continually threatened by the Kolosh, who were still hostile and revengeful. One year a party would go to Cape Ommaney, another year to the Bay of Islands or to the sounds. In 1810 Kuskof took a party to Dundas Island but met

so much opposition from the Tsimpsien Indians and an American trader who threatened to join the natives against the Russians, that he was forced to return after losing eight Aleut hunters. He secured 1,400 skins, but after this no parties were sent to hunt on the sounds.

Baranof kept looking toward extending his settlements. In 1808 he fitted out the schooner "Nikolai" and the ship "Kadiak" for a hunting trip along the southern coast. Kuskof, with a party of Aleut hunters, was sent with them. The "Nikolai" was to trade on the Columbia and then return to meet the "Kadiak" at Gray's Harbor. Somewhere on the harbor she met shipwreck, and the "Kadiak" after waiting for her was not able to enter the harbor and sailed to Trinidad, California, then to Bodega Bay, where he spent the winter with his hunters, securing 1,900 sea otter, and returned to Sitka, October 4, 1809.

Kuskof's report was so favorable that Baranof at once made preparations for placing a settlement on Bodega Bay which was done by Kuskof in 1812, at the place known thereafter as Ross, near the bay which they renamed Rumiantzof Bay.

The numerous dissensions among the hunters at the port and their unruly conduct ended during 1809 in a conspiracy headed by a man named Naplavkof. This was promptly suppressed by Baranof and the ringleaders sent to Siberia for trial.

Baranof still asked to be relieved and to be allowed to return to see about his family and property in Siberia. In 1811 Collegiate Assessor Koch was appointed as an assistant and to take the management in due course of time. He reached Petropaulvsk, on his way to Sitka, and died at that place. In 1813 on board the "Neva" came round the world Collegiate Councillor Bornovolokof, and at the very entrance of the Harbor of Sitka on a stormy February day the ship was wrecked on Cape Edgecomb and the expected successor was among the lost.

Astor sent ships to trade at Sitka and Baranof bought the cargoes and traded him furs in return. He even sent cargoes of fur to Canton on these vessels to be sold on commission.

The chief manager was old and tired but as long as he held the reins of power he could not cease planning for new ventures. He bought both vessels and cargoes that came to Sitka. Some of them received their pay in seal skins for which they went to Seal Is-

lands. They then went to Canton, sold the fur, bought silks, teas, nankins, etc., and went on around the world to Boston.

Far down to the southward is a group of islands at the crossroads of the Pacific that were in those days known as the Sandwich Islands. Toward these Baranof began to look, and in 1815 he sent Dr. Sheffer, a German, as his agent to look over the ground in order to get a foothold if possible. Sheffer acquired plantations on Attuva and built houses, but owing to Americans and English objecting and fomenting trouble it was as Khlebnikof says "begun auspiciously, but ended in a very unhappy manner,' and Baranof was compelled to withdraw with a loss of over 200,000 rubles on the part of the Russian American Company.

In July of 1817 the ship "Suvarof" arrived from Russia with supplies for the colonies. Baranof at once began making arrangements for her return trip. November 20 the ship "Kutusof" arrived, having on board a rich cargo of stores, under the command of Lieutenant Hagemeister of the Imperial Navy. The arrangements for the sailing of the "Suvarof" were completed, the furs were loaded, and she was ready to clear. Then Hagemeister announced to Baranof that he was commissioned to relieve him as chief manager of the company, and held the "Suvarof" for three days, until January 14, to prepare his despatches to the office in St. Petersburg.

The officers of the Russian navy had at last succeeded in supplanting the man who had built the Russian dominion in America. They despised his profession, and him as a merchant, but they were willing to accept his position for a consideration, whether they were able to conduct the business or would fail.

Baranof, with all his losses of ships and cargoes of furs, caused largely by the mismanagement of the naval officers under his command, had always paid a dividend for the company. At the time of his withdrawal from the management the physical valuation of the goods and furs turned over to his successor at Sitka was 2,500,000 rubles, exclusive of those sent out on the Suvarof. In that year the amount of fur in Russia in the hands of the company was 900,000 rubles, and for that year and the next, out of the proceeds of Baranof's management, they paid 7½% dividends. To quote the words of the Auditor Golovin, writing in 1861: "At this time the company began to decline on account of the want of system in the shipment of furs, and the shipment

of provisions in the company's vessels burdened it with a heavy expense, as the maintenance of the ships cost much and they sailed very slowly. The slow returns did not pay expenses, though the quantity of furs began to increase again, and the goods sent out by the company were twice as dear as those traded from foreigners in the port. In 1820-21 the earnings were only 4% for each year and in 1822-3 a loss of 286,000 rubles was sustained."

Baranof was in his seventy-second year, a strenuous life with its attendant hardships had severely taxed a frame naturally strong and wiry but not large; the sudden shock of the relief coming so unexpectedly was severe, but he rose to the occasion and at once began the transfer of the property which was completed in September, 1818. The change from the great responsibility, together with being separated so long from his family in Russia and the severing of all ties connecting him with that country, left him in doubt as to now building a house at the Ozerskoe Redoubt, by the shore of Globokoe Lake, in which to live, when Golovnin persuaded him that he should go to St. Petersburg where he would be a valuable counsellor for the company and they would care for him in his old age.

His wife had died in Kargopol more than twenty years before and his daughter there was married. His son Antipater, born in the colony at Kodiak, had been taken to St. Petersburg by the naval officer, Golovnin, and there died. His daughter at Sitka, a Creole, had married Lieutenant Yanovski, of the ship "Suvarof."

The representations of Golovnin prevailed and Baranof sailed in the "Kutusof," November 27, 1818. He was detained at Batavia for thirty-six days, leaving that place April 12, 1879. His stay in that tropical climate was fatal, for he was taken on board the ship, ill with a fever, and on the sixteenth of the month he died and was buried at sea in the Indian Ocean on the next day.

For nearly twenty-eight years he had been the moving and directing spirit over Russian America. When he came to the colony he found a post at Three Saints Bay, built of alder and plastered with clay and the sub-stations extended only to the Island of Kodiak and to Cook Inlet. He left an empire in extent whose outposts were at Ross in California, on the Pribylof Islands and the Kurile Islands. For the Shelikof company he gathered furs from 1790 to 1799, to the amount of 1,123,600 rubles, and the Russian American Company between 1799 and 1818 he collected

nearly the whole of the amount of 35,000,000 rubles in value. The capital of the company in 1799 was 724,000 rubles. New shares were issued for 515,738.78 rubles and he added profits of 3,190,687 rubles 57 kopeks, besides paying dividends of 3,060,000 rubles, over and above all losses and expenses. He built churches and established schools. Ten vessels were constructed under his management in the Territory of Alaska and four others in Ross. He introduced cattle at Kodiak, Unalaska, Unga, Sitka and Ross. There were 500 head of cattle at Kodiak during his time. He extended his trade to California, to China and the Sandwich Islands. He gave to the church, the schools, and to his assistants. The Russian possessions in the New World attained their widest extent under the direction of Alexander Andreevich Baranof.

C. L. ANDREWS.

Next in line of importance would seem to be Lisansky. While in command of the "Neva" he had much to do with assisting Baranof in the building of posts, quelling the warlike natives, et cetera, and the book which he wrote is well worth reading.

Just one more, Rezanov, the ambassador and personal representative of the Czar. Russell in his work on "Rezanov's Voyage to California" tells us:

COUNT NIKOLAI PETROVICH REZANOV

Russian Ambassador and Plenipotentiary

The discovery by the Russians of the Aleutian Islands and the northwest coast of America was followed by many voyages thither by Russian merchants to procure the different kinds of furs, but chiefly seal skins, which those territories offered in abundance. These were sold to great advantage on the Russo-Chinese frontier. Overland commerce continued, although the Chinese ports were closed. Notwithstanding the difficulties, the number of ships engaged in the fur trade increased from year to year, having continued without interruption since 1745. Infinitely greater success might have attended had the trade received aid from the imperial government, for better ships might have been built, with more able commanders and fewer losses. The bulk of the trade was in the hands of the Russians, but soon the English,

Americans, and even the Spanish, began to share in the lucrative commerce. Many evil consequences attended the extraordinary Russia increase, as each vessel belonged to a separate owner. The natives were invariably ill-treated; the furbearing animals were slaughtered without any thought of the future.

Grigor Ivanovich Shelikov, who was really the founder of the Russian colonies, endeavored, at first in vain, to form a company that should put a stop to the reckless slaughter of the animals. At length he succeeded in joining company with Ivan Larinovich Golikov, and fitted out ships. These were commanded in person by Shelikov. The company was under the protection of Catherine II, and was endowed with important privileges; but the irregular manner in which its business was conducted, and the cruelties towards the natives, drew upon it great and powerful enemies.

The Emperior Paul I, who succeeded the great Catherine, his mother, upon her death in 1796, determined to destroy the power of the company and crush the trade at the same time. Upon this the Count Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov intervened in the interest of the company. He had been a protege of the great Catherine, and, possessing the versatility of an accomplished courtier, had, naturally, a powerful influence at court. A nobleman of parts and ambition, but scant patrimony, he was impressed by the business capacity of Shelikov and became interested in his plans. Marrying the daughter of Shelikov, he acquired with her much wealth. On the death of Shelikov in July, 1795, Rezanov became the chief adviser of Madam Shelikov. The plans of her late husband now paled into insignificance beside those of her son-in-law. After much intrigue, Catherine was on the point of granting a charter to Rezanov and his aristocratic associates, when, on November 17, 1796, she died.

Rezanov, the accomplished courtier, quickly adapted himself to the changed conditions. A faithful servant to the voluptuous Catherine, he now became the companion of the feeble-minded Paul, who at length, on August 11, 1799, confirmed by imperial ukase the act of consolidation of the United American Company under the title of the Russian American Company, which, later, operating under imperial protection, and numbering among its shareholders the imperial family, by its settlement and operations in Nueva, California, made the Spanish court tremble.

At Petropavlocsk on June 5, 1805, when the "Nadeschda" cast anchor, the Russian American Company's brig "Maria" was ready to sail for Kadiak. Count Rezanov, smarting under the arrogance of the Japanese, and the humiliations undergone at their hands and "breathing out threatenings and slaughter" against them in retaliation, purposed going overland immediately to report to his royal master the Czar of all the Russians; but, according to Dr. Langsdorff, he received letters on his arrival, and these impelled him to abandon his resolve, in order to visit the Aleutian Islands and the territory on the Northwest coast, under his commission as royal inspector of the American Northwestern establishments and plenipotentiary of the Russian American Company. On the brig "Maria," therefore, Rezanov, with his valet and Dr. Langsdorff as his personal physician, found accommodations. In his physical condition, he did not deem it wise to travel through a rugged and inhospitable territory without a physician. Coming from St. Petersburg, and going to Kadiak for the second time, two young Russian naval officers also went with Rezanov. Both were now in the service of the Russian American Company, and, later, both accompanied Rezanov to Nueva, California, Nikelai Alexander Khvostov and Gavril Ivanovich Davidov.

The "Maria" sailed from Petropavlovsk on June 24, 1805, and after visiting on the way the establishments on the islands, was at Sitka, or New Archangel, August 6 (o. s?) Governor Baranov was embarrassed not a little by the arrival of such company, and the situation was aggravated by the arrival of hunters to take up winter quarters. The stock of provisions was low, and starvation was a probability. The American ship "Juno," Captain J. Wolfe, of Bristol, Rhode Island, was lying in the harbor. She had provisions in abundance, a cargo of otter skins, with a large store of goods for trading—firearms, clothes, hardware, etc. The Juno, with all her supplies, was purchased by Rezanov, and the large supply of excellent provisions removed temporarily the menace of famine. The merchandise was later traded off in Nueva, California. The "Juno" was sent to Kadiak and returned with coarser provisions, and, under orders, a number of women. The winter of 1805-06 was passed in great discomfort. Snow and rain storms prevailed, the settlement was again on the verge of starvation, and Rezanov ordered that the "Juno" be got ready for his long-talked-of voyage to Nueva, California, intending to enter the Columbia

River on the way, to which he intended to remove the settlement at Sitka.

Rezanov, having sailed from the Puerto de San Francisco on May 21, 1806, arrived at New Archangel (Sitka) on June 19. Here he dispatched the report of his voyage to the minister of commerce at St. Petersburg. Leaving Sitka on the "Juno," he crossed over to Kamchatka and started from Okhotsk on September 24 on his overland trip to St. Petersburg, to report to the emperor and to get the imperial approval of his intention to wed the Senorita Conception Arguello. Weakened by the hardships and troubles, he was seized with a violent fever. Langsdorff having deserted him at Sitka, and without medical advice, he rashly resumed his way and fell from his horse in the wild wintry Eastern Siberian wastes. He died at Krasnoyarsk on March 1, 1807. Langsdorff visited his tomb in the same year—a large stone, in the fashion of an altar, without an inscription. Sir George Simpson, in 1842, visited the tomb "erected in 1831 by the Russian American Company."

RUSSELL.

PURCHASE OF ALASKA

Now comes the purchase of Alaska by our own government in 1867 for the sum of $7,200,000.

Probably the most authentic article on this question was written by F. A. Golder—and there is no better authority than he on the early history of Alaska. In an article published in the American Historical Review of April, 1920, he says:

"The first mention regarding the purchase of Alaska is found in the Russian Archives of 1854. In January of that year, the Russian American Company, who held the country under lease from the Russian government, tried to put through a fictitious sale of the property of the company to a California corporation to be known as the American Russia Commercial Company. The object of this was to protect the Russian property from invasion by England. It reached the stage of being put up to Naroy, then our Secretary of state, and Gwin, our senator from California, both of whom turned it down, promptly, as being unworthy of this country to enter into a conspiracy against a friendly nation.

"In 1859 Stoeckl, Russia's ambassador to the United States, discussed the Alaska question with Gorchekof, Russia's secretary of state, and decided to try and interest the United States into purchasing the territory. Stoeckl is reported to have discussed the matter very fully with Gwin, still in the Senate from California, who later advised Stoeckl that he thought the president might be interested. At this time they got so far as to suggest $5,000,000 as the purchase price. These negotiations dragged along for a couple of years and then fell through on account of war in both countries.

"The next we learn of the proposed purchase is from the Russian minister of finance, Reutern, who had a long discussion with Stoeckl in Petrograd in the late autumn of '66, at which time Reutern urged Stoeckl to try and interest us in the purchase once more. Stoeckl returned to New York in February, 1867, and lost no time in getting in touch with the political friends of Seward,

and urged them to try and impress upon that gentleman the value of Alaska to us. The result of this was a meeting a short time after between Stoeckl and Seward, at which time Seward made a definite offer of $5,000,000 for the territory; this was turned down and negotiations continued until the sum of $7,000,000 was reached, which sum Stoeckl agreed to accept.

" With the question of price settled, the transfer was discussed; it seems that the Russia America Company had certain obligations outstanding that we were to assume in addition to the purchase price, but these turned out to be so indefinite that a flat sum of an additional $200,000 was agreed upon, in consideration of which Russia was to give us a clear title and take care of these obligations herself. The treaty was promptly drawn up and duly passed the Congress, but troubles did not end here, for while the Senate was willing enough to ratify the treaty, they were not in such a hurry to pass a bill appropriating the money to take care of that end of it, and it was not until July 14, 1868, that this bill was finally passed, and then only after much money had been spent in the influencing of some members' votes, or, as Golder put it, 'It is clear that congressmen were bought, but there is no conclusive evidence in the Russian Archives to warrant the accusing of any congressman by name,' and to quote the same authority again: 'The mental strain, the corruption and the dirty work which had to be done in order to get the bill through made Stoeckl sick at heart. As soon as it was all over, he pleaded with his foreign office for a transfer, to send him anywhere it pleased, he did not care where, provided it took him from the American capital, but, though discouraged and disgusted with the lawmakers at the capital, he yet kept to the very last his high opinion of the American people, and predicted that the time was not far off when even congressmen would be honest.'

"The late Franklin K. Lane wrote a friend regarding the purchase of Alaska, his letter being dated at Washington, D. C., December 29, 1911, and is as follows:

" 'Last night I dined with Charles Henry Butler, reporter for the supreme court, and a son of William Allen Butler, for so long a leader of the New York bar.

" 'In the course of the evening, Mr. Charles Glover, president of the Riggs National Bank, told me this bit of history. 'That when he was a boy in the bank, one day Mr. Cochran came to him

and handed him two warrants upon the United States Treasury, one for $1,400,000 and the other for $5,800,000. He said, "put these in the safe." Mr. Glover did so, and they remained there for a week, when they were sent to New York. Mr. Glover said, 'These warrants were the payment to Russia for the Territory of Alaska.' Why were there two warrants? I never knew until some years later, when I learned the story from Senator Dawes, who said that prior to the war, there had been some negotiations between the United States and Russia for the purchase of Alaska, and the price of $1,400,000 was agreed upon. In fact this was the amount Russia asked for this great territory, which was regarded as nothing more than a barren field of ice.

" 'During the war the matter lay dormant. We had more territory than we could take care of. When England, however, began to manifest her friendly disposition toward the Confederacy, and we learned from Europe that England and France were carrying on negotiations for the recognition of the Southern States, and possibly of some manifestation by their fleets against the blockade which we had instituted (and which they claimed was not effective and merely a paper blockade), we looked about for a friend, and Russia was the only European country upon whose friendship we could rely. Thereupon Secretary Seward secured from Russia a demonstration, in American ports, of Russian friendship. Her ships of war sailed to both of our coasts, the Atlantic and Pacific, with the understanding that the expense of this demonstration should be met by the United States, out of the contingent fund. It was to be a secret matter.

" 'The war came to a close, and immediately thereafter Lincoln was assassinated and the administration changed. It was no longer possible to pay for this demonstration, secretly, under the excuse of war, but a way was found for paying Russia through the purchase of Alaska. The warrant for $1,400,000 was the warrant for the purchase of Alaska, the warrant for $5,800,000 was for Russia's expense in her naval demonstration in our behalf, but history only knows the fact that the United States paid $7,200,000 for this territory, which is now demonstrated to be one of the richest portions of the earth in mineral deposits.'

"When I first saw this letter, I wrote to Dr. Golder regarding it. His reply was that he did not put any faith in it—nor had he been able to find any documents to support the story. I also wrote

the late Dr. Alfred H. Brooks—a deep student of Alaska's history —and his reply was, 'My opinion is that this is all bunk,' with which statement I agree."

We could go on indefinitely with the history of Alaska since the time that that great territory came under our flag. Time unfortunately does not permit. Perhaps at some later date I may have the privilege of preparing for you a paper dealing with "Alaska Under the Stars and Stripes." There is ample material for such a subejct if one can only do it justice.

It might interest you to know the extent of the return from our investment there. The latest figures are for the year ending June 30, 1929, and they follow:

Fisheries	$ 824,429,597
Minerals	622,083,269
Furs	121,737,705
Reindeer, timber and miscellaneous	8,372,249
Total	$1,576,622,820

COMPILER'S NOTE

This is not supposed to be a history. It is merely a glimpse into what to the writer is among the most interesting of the "highlights" of the early voyages to the Pacific Coast. Its aim, if a review of this nature is permitted to have such, is to "whet the appetite" of those who read it for further knowledge about those times when iron men sailed in wooden ships, making voyage after voyage around the world in "sanpans" that you and I would hesitate to trust our lives in these days of modern liners. If any of you do get the urge to delve deeper into the matters touched upon you will be more than repaid for the time devoted to your research.

In preparing this article, we have drawn heavily upon the works of such well-known writers as George Davidson, Judge Howay, Professor Meany, Henry Wagner, Agnes Laut, the original Journals of Vancouver, Cook, Dixon, and also memoirs published by the Government of British Columbia. Acknowledgement is hereby made for all material used.