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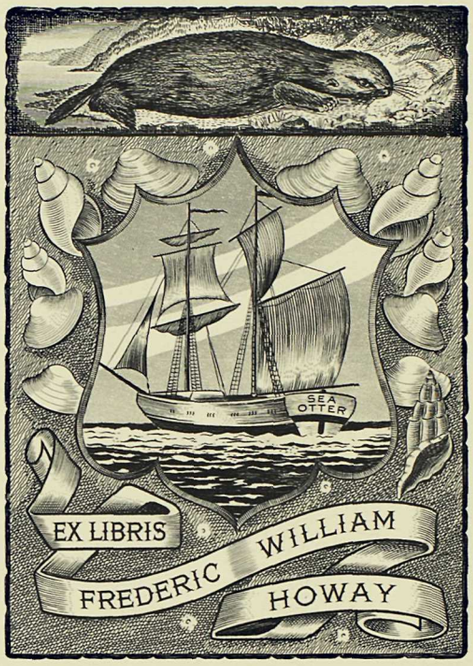

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'15

A New Vancouver Journal

ON THE

Discovery of Puget Sound

BY

A Member of the Chatham's Crew

EDITED BY

Edmond S. Meany

Seattle, Washington
1915

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INTRODUCTION

"The Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World" by Captain George Vancouver attracted enough attention to demand a second edition. Interest in those old books has increased rapidly of late years as the widely separated countries visited during the voyage have developed in population and culture.

In 1907 the present writer published a volume called "Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound," giving details of one portion of the original work. That volume brought response from many sources. Mr. A. H. Turnbull of Wellington, New Zealand, wrote that the Vancouver expedition had discovered and explored in the regions around his island home. He had just purchased a manuscript journal kept by some member of the crew on the Chatham, the armed tender, which, with the sloop Discovery, comprised the squadron under Vancouver's command. He promised to ascertain if the journal had any helpful references to Puget Sound and, if so, he would send a transcript. In due time a copy of that part of the journal arrived and was published as a serial in the Washington Historical Quarterly, Volume V., Numbers 2, 3, 4; Volume VI., Number 1 (April, July, October, 1914; January, 1915). It is assembled here in separate form for the convenience of those who have special collections of Northwestern Americana.

By comparing this journal with the larger, official record kept by Vancouver, himself, it will be found to agree in the main and at the same time it throws added light on a number of details, all of which has increasing value at the present time.

It is gratifying to note that the publication attracted attenion. One who has manifesed an especial interest is Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, British Columbia. He is well known as a student and writer in the field of Northwestern history. He has kindly sent the following notes:

"The conventional spelling of the name of Lieutenant John Meares is 'Meares;' and it is thus spelled by all parties to the famous controversy between Meares and Portlock and Dixon (Meare's voyages, p. XXXIV *et seq.*, Portlock's Voyage, p 218 *et seq.*, and Dixon's Voyage, p. 154 *et seq.*) This is also the form in Dixon's Remarks and in Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 1, Pp. 208-9. Yet in the official copy of the Memorial ordered to be printed 13th May, 1790, Meares repeatedly spells it 'Mears' and so does Duffin; Douglas, on the other hand uses both forms. A comparison of this document with the copy appended to Meares's

Voyages shows many alterations in the spelling, doubtless for the sake of uniformity."

"As regards Classet: this is shown on Duncan's chart as 'Cape Claaset.' Vancouver had this chart with him; on page 216 of Volume I, he speaks of it as an 'excellent sketch of the entrance into this inlet.' In the same volume, page 416, he states that he had been given to understand that this was the Indian name; 'but now finding that this name had originated only from that of an inferior chief residing in its neighborhood, I have therefore resumed Captain Cook's original appellation of Cape Flattery.' "

"The name 'Green Island,' so far as I know, first appears in Duncan's sketch dated 13th August, 1788, above referred to. In the legend therein it is stated: 'Green Island or To Touch es is about ¼ mile in length; covered over with green grass; on the West Side is a small Cove very narrow and only navigable for Boats; I saw some Canoes go in and out and many Indians on the Beach; on the East Side is a large village, and from the number of Canoes that come to us from thence, I suppose it to be well inhabited.'

"On that sketch Duncan says of the 'Spiral Rock': 'Pinnacle Rock appears to be about 34 fathoms high; its Base in front about 10 fathoms, the Top projects over the rest of it: The sides appear steep; it stands about half way between the Cape & Green Island; the distance between the Cape and the Island is ¼ mile, not navigable to appearance.' "

Before the serial publication was begun and while it was in progress, a diligent search was maintained to ascertain the author of the journal. As the expedition was under the auspices of the British Government it is probable that orders had been issued against the keeping of private journals. That may account for the fact that Mr. Turnbull has been unable to find anywhere in the two volumes of manuscript a single direct bit of evidence as to the authorship.

Mr. Turnbull writes from Wellington, New Zealand, on 18 November, 1914:

"The MS. Journal, I think was written by Edward Bell, the clerk of the Chatham. There is no signature in either of the volumes and the dealer in London from whom I purchased the work stated he thought it was by William Walker but for a variety of reasons I do not agree with him. One passage in the Journal, where the writer compares his position with that of Orchard, the clerk of the Discovery, seems strong evidence that the writer was clerk of the Chatham. The vessels were at Owhyee in February, 1793, and Vancouver had issued strict orders about going ashore which were resented by the young gentlemen. The writer then goes on to say: 'That Captain Vancouver should trouble himself, or

exert his authority, in the internal regulations of the Chatham, was taking an advantage that no one, (however partial) could help condemning. However as I did not conceive that my situation in the Ship, brought me under those tyrannical Laws, more than Mr. Orchard of the Discovery who I observed was a free man, I attended not to the order, nor did Mr. P. [Puget] extend it over me.'

"The manuscript I bought in 1908 at London. It came from the library of R. T. Pritchett, the artist, who accompanied Lady Brassey on several of the Sunbeam's voyages."

It is apparent that Mr. Turnbull has made a strong conjecture by thus weighing internal evidence. It may be of value to remark, in passing, that the Orchard referred to is Clerk H. M. Orchard, in whose honor Vancouver named Port Orchard, a well known harbor of Puget Sound, seat of one of the largest American navy yards.

While such efforts were being made an appeal was sent to the great library of the British Museum. I. P. Gilson, Keeper of Manuscripts, replied that he could only offer a conjecture. "The elimination of officers mentioned by name does not leave many persons of the crew likely to have the education requird to write it and my assistant, Mr. Milne, who has read the journal carefully, points out one or two phrases slightly suggesting the surgeon, e. g., the mention of the 'septum of the nose.' "

Here is another likely conclusion from internal evidence. For the present we will have to choose between Clerk Bell and Surgeon Walker. The one solid item of evidence is that the interesting manuscript was written by some member of the Chatham's crew.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

University of Washington
Seattle 10 March, 1915.

A NEW VANCOUVER JOURNAL

From the Sandwich Islands to the No. We. Coast of America.

After leaving Ooneehow we had the wind from the Northward and Eastward, with which we stood to the N. W. close hauld. At daylight Ooneehow[1] bore East 7 or 8 leagues, Atooi Eb N 1-2 N, and Tahouru S E b S. As the morning advanced we got the wind from the N. Wrd. and the Signal was made to steer NNE. The wind blew fresh in squalls attended with rain all day and at night, and we lost sight of the Discovery, in the morning she was perceived a considerable distance to Leeward with only her head sails set, and we bore down to her, and as we came nearer we judged from what we saw going forward on board her, that she had sprung her Main Mast, indeed we could observe clearly that they were fishing it. This disagreeable weather continued several days, the wind chiefly from the Nd. & NbE. On the 23rd our Latde: was 24.49 Nd. and the Longe: 209° Et. We now began to feel a very considerable change in the weather, and from the thin linen cloathes that we were used to wear at the Islands, we were obliged to change to our wramest dresses. The Sandwich Island fowls though fed on their own country food all died.

The 24th in the afternoon being calm Capt. B. went on board the Discovery, and Mr. Paget[2] returned and dined on board the Chatham, when we learnt that their Main Mast was not only sprung, as we conjectured but that they had found the head of the Foremast also sprung, and had carried away both the Fore & Main Top Gallant Yards on the night of the 19th. In the evening we had the wind again from the N Erd. which continued and with it continued also very gloomy disagreeable weather. On the 27th our Lat: was at noon 24.21 N and the Longe: 215.5 Et. Tack'd and stood to the N W. We kept tacking occasionally, and on the 31st we were no further to the Nd. than the Lat. of 28°.

The 1st of April being the Anniversary of our leaving England, double allowance of Grog was served to the Ship's Company to commemorate the day and drink the healths of their old friends at home. We made but a very poor hand of working through the Trade Wind and from the 1st to the 4th made scarce anything. We then got the breeze pretty fresh with fair weather at N. E. and steered N. N. W. the Lat: 30.26

[1]The names here given of the Hawaiian Islands are not all recognizable, but this one is evidently the modern Oahu.

[2]This officer is always referred to as Mr. Paget. Captain George Vancouver, chief of the expedition, used the more familiar spelling and the world has long known him as Lieutenant Peter Puget.

N. this fine weather continued till the 6th when we were in Lat: of 33.59 N. and the Longe: of 216.30 Et. It was not till the 8th in the Lat: of 36° N. that we lost the N E trade, to carry it so far is uncommon; we then had it calm, and two gentlemen from the Discovery who had been shooting some marine Birds came on board. They had kill'd a very large bird call'd by the sailors Mother Carey's Goose, it measured 7½ feet from tip to tip of the wings. They told us they had seen a duck fly past the Ship the day before, which is somewhat surprising as we know of no land very near us. This day and yesterday observed the surface of the water to be covered with a species of what is call'd the Medusa Valilla.[3]

The weather became now very thick & foggy with drizzling rain, and it continued for the most part calm till the 10th. When a breeze began to freshen from the W b S we made all sail steering E N E. In the morning of the 11th it veer'd to S E b S where it made a stand with fine pleasant weather. Our Lat: that day was 36.10 and the Longe: 221.8 Et. We had this fine weather till the 16th when the wind veer'd to E S E blowing in hard squalls attended with rainy dirty weather, that at night increased to a hard gale and brought us to close reef'd Topsails. We wore occasionally, and our Lat: at Noon was 38.50 N. The gale settled at S. E. encreasing in volume, and in the course of the night, we were oblig'd to hand the Topsails. Moderating a little by the morning, we let out the reefs and stood to the E N E. At noon the 17th the Lat: was 39.23 N and the Longe: 234.50 Et. The weather was very thick and Hazy, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the Discovery who was two mile ahead of us made the Signal for seeing the Land. At this time we had vast numbers of Shags, Divers, Ducks & other Birds of the Sea-shore about us, but from the thickness of the weather it was not till near 5 o'clock that we saw the Land, when the Coast of New Albion[4] was seen bearing from N b E to E b S, not many miles distant. The haze over the Land clearing up a little gave us an opportunity of seeing it. It had a very pleasing appearance, high and covered to the top with tall pines with here and there some rich verdant lawns. We tack'd early and stood off and on during the night and in the morning stretch'd in again for the shore. We had no wind till towards noon when a fine breeze from S. S. E. sprung up and we bore away along shore with all sail set. As we had now entered upon our Station, and the survey of the Coast, we were obliged to haul off at dark and spend the night in short boards, that we might take up the Land in the morning where we left off the evening be-

[3]A form of jelly-fish. Other common names are sun-fish, sun-squalls and umbrella-jellies.

[4]This name was given to the Northwest coast of America by Sir Francis Drake two hundred years before this voyage.

fore. The 19th we had a fine moderate Breeze at S. E. with which we run along shore. Our Lat: at Noon 40.2 N & Long: 235.22 Et. It freshened in the evening with rainy hazy weather and by midnight we had a very hard gale which continued all the 21st. In the morning of the 22nd it fell calm with thick, Foggy unpleasant weather and it was not till the following day that we were inabled to get in with the Land and run along shore. Our weather was now clear and pleasant with the wind from the Sd: & S. Eastd. At noon on the 24th our Lat: was 42.31 N and it falling calm soon after, with a Current setting us fast on Shore we anchor'd per Signal in 37 fm: in a deep Bay, the N Extreme of which is a remarkable Cape, which Captn: Vancouver named Cape Orford,[5] in honor of the Earl of that name.

We presently found that this place was inhabited, for two Canoes appear'd (the first on this Coast we had seen) one of which went to the Discovery, the other came to us. In this one there were five men who after making fast their canoe came on board with great confidence, and did not shew much surprise on entering the Vessel. Though they had brought nothing purposely to sell yet they were perfectly well acquainted with bartering, and their Cloathing which was Deer Skins with one or two Fox Skins, and a few Bows & Arrows that they had, they readily sold for trifles, nor wou'd they part with anything till they got what they conceived an equivalent. They were fond of metal of any kind and Bits of Iron & Yellow Buttons they eagerly took. One of them had a thin bit of old Iron fixed into a piece of wood as a knife. Some of them had ornaments of Necklaces, composed of a small black berry and shells, intermixed with small tubes of copper. Their Ears and the Septum of the Nose were perforated and ornamented in the same manner. They were perfectly naked except two of them that had deer skins thrown loosely over their shoulders. Their colour was not easily to be found out from the quantity of dirt and paint with which they were besmeared, but were they clean I should suppose they are something of an Olive colour. They had very bad teeth, their hair was black and grew long behind, and their Language was the most uncouth I ever heard. Their Bows were small and made from the Ewe Tree and their Arrows were strait and even of about two feet and a half long, feathered at one end and barbed and pointed with flint at the other. Some of them had also Knives of Flint. Their canoes were extremely rude and unwieldly and little calculated for any distant embarkation, they were about 17 feet in length, 4ft. 6in. in breadth at the Gunwales, and 3 feet deep, roughly hewn out of one solid tree, flat bottom'd and square at each end. After selling every little thing they had

[5]This name is still in use on the Southern coast of Oregon.

they took their leave. This Canoe had no Sea Otter skins in her but the one that went to the Discovery had a couple of small Cub Otter Skins.

25th. At night with the land wind we weigh'd and stood out to the Wd. and at daylight with a fair Soly: Breeze bore away along shore. The fair and pleasant weather continued, and on the 27th at noon we observed in the Lat: of 46.10 N. Just then the Discovery made the Signal that we were standing into Danger, we haul'd out, this situation is off Cape Disappointment from whence a very extensive Shoal stretches out and there was every appearance of an opening there, but to us the sea seem'd to break entirely across it.[6] On the 28th at Noon our Lat: was 47.32 N and in the Evening the 29th falling calm, we came to an anchor with the Discovery near Destruction Island, the place where a Boat's Crew of the Imperial Eagle commanded by Mr. Berkley[7] were barbarously murdered by the Natives as mention'd in Mears's Voyage. None of the natives came off to us but we observ'd two canoes entering a small Bay abreast of us. At about 3 we weigh'd per Signal and at 5 set Studding Sails with a moderate Soly: Breeze, but rainy weather. At daylight a strange Sail was seen in the N. W. quarter standing towards us, she hoisted American Colours. About 7 we spoke her, she proved to be the Ship Columbia of Boston commanded by a Mr Grey,[8] on the Fur trade. She had wintered on the Coast in Port Clynquot[9] in Berkley's Sound. This Mr. Grey being the man who Mr Mears[10] in his Chart has published having entered the Streights of De Fuca, and after proceeding a considerable distance up, return'd to sea again by another passage to the Northward of that by which he entered—Captn: Vancouver was desirous of obtaining from him some information respecting the Streights, he therefore hoisted a boat out, and sent an officer on board the Columbia. Mr Grey very civilly offered him any information he could possibly give him, but at the same time told him that Mr Mears had been very much misled in his information and had published what never had happened; for though he (Mr Grey) did enter the Streights of De Fuca, and proceeded a considerable distance, where he still saw an unbounded horizon, he return'd, but return'd by the same way he entered. He had been two & twenty months from Boston, and had obtained a valuable cargo of Furs. He

[6]Here is seen the reason why the expedition doubted the existence of a river there until Captain Robert Gray discovered and named the Columbia River during that same year.

[7]The family and the British Columbia map-makers are particular about this name being spelled Barkley. See Captain John T. Walbran's British Columbia Coast Names, Pp. 33-35.

[8]This name is also misspelled throughout. He refers to Captain Robert Gray.

[9]He refers to Clayoquot Sound but errs in making it a part of Barkley Sound.

[10]Like errors in other names, he leaves out a letter in that of Captain John Meares.

had built a small sloop of about 45 tons at Clyoquot which was now trading to the Northward.

He gave no very favourable account of the Northern Indians whose daring and insolent spirit had carried them to very unwarrantable lengths. Several attempts had been made by them to seize his, and other Vessels on the Coast. Several people of different Ships had been treacherously murdered, and Mr Grey's Chief Mate with two of the seamen were in this manner murder'd while fishing round a point of Land, a small distance from the Ship. This happen'd somewhere about the Lat: of 54¼°. After the Boat with the Officer return'd we made sail to the Nd. and the Columbia stretched in for the Shore. About noon we were nearly abreast of the much talked of Streights of Juan De Fuca, the Discovery made our Signal to lead in. The weather was thick and Hazy and prevented our having an observation. Cape Classet[11] at Noon bore N 20 E 2 miles. This Cape is settled by Captn: Vancouver in the Lat: of 48.23 N and the Longe: 235.38 Et.

At one o'clock we haul'd round Green Island,[12] and as we pass'd had a view of the Spiral Rock,[13] which is remarkable. On Green Island is a very large Village, and from it and the Villages on the Main, a number of canoes came off. The Natives brought a number of Otter Skins to sell, but wou'd part with none for anything but Copper & Blue Cloth Cloathing with Metal Buttons they were very eager after and we saw several with Blue Coats & round Hats. Mr Mears is very much out in the distance he makes the entrance of these Streights, he says they are 15 leagues wide, whereas the Entrance is no more than 12 leagues in breadth. In the Evening having but little wind and it coming on thick we brought up on the S. shore in 12 fathoms water and then observed the Columbia following us. She had just entered the Streights. After we came too a few fish were caught with the hook & line.

May. The following morning the 1st of May with a fine breeze at West and clear pleasant weather we got under weigh and proceeded up the Streights, and left the Columbia off Green Island laying too, bartering with the Natives for Skins. Several canoes follow'd us with skins, fish &c., to sell but the rage was copper; next to this article Cloth & wearing apparel with Brass Buttons, Copper wrist bands, Musquets & Swords were chiefly in demand.

11A former name for Captain Cook's Cape Flattery. Vancouver mentions "Classet" as the Indian name, but in a foot-note gives the name Cook had written on his chart.

12In 1788, Mears named this island "Tatoosh" after the Indian chief he found there. Vancouver calls it Tatooche. See Vancouver's Voyage (2nd Ed.), Volume II, p. 46. It is not clear where the writer got this name of Green Island.

13This rock was supposed to be the one referred to in the De Fuca record now supposed to be a myth. Vancouver refers to it in doubtful terms.

Among other articles offered for sale was their children, several were offered for a Musquet or a Sheet of Copper. The women being the first we had seen since leaving the Sandwich Islands, had not a few attacks of Gallantry made on them by the Sailors though they were by no means inviting. But however great the difference between them and the Sandwich Islanders in point of Beauty much greater was it in point of behaviour, for here the smallest degree of indelicacy towards one of these Ladies, shock'd their modesty to such a degree, and had such an effect on them, that I have seen many of them burst into tears, they would endeavour to hide themselves in the bottom of their canoes and discover the most extreme degree of uneasiness and distress.

Some of the canoes were very large and contain'd a whole family of men & women and a considerable part of their Household furniture, large Bladders full of their delicious Whale Oil was in every canoe and the little Infants in their Cradles were plied with large quantities of it by their Mothers. As we got the Breeze fresher, the canoes soon dropp'd off.

About 6 o'clock in the evening having run about 20 leagues from the Entrance in a Bite on the S. side in 8 fathoms, from this the Streights appear'd to widen, but we saw some very distant land in which there were many apparent large openings. So far as we had yet proceeded up these Streights, we had seen no opening, nor the appearance of any Harbour, on the Southern, or Continental Shore; now two or three openings presented themselves, and as the great object of the voyage was if possible to discover a communication by water between this Coast and the Lakes situated on the other side of America, the Continental Shore must of course be kept always aboard and all openings minutely explored.

Captain Vancouver was now anxious to get the Vessels into a Harbor, and while the Vessels were refitting it was intended that the boats should be sent to explore the openings now in sight. Accordingly the next morning he went himself in the Pinnace, accompanied by our Cutter (both well arm'd) to look for a Harbour. This they found at a short distance from us, and the next morning we weigh'd and made sail for it. The Harbour was a very complete one and shelter'd from all winds but the water was deep and we anchor'd in 25 fathoms water not a quarter of a mile from the Shore. This place at first was named Port Discovery, conceiving ourselves the first that had been in it, but we afterwards found ourselves mistaken, it having been visited by two Spanish Vessels, and call'd Port Quadra,[14] by which name it was continued and we settled its Lat: to be 48.2.30 N and the Long: 237.22.19 E.

[14]The crew may have continued the use of this older Spanish name, but Vancouver in text and chart retained the name Port Discovery, which continues to the present time.

Opposite to where the Vessels lay a low Point of Land run out, where there was an excellent run of Freshwater. Here the Tents and Observatory were set up, and there being plenty of Spruce Pine here a party from each Ship was sent on shore to brew Spruce Beer for the Ships' Companies. As this Beverage was well known to be a great Antiscorbutic, the people were allow'd to drink freely of it in lieu of their Grog. As the Chatham was very open in her upper works the Carpenters of both Vessels were employ'd in Caulking her.

Not having met the Store ship at the Sandwich Islands as was expected and fearing that we might probably not see her till the next Season at those Islands, and possibly not then, should any unfortunate accident have happen'd to her in which case we should have been somewhat distress'd for Provisions particularly Bread & Flour, it was only proper to guard against such disappointments and delays. The Ships Company was therefore on the 5th put to two-thirds allowance of Bread only. This on the coast of America cou'd be no hardship as Fish is always to be got. We haul'd the Seine here generally every day, and in general with success, and we frequently got Salmon Trout in it.

On the 17th Captn: Vancouver, with Lieut: Paget, and Mr. Johnstone our Master set out in 3 Boats well Mann'd and arm'd, and victuall'd for a week, to explore the openings between this and our last anchorage which I spoke of. In the meantime the Vessels were refitting for sea. The Powder was sent on shore to dry, and being in want of Plank the Carpenters were employ'd, after the Caulking was finished, in sawing up a fine large tree, of which there were plenty, and very convenient. As there were no Inhabitants here we carried on all our operations with facility; now and then a couple or 3 canoes wou'd come in with a little Fish to sell, but this was not often, and they were very quiet and inoffensive. They were evidently a tribe that visited the Sea Coast but seldom, as they were generally clad in skins of Land animals, and during our stay here, they brough but one Sea Otter skin to sell. Once or twice they brought some fresh kill'd Venison which was very acceptable to us, for though we could everywhere observe the track of Deer, and shooting excursions were frequently made, we were never so fortunate to shoot any here.

When the time arrived for the expected return of the Boats we began impatiently to look out for them, but it was not till the 16th that they return'd to the Ships, after nine days absence. They had examined several arms or openings, which after running some distance inland closed, and they had left some extensive openings unexplored to the Eastward of this Port, where it was now intended to proceed to with the Ships. Hav-

ing got everything ready for Sea, on the 18th we sail'd out of Port Quadra. The weather was fair and pleasant, indeed we had enjoy'd much fine weather in Port. After getting outside, by desire of Captn: Vancouver, we parted company with the Discovery, in order to examine an opening in the N. W. quarter, whilst she proceeded up an arm to which the Continent had been brought, to the Eastd. of Port Quadra. We cross'd the Streights with a fine Breeze, and entered the opening about 6 o'clock in the evening and came to an anchor for the night. In the morning boats were dispatched to examine the branches which run within this opening, which employ'd us till the 23rd. It is very extensive being full of Islands.[15] The land is delightful, being in many places clear and the soil so rich that the grass in several parts grew to man height. We were surprised in such a fine country to find scarce and inhabitants, not a smoke or a village was seen, and only two small canoes with 3 people in each were met by the Boats in all their cruizing; from these, three young Fawns just kill'd were purchased. We saw several Deer on the sides of the rising grounds, but could never kill any. The navigation in this place so full of Rocks and small Islands was intricate and dangerous. On the 21st we touch'd a Rock on one side, whilst at the other we had twenty-two fathoms water.

On the 23rd we again enter'd the Streights but a different opening to that we came in at. We cross'd over and about Noon got into the arm up which the Discovery went when we parted from her. Here we met with a small tribe of Indians who came off to sell a little fish, Bows & Arrows, and some few skins of Land Animals. We observ'd among them some articles we knew they must have got out of the Discovery, and they soon made sufficient (sic) that she was up the arm. The people spoke a different language from the Indians we saw at the entrance of Dufuca's Streights though little else about them appeared different for they were equally as dirty. It seemed evident that their intercourse with Ships had been limited (if indeed they ever had any) from their surprize and astonishment at many things, and their not having about them any European articles whatever except it might be a knife, but they had a very good idea of bartering and wou'd not part with anything without the value of it. Copper was yet the rage.

We were detained by the Tides, which were rapid, from joining the Discovery before the 26th when we found her at anchor off a Point of a small opening called by Captn: Vancouver Restoration Point.[15] Here there was a small village, containing, I shou'd suppose, about 60 or 70 Inhabitants.[16] It was situated on a fine rising ground, and the Country

[15]Opposite the present City of Seattle and near the entrance to Port Blakeley.

[16]Chief Seattle, then a boy of about six years, was undoubtedly with the natives mentioned.

round it was extremely pleasant to appearance and clear. The Natives had brought a good supply of Venison to the Discovery. Two of her boats with Lt: Paget & Mr Whidby were now absent on a surveying expedition up the continuation of this & the Arms round us, and the morning after our arrival Captn; Vancouver with Mr Johnstone set out with two Boats on another expedition. Though I have but just before mentioned that I conceived the Natives hereabouts had but little intercourse with Europeans, we had here a proof that they were not entirely unaccustomed to Trading Vessels for two very good Sea Otter Skins were brought off for sale, and the price was copper. However they took so reasonable a price, and their having no more than these two skins among them makes me think that the knowledge they have of Trading Ships is acquir'd by their own commerce with Tribes between them and the Sea.

On the 27th at night Mr Whidby & Lt. Paget return'd from their cruize having closed up the Arms.[17] In one place they met with a considerable tribe of Indians from whom he had nearly met with some trouble, but by early good management nothing material happened. After being very well treated by the Boats party the Natives seized the opportunity of their stopping at a Beach to Dinner, to attack them. They were observed to string their Bows & sling their Quivers and were making for the Wood behind the party at Dinner from whence it was no doubt their intention to fire on them but as this was observ'd Mr Menzies & Mr Manby catching up their Muskets ran up and drove them back to their Canoes. As there were some opening to look into the Northd. we weigh'd anchor and quitted this place the next day the 28th and as Mr Johnstone was still absent in our Cutter with Captn: Vancouver we took Mr Whidby and the Discovery's Launch with us to carry on the survey and when we came abreast of the opening she was dispatched along with our Launch in which went Ltd: Hanson with a week's provisions. In the meantime we anchored off a place called Rose Point from the numeruos trees of that name that were on the low ground; besides this there were plenty of currant, Gooseberry, & Raspberry bushes, and large beds of Strawberries but very little if any of these Fruits were yet ripe.

June. On the 30th we were join'd by the Discovery and we proceeded with her on the further examination of this tedious Inland Navigation. Nothing remarkable occurred till the 2nd of June when sailing up a place called Port Gardner in Possession Sound, by the negligance of

17When Captain Vancouver rejoined the party he reviewed the work of his lieutenants and wrote upon his chart in honor of the quality of that work the well known name of "Puget's Sound." Puget had gone on one side and he, himself, had gone on another side of a large body of land which he called Vashon Island, in honor of Captain James Vashon of the British navy.

the man in the chains about one o'clock in the afternoon we run aground upon a Muddy Bank. We immediately gave the Discovery the alarm and at the same time made the Signal for assistance. She was astern of us and directly anchor'd and dispatched her Boats to our relief. On sounding astern of the Ship it was found that we had run a considerable distance over a Shoal and before we could carry an anchor our into water sufficiently deep we veer'd away four Hawsers on end. At Highwater we hove off without any damage whatever and brought up in 9 fam. water. As we found this place like all the others shut up, we weigh'd the next morning and sail'd out of the Port and the following day anchor'd in a Bay to wait the return of Lt Hanson & Mr Whidby and to celebrate His Majesty's Birthday. The Boats return'd on the 4th and on that day possession was taken on shore[18] by Captn: Vancouver in His Majesty's name of all the Land in the Streights, and the part in which we now were call'd Gulph of Georgia. On this occasion the Discovery fired 21 guns on the Flag of possession being hoisted and as the King's Birth Day the Ship's Companies were served double allowance of Grog to drink his health.

There was in this Bay a fine Sandy Beach where the Seine was haul'd with pretty good success. We saw no Village nor Inhabitants near this place but on the point of the beach there stood a remarkable high pole, strongly supported by props at the Bottom, and at the top of it was fixed a human skull. What the reason of so curious a thing could be no one could divine. Many such had been seen in different parts of the Inland Navigation and in Mr Hanson's late cruize. No less than three of these Poles with skulls on them were seen at one place contiguous to which was a very large burying Ground. Some bodies were wrapp'd up in Mats & Skins and laid in canoes, whilst some that appear'd but recently dead were thrown into a deep hole in the earth and not covered.

On the 5th we left this Bay and proceeded on our exploration, crossing over to the opening out of which we came the 23rd of May, having to that place carried the Continent. We found Tides here extremely rapid and on the 9th in endeavouring to get round a point to a Bay in which the Discovery had anchor'd, we were swept to Leeward of it with great impetuosity. We therefore let go the Stream anchor in 28 fathoms water but in bringing up, such was the force of the Tide that we parted the Cable. We immediately let go the Bower with which we brought up. On trying the Tide we found it running at the rate of 5½ miles an hour. At slack water we swept for the anchor but could not get it, after several fruitless attempts to get it we were at last obliged to leave it and join the Discovery in Strawberry Bay. This Bay obtain'd its name from a tol-

[18]On that shore there now stands the beautiful and prosperous City of Everett.

erable quantity of Strawberries we found there. As the Discovery had only been waiting for us here we left it the follwoing day and steered for a very extensive opening trending about N. and came to an anchor in a very pleasant Bay which was called Birch Bay.[19] From this place two Boat expeditions were undertaken one by Captain Vancouver and the other by Mr Whidby. In the meantime the Observatory was set up for the purpose of regulating the watches and Spruce Beer brew'd for the Ships Companies. Our operations on shore were carried on in a very convenient place there being a fine Grass plot of nearly a mile in length with a fine fresh water River at the back of it. Captn: Vancouver set out with his two Boats and 10 days provisions on the 12th to the Westward and Mr Whidby with two Boats and a weeks provisions towards an opening to the Eastward of us. The same Evening we were surprized to see Mr Whidby's Boats return but much more so when we learnt from them that they had seen two Vessels, a Brig and a Schooner coming down the Arm which lay round the point of the Bay. It was immediately conjectured from the improbability of trading vessels being in this inhospitable part of the Coast and the distance from the entrance of the Streights that they were foreign Vessels employed on the same service as ourselves and which conjecture we afterwards found to be right. A lookout for them was kept during the night and nothing been seen of them. In the morning a boat was dispatched to the Entrance of the arm but she returned without seeing them. It was thought they had pass'd during the night. Mr Broughton therefore got under weigh in the Chatham and the boats were redispatched on their examination. Whilst the Chatham was getting under way the Vessels were observed by the help of the Glasses a considerable way to the Westward of us so that they must have pass'd in the night.

We soon came up with them and they hoisted Spanish Colours. A Boat with an officer was sent on board the Brig where he was very politely received by the Commander. They proved to be His Catholic Majesty's Brig Soutile commanded by Don Dionisio Galiano and the Schooner Mexicana, Don Cayetano Valdez, Commander; both Captains of Frigates in the Royal Navy of Spain and employed in surveying these Streights to complete the parts left unfinished by Seigr. Malespini with whom these two gentlemen had been Lieutenants. They left Nootka late in May where there were at that time lying 3 Frigates and a Spanish Brig of War, Don Quadra, Commodore.

Don Galiano offered us every information & civility in his power and sent on board some milk & cabbages that he had brought from Nootka.

[19]Just south of Semiahmoo Bay on which stands the City of Blaine.

The Vessels were very small, the Brig not being more than 45 tons Burthen. They had each a Lieutenant, a Pilot, and twenty men and carried two Brass Guns each. After receiving the necessary information we parted from them and made for our old anchorage, whilst they continued their route to the Westd. From this time to the 23rd we were employed in taking the necessary observations for determining the rates of the watches, and in other ways and Mr Whidby's party having returned after an absence of six days, closing the places up which he went to explore. We cut here some remarkably fine Plank, of the Pine tree, and there was a good deal of Alder & Birch here. We had had tolerable good luck with the Seine, the Bay affording plenty of Flat fish, some Salmon Trout and a small kind of Bream and we now and then shot some Ducks. Though there was no village near us and we were but very seldom visited by canoes, Mr Whidby in his last Cruize,[20] at no great distance from the Ships, met with a numerous Tribe of Indians, not less than 300, that were just shifting their Village. They had very little connexion with them as the Indians shew'd no desire for their landing near them. On the 23rd Captn: Voncouver returned after an absence of twelve days; he had met with the two Spanish Vessels and been on board them and now was by agreement going to join them as our destination was much the same as theirs and as we shou'd be obliged to visit at the place to which Captn: Vancouver had carried the Continent during a further expedition of the Boats[21] we shou'd have an opportunity of being sociable.

On the 24th we quitted the Bay which is in the Lat: of 48.53.30 N and the Long: 237.32 Et. and stood to the Westward. About Noon we came up with the Spanish Vessels with whom we kept company till the 26th when we came to the situation from whence our next surveying cruize was to commence, and late at night the whole Squadron anchored, in a place which from its unenviting shore and the few refreshments beyond water which it produced was call'd by us Desolation Reach, its Lat: is 50.11 N and Longe: 235.27 Et.

In this dreary place (the first place that deserves that name that we had been since we entered De Fuca's Streights) we lay about three weeks in the course of which time no less than three Boat expeditions were undertaken from us and two by the Spaniards. In the last of ours by Mr Johnstone a passage to sea was discover'd by an extensive Arm that led into

[20]During this cruise Whidbey had found a narrow passage connecting with Port Gardner. Vancouver called it Deception Pass and he gave Whidbey's name to the large island thus made known.

[21]Vancouver's boat expedition had traversed much of the waterway between Vancouver Island and the mainland. The Spaniards reported the probability of a large river. Vancouver declared it impossible. Later the Fraser River was discovered from the land side and traced to its mouth where the Spaniards had thought it to be.

Queen Charlotte's Sound and to which the continent had been carried. Mr Johnstone's situation in this Arm of the Sound was once or twice rather critical, for coming into it unexpectedly he was surprised to find himself among several villages, populously inhabited and well arm'd with Musquets, and they had endeavoured to decoy him to a place where he observed, as he proceeded on, several large canoes well mann'd, he however did not go near them, and prevented them from following him.

July. On the 13th of July we took our leave of the Spaniards and made the best of our way to where Mr Johnstone left off, and on the 17th entered the Arm which is called in Captn: Vancouver's chart Johnstone's Arm. When we got near the Villages, which chiefly lye on the Southern Shore several canoes came off with Otter Skins to sell. Their demand was here as at Cape Classett-Copper or Blue Cloth, Musquets and Powder. Several of the Indians were habited in European Cloathes on most of which was a profusion of Metal Buttons, and of Musquets, there was scarce a canoe that we saw that had not two or 3 in it, and in excellent order. On the 18th by desire of Captn: Vancouver we parted from the Discovery to look into an Arm to the Northwd. This opening led us into many small arms & Branches among a cluster of Islands that ended all in Low Land. One of these Arms, and the most extensive, Mr Broughton called Knight's Canal, and the whole was named by Captn: Vancouver, Broughton's Archipelago.[22] In this business we were employed upwards of a week. We met with but few Indians (the populous part of this Sound being the So. side) they had all of them skins and for the first time we got from them plenty of excellent Salmon. On the 29th we again join'd the Discovery, she had since we left her, been at anchor off a very large Village call'd by the natives Whanneck, the chief's name was Cathlaginness, it was numerously inhabited but they were subject to Maquinna the chief of Nootka Sound; they as well as all the people we had seen since entering the Sound spoke the Nootka Language. Thus far and no further North does that Language extend and its limits to the Southwd. is about Cape Classett. At this Village were a great number of Sea Otter skins, and not less than two hundred was purchased on board the Discovery, chiefly for old Cloathes and some Copper.

As it is impossible to point out the boundaries of Defuca's Streights I have carried on that name till we came into a place to which we know there is a name and as all our examination continued Inland in Arms & Branches of the Sea I have now begun to entitle this "The Inland Navigation on the N. We. Coast of America."

22William Robert Broughton was associated with Vancouver as commander of the armed tender Chatham on which consort this journal written.

August. We continued our survey of the Continent in the usual way without any material circumstance happening till the 7th of August, being still in the Sound, when the Discovery got aground on a ledge of sunken rocks, we immediately brought up as near to her as we could with safety, and sent the boats immediately to her assistance. The Tide unfortunately was ebbing so that nothing could be done till High Water, when she was hove off with out receiving any apparent damage, for while she lay on the rocks the water was very smooth and she did not thump. We continued our course to the Nd. The very next evening, having but little wind and a strong Ebb tide running we were hustled upon some Rocks and stuck fast. The Discovery was ahead of us and on our making the Signal of Distress sent her Boats to our assistance. At High water we hove off but we had every reason to suppose that her Copper (at least) must have been much rubb'd, from her striking on the Rocks, as there was a good deal of swell, and indeed when we came to lay her ashore at Nootka, we had we found been right in our conjecture for besides the Copper being much rubb'd her Gripe and part of her false keel were carried away.

On the 11th we came to an anchor in Port Safety in Calvert's Island and the following day dispatched two Boat expeditions, one to the S. & E. to some opening we had pass'd and the other to the Nd. Here we endeavoured to lay the Chatham ashore, for to look at her bottom, but after frequent trials we found the Tide did not rise sufficiently. The Seine was haul'd here with very great success, the first haul we took 120 large Salmon. The weather that we hitherto enjoyed since entering the Streights of Defuca was remarkably fine having had in all that time not a weeks bad weather but now the scene was changed and we had nothing in this port but heavy rain & gloomy weather. On the 17th a Brig entered the Harbour who shew'd English Colours. An officer was immediately dispatched on board her. On his return we learn'd the Vessel's name was the Venus, commanded by a Mr Shepherd from Bengal, on a trading voyage to this Coast for skins, after she came to an anchor the Master of her waited on Captn: Vancouver with his papers and brought the agreeable news of our Storeship's being at Nootka waiting for us. He delivered Captn: Vancouver a letter from the Master of her, which had been given him in case of his falling in with us. This letter merely said that they had been lying at Nootka ever since the beginning of July and had heard of our being on the Coast from Mr Grey Master of the Columbia whom we had spoke the day we entered Defuca Streights. The news of her arrival threw everybody in high spirits which however was soon damp'd and in no small degree by hearing the remaining part of the letter, which mention'd that the King's Agent of the Transport, Lieut. Hergest, and the

Astronomer that was sent out in her to the Discovery had been unfortunately murdered by the Natives of Woahoo (one if the Sandwich Islands). The Spanish Commandant, Don Quadra, Mr Shepherd inform'd us was anxiously looking out for us as he had been sent there for the purpose of giving up the Port to us.

These circumstances, together with the unfavorable weather that still continued and which we imagin'd was the commencement of the bad season, induced Captn: Vancouver to alter his intentions and he now determined on giving up any further examination this year and to make the best of his way to Nootka. The 18th we all left the Port, the Venus standing to the S. E. whilst we proceeded to sea round the N. side of Calvert's Isld: the Boats having joined us after their examination about Noon. They had carried the continent up an extensive arm to a place called by Captn. V. Cape Menzies, in the Lat: 52.19 N. & Long: 232.57 Et. they were obliged to return their provisions being out but the arm seemed to run a considerable distance beyond where they left off. Our Lat: at Noon was 51.57.

We had now spent three months and a half in exploring an Inland Navigation between the Lats: 48.23 N & 52.19 N. and the Long: 235.38 & 232.57 E. having kept the continental shore on board ever since our entering the Streights of Defuca. The most Southern situation that we were in, in the Streights was in the Lat: 47.3 N call'd Paget's Sound and our most Eastern situation 238.2 E. long.

The Land in the Southernmost parts of these Streights was in several places exceedingly pleasant, there were many extensive plains where the soil was extremely rich and the verdure luxurious. Gooseberrys, Currants, Raspberrys & Strawberrys were to be found in many places, and at the most of them, the Raspberrys & Strawberries were well tasted. Onions were to be got almost everywhere, as was also Samphire and a plant call'd by the Sailors Fat-hen, both of which when boil'd eat remarkably well, the former being not unlike French Beans and the latter but little inferior to Spinach.

In the Northern parts two kinds of what is call'd Huckle-berrys, Red & Black, were found; these were excellent in Pies.

The Trees were of all kinds, Oak, Ash, Elm, Alder, Pine, Birch & Cedar. Of Oak & Cedar we did not see so much as of any of the other kinds, but as to the Pine Tree, the whole Coast is a Forest of it[23] and of it and the Oak we saw trees of an immense size and calculated for any uses.

For such an extent as we travers'd over in Defuca and in so grateful

[23]Reference is here made to the red fir, which has been called by many names from the first time the trees were seen to the present time.

a part of America, from what we saw, it cannot be said to be very populous, & tho' there were few that had not some European ornaments, Metals &c., about them, yet there were the most considerable number of them that I shou'd suppose never saw a Ship before. The European articles they possess being got I suppose by bartering with one another between them and the Sea Coast. They appeared in general very quiet people and the only weapons I ever saw among them were Bows & Arrows & some few knives (but I shall have occasion to mention some accounts of the Natives in general before I leave the Coast).

The Skins they had about them and what they brought to sell were all of Land animals, Moose, Deer, Bear, Fox, Raccoon, Wild Cat, Martin, Land Otter, Weazel, Rabbit &c. but no Sea Otters, these animals never being found so far inland.

After we got to Sea we were harrassed with a foul wind from the S. E. attended with Rain & Haze till the 25th (7 days) when at last we had the wind from the pleasant quarter N. W. and pass'd to the Westward of Scott's Islands, but what with calms and more foul winds it was not till the 28th that we came in sight of Nootka Sound.

On the 28th about 11 o'clock in the forenoon we enter'd the Sound with a fair fresh Breeze, but so very foggy that we had lost sight of the Discovery, nor did we see her when the Fog cleared away which was about Noon.

As we approach'd the Cove we observed a Boat coming out to us with the Spanish Colours flying, she came on board us, and proved to be the Guard Boat. The Officer in her, on hearing who we were, and that we were come out in company with the Discovery to receive this place of them, discovered much satisfaction and the people in the Boat were ready to leap overboard for joy, for it seems we were so long expected that they had now given up all hopes of seeing us at all this season.

We found lying in Friendly Cove His Catholick Mjs. Brig. Activa of twelve guns wearing Seigr. Quadra's Broad Pendant, the Doedalus Transport, with Stores and Provisions for us; and the Three Bs, a Brig commanded by a Mr Alder, on the Fur Trade from New Castle. The Discovery was not here. Seigr. Quadra sent off an invitation to Captn. Broughton to dine ashore which was accepted, and after the usual ceremonies of demandg: gun for gun we saluted the Fort with 13 guns which were returned with an equal number from the Activa. The Master of the Storeship, Mr New, waited on Captn. B. and brought some Packets of Letters for us from our friends in England.

About 4 o'clock the Discovery hove in sight and shortly after enter'd the Cove and took her berth close to us. She likewise saluted the Fort

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with 13 Guns, which was returned and in the evening Captn. Vancouver waited on Seigr. Quadra ashore.

The next day (the 29th) Seigr. Quadra gave a grand dinner at his house on shore to the two Commanders and their officers. After the dinner was over (which by the bye was given in a style but little expected in such a place as Nootka) Seigr. Quadra gave the Healths of the Sovereigns of England & Spain accompanied by 21 guns fired from his Brig and also Captn. Vancouver's health with 13 guns.

In the evening the Governor sent a couple of fine sheep with a large stock of Cabbages &c. on board each of the vessels and also a cask of Rum to the Ship's Company. The live stock on shore belonging to the Governor consisted of tbout ten head of cattle, some sheep & goats, Pigs, and Poultry of all kinds. Their stock, we were informed, had been much larger, but expecting that we should have been much earlier with them they had been very liberal with it and as it was supposed that on receiving the Port one of our vessels would stay here the remainder of the stock was intended to be left with us. There were besides several large gardens well stocked with vegetables of all kinds. All the Vessels in the Cove were regularly supplied with Hot Rolls, Milk & Vegetables every morning—such was the Hospitable and friendly attention of Seigr. Quadra.

Except the Governor's House,[24] which is large, and built of wood and has a second floor, there are none other except some sheds for Artificers and two or three storehouses. In one of these was now living a Mr Magee, Master of the Margaret, Merchant ship of Boston. She was now trading to the N. for Furs but had left Mr Magee here on account of ill health, his Surgeon and a gentleman of the name of Howell (a passenger) was residing on shore with him. But before we were here long we found that ill-health was not Mr Magee's only motive for remaining on shore here, for he was carrying on a most profitable trade with the Spaniards & Seamen in Spirituous Liquors, generously charging only four Dollars a gallon for Yankee Rum that cost him most probably about 2/-- or half a crown per gallon. Indeed the ill effects of this shameful trade was soon too great to pass without taking notice of it, and endeavouring to put a stop to it. Our Seamen were continually drunk which from the badness of the liquor threw them into fits of sickness; and Captn. Vancouver was at last oblig'd to take measures that prevented any further trade of that nature with our people.

On the Fort which is at the S. pt: of entrance of Friendly Cove there were now but two guns mounted; there had been 18 but the Frigate

[24]From sketches published by Vancouver, the present editor was able to locate the site of this house or fort in 1903 and several fragments of Spanish tile-like bricks were found where the foundation corners had rested.

which had sailed for San Blas about a month before had taken the remainder of the guns with her.

As we expected to remain here some time the Tents & observatory were taken ashore and set up in an advantageous spot behind the Governor's house in a garden fronting the entrance of the Sound. The new observatory with the circular instrument, Astronomical Clock, three Timekeepers & the other Astronomical Instruments that were sent out by the Board of Longitude with the unfortunate Astronomer Mr Gooch were also sent on shore here. We now heard the particulars of the two unfortunate gentlemen, Lieut. Hergest the Agent, and Mr Gooch and the poor seaman who were cut off by the Natives of Woahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands.

(Description of the massacre of these men is omitted as of no interest for the present purpose. A. H. T.)

August 30th. Seigr. Quadra, the Commandant, visited both ships this day when he gave a general invitation to all the officers to his table.

The agency of the Doedalus being vacant by the death of Lieut: Hergest, Captn. Vancouver appoint'd Mr. James Hanson, Lieut: of the Chatham to fill the vacancy, in consequence of which he promoted Mr Johnstone Master of the Chatham to Lieutenant of her in the room of Mr Hanson and a Mr Swaine (one of the mates of the Discovery) to be Master in the room of Mr Johnstone.

The Three Bs. Brig were now building a small vessel here which they had brought out from England in frame, Mr. Alder, the Commander of her, had two other vessels in this expedition under him, one of these was now to the Northward for Furs, the other he expected to meet at the end of this season at the Sandwich Islands. They belong'd to a company of merchants at New Castle.

There was now here a Mr Wetherell, Master of the Matilda, one of the Botany Bay Transports, who was unfortunately wrecked upon some Rocks in the Lat: —— and Long: ——. The crew, except the Chief Mate, were all saved and got safe to Otaheite about a month after we left that place. They had not remained long there before the Jenny, Captn: Baker of Bristol stopped there on his way to this Coast whither he was bound for Furs. The very confined size of his vessel, and the large crew he had, together with his not being provided with a superfluity of Provisions, would not admit of his taking more on board than Wetherell, his nephew and 4 or five seamen all of whom he brought to Nootka. The rest of the shipwrecked crew remain'd at Otaheite except three who took their boat and proceeded for Botany Bay., Captn. Baker having fitted out their Boat with different necessaries and provided them Provisions &c.

The Matilda had been at Botany Bay from whence after leaving her cargo of convicts she was bound on the Southern Whale Fishery and in her way call'd at Otaheite to refresh her crew, when about a week after leaving the Island, in the dead of night, she struck upon the Rocks where she was unfortunately wrecked, the Rocks had never been seen before. Seigr. Quadra with all that Benevolence & humanity that those who know him, knows he possesses, on hearing poor Weatherell's lamentable tale immediately took him under his protectioin, he supplied with money, invit'd him to make use of his house and Table as his own and at the same time offered to take him, a passenger, when he went himself to San Blas and provide him with an ample sum of money &c. to carry him home to England. Surely there cannot be a greater proof of the goodness of this man's character. Mr Wetherell wisely accepted these offers.

Everything being now got ready for hauling our vessel on the Beach, to look at her bottom, as we conceived she must have received some damage when she was on the Rocks in Queen Charlotte's Sound, the Yards and Topmasts were struck and at high water she was hauled upon Tide wou'd Ebb sufficiently for what we wanted to do to her without taking anything out of her. At low water she was left nearly dry when we found that part of her storn and false keel was knocked off and some copper torn off her bottom so that it was necessary to get her on blocks to repair her and that she must be lightened something in order to do this. Accordingly Blocks were prepared and laid down, the Guns and all the Lumber were sent on shore together with Hawsers & Cables, and some few casks of Provisions and part of the Water in the Forehold was started. The next day the 31st at high water we hove her head on shore but could not get her on the Blocks. More Provisions were now got out of her and the following days, September the first, at high water we hove her on the Blocks. At low water the carpenters repaired that part of the Storn that was knock'd off, which done, the Blocks were shifted forward to get at the False Keel but the next Tides not being high enough, could not get her upon the Blocks.

'Twas now found that it would be necessary to get everything out of the Vessel, in order to get her high enough on the Blocks to repair the False Keel, we therefore on Tuesday the 4th, at high water hove her off and moor'd at a short distance from the Beach to be ready to get on next Spring Tides.

It being supposed that the business between Captn. Vancouver and Seigr. Quadra, on the parts of the respective Courts as to the giving up and receiving this place, *was only a matter of course*, that could produce no difficulties nor differences on either side, and that everything would be

settled in due form; the Storeship shifted her berth nearer the shore and the Spanish Storehouses being emptied, parties were sent from the two vessels to help to unload her and house the Cargo in these Storehouses and Captn. Vancouver appointed Mr Orchard his clerk,[25] *Naval and Ordinance Storekeeper.*

About this time a party was made, of which I was one, to pay a visit to Maquinna the King of the Sound at his Village at Tashees, about 15 miles up the sound.[26] Four boats well mann'd and arm'd in case of accident set out on this expedition. The party consisted of Seigr. Quadra and his officers, Captns. Vancouver and Broughton and some of their officers. The weather was fine and the expedition was productive of much variety and amusement. Maquinna received us with all the welcome and Hospitality of a Prince and seem'd much pleased with the honor done him. On entering his house we were conducted up to the end of it where there were seats placed in a long range covered with clean matts. His wives (for he had no less than four) & his children all clean dressed were seated near this end of the house ready to receive us and along the sides within the house were ranged crowds of his subjects. Maquinna had prepared an entertainment for us which was to be exhibited after Dinner, in the meantime the two Captains made the Royal family some handsome presents consisting of Copper, Blue Cloth, Blankets &c.

The frame of Maquinna's house was amazingly large but only the habitable part of it was roof'd, this part was thirty yards long and eighteen broad. The roof was about 10 or 12 feet distant from the ground, and composed of large planks of Fir the ends of which were laid on Beams and were moveable at pleasure. But the size of the Beams and their supporters was what raised in us more surprise and astonishment from the labour they must have cost in placing them in their present situation than any thing else we saw among them. In this house were three of these Beams that run along the whole house, one along each side and the other in the middle. They were of an equal length and thickness. We measur'd one of them, and the dimensions were, in length, sixteen fathoms (or 32 feet) and in circumference twelve feet. They were supported at each extremity by Trees of much the same size on which were carved figures resembling (from the formation of the features) human figures but so large, and so horribly preposterous that they were frightful to appearance. The Beams were solid Trees without a Knot in them and varied very little in thickness at either end. At one end of this house

[25]This clerk had been honored by having Port Orchard named for him.

[26]The Indians moved from one village to another according to the season. At present they live mostly at the village in Friendly Cove where the transactions referred to took place. The present chief proudly wears the same name Maquinna.

were piles of Boxes and Chests, containing their Property and about a foot from the ground was a kind of Platform raised for the purpose of sleeping on & sitting on. It ran along one side of the house and across the ends and was about a yard wide. In a corner of the house was the Royal Kitchen, where the Cooks were busily employed in boiling Oil of different kinds, preparting Stews and Fricasees of Porpoise, Whale, Seal, and such delicious Meats. But the Cooks' trouble & skill was thrown away upon us for we had a far better dinner to sit down to. It was agreed on setting out that Don Quadra shou'd furnish the Eatables and Captn. Vancouver the Drinkables but one would have imagined that Seigr. Quadra's whole Household had been there. A Table was soon raised which was one of the broad planks from the roof of Maquinna's House and we were served up two Courses, *on Plate,* in a style little inferior to what we met with at the Governor's own house. After dinner Maquinna's Entertainment began. It was performed by men and chiefly consisted of a display of Warlike Evolutions. They were most fantastically dressed and I suppose in their best and most showy apparel which was for the most part all of English manufacture, such as Woolens, Blankets, Helmets and a number of other different wearable articles; indeed Maquinna's Brother was habited in a complete suit of Stage Armour that very likely was often the property of Hamlet's Ghost. Their faces were ludicrously painted in all colours among which Red & Black were the predominant and their Hair was richly perfumed with Fish Oil, powdered with Red Ochre & profusely adorned with the down of Birds' feathers. About twenty men, one after the other, and each waiting till the one before him had finished his part, and retired, first appear'd, every one having a musket in his hand. They entered running furiously, making horrid gestures, hallooing & dancing. After these, came in in the same manner an equal number of men having long spears in their hands. Each performer was summoned by a signal given by a number of men who sat near the door and who with small bits of sticks smartly struck a long plank of wood, this was the signal. After each man had made a circuit before the place where we were seated they retired to the opposite end of the house and being now all assembled there they joined in a song which they executed with great exactness in keeping tune and beating the ground together with their different weapons. Some of their songs were not devoid of Harmony. They were all of the Fierce & Warlike style and subject and one or two of them ended with a frightful Yell that to a strangers ear was truly terrific. Maquinna, dancing, now entered, dressed in a very rich garment of Otter skins with a round Black Hat, and a Mask on, and with a fanciful petticoat or apron, around which was

suspended hollow tubes of Copper and Brass and which as he danced, by striking against each other made a wonderful tingling noise. After dancing thus some time in the course of which he play'd some dextrous Pantomimical tricks with his Hat & Mask, he retired and two more songs were sung by the Performers, to which they danced. A man then came forward holding up a Sea Otter Skin and after most pompously and vociferously proclaiming that it was a present from the King Maquinna to Captn. Vancouver, laid it at his feet, then retiring and producing another skin went through the same forms[27] at the conclusion of which they all set up the Finale song and thus ended thsi Entertainment in which there was something grand & curious and well worth coming the distance from Nootka to see alone. As it was by this time late in the Evening, and it would not only have been imprudent but unpleasant to pass the night here we took our departure from Tashees and after pulling a few miles down the arm stopped to pass the night at a clear convenient spot on the Northern short where we erected the small Marquee and other Tents we had brought with us, and with an excellent supper, and much conviviality & pleasantry concluded the day. The following (day) after Breakfast we set out for the Cove, after stopping to dinner on a very pleasant point of an Island and drinking Tea at Mowinna, the Village of Clyquawkini, a chief of the Sound, we got to the Cove about dusk in the evening.

This trip was productive of much amusement, pleasure & variety, every person contributed what they could to render it pleasing, which with the good cheer provided by Seigr. Quadra and Captn. Vancouver made it to be regretted that it was not of longer continuance.

On our arrival at this place it was settled that we (the Chatham) were to winter here, and Mr. Quadra intended to leave the Houses, Gardens &c., in good order for us, but just about this time it was reported that some difference had arose between Captn. Vancouver & Mr. Quadra respecting the right of possession of the English to Nootka, but in so trifling a light was it considered and so very little was it thought 'twould effect the settlement of the business in the manner we conceived that scarcely any notice was taken of it and business still went on the same as ever. Mr. Quadra was making preparation for his departure with all dispatch, and considerable progress had been made in unloading the Doedalus. I had forgot to mention that Seigr. Quadra spoke no language but Spanish nor Captn. Vancouver any but English. All business was carried by an interpreter, a gentleman of the name of Dobson, one of the Mates of the Doedalus who fortunately spoke and wrote

[27]Evidently the writer here left out some such phrase as "for Seignor Quadra." It may be depended upon that the Indians knew the equal rank and different nationality of the two white leaders and would treat them the same on such an occasion.

tolerable good Spanish. I say fortunately for there was not any other person in the Cove that understood both Spanish and English except a servant of Mr. Quadra's and he could only *speak* them.

Maquinna came down from Tashees on the 7th and Captn. Vancouver according to his promise to him exhibited in the evening some Fireworks on shore, that astonished the natives though in a much less degree than I expected, for such is their frigid inanimate disposition that nothing will alter the Muscles of their Countenances, and the greater part of those that were present at this sight showed as much unconcern and were as little moved by it as if nothing of the kind was going on.

8th. This morning arrived here the Spanish Ship (or as they call them) Frigate, Aransasu, Commanded by Seigr. Don Camaano,[28] a Lieut. in the Royal Navy, one of His Catholic Majesty's Ships belonging to the Establishment at San Blas, their only Arsenal on the N. Western Coast of America. She came last from the Charlotte's Islands, which, together with some part of the Streights of Defonte they had this last summer employed surveying.

This Vessel was like all the other vessels in the Service of the King on this Coast to the Southward. They are used for little else than carrying stores &c., from San Blas to their settlements up the River Collerado & on the Coast of California. They are from two to five hundred Tons Burthen, built of Cedar, large, clumsy & ugly, carrying from about 16 to twenty Guns & from 100 to 130 men. They were formerly commanded by Pilots in the Spanish Service *of New Spain*, but since the Nootka disturbance, when Martinez (who then was only one of these Pilots) captured the British vessels, the Spanish Government understanding that the English were surprized, and displeased that a business of so important a nature should have been put in the hands of an officer of such low rank made an alteration in the establishment of the officers of these vessels, they sent out Lieutenants of the Royal Navy to command these Vessels, and the Pilots that before were the commanders became then the second in command on board, there are besides in the establishment two more Pilots, a Padre (or Priest) and a Surgeon. The Aransasu being on an expedition something out of their usual track had a Botanist on board her.

11th. This day arrived an American Brig call'd the Hope, com-

[28]His name is perpetuated by that given to the island lying between Whidby Island and the mainland. American geographers conferred the honor transferring the name from the waters explored by the Spaniard to the land he never saw.

[29]Reference is here made to Captain Joseph Ingraham, who had been at Nootka in 1788 as a mate with Kendrick and Gray. With the latter he returned to Boston in the Columbia and then accepted command of the Hope, sailing from Boston September 16, 1790. He was successful in the fur-trade, wintered in China and returned to Nootka as stated in 1792.

manded by a Mr Ingram,[29] on the Fur Trade. She had been one summer on the Coast and was now going strait to China with about 450 Skins. Mr Magee own'd a considerable share of this vessel.

The return of the Spring Tides, now fast approached and we began again to prepare for hauling on shore, the remainder of our water, which was of Thames river was started, the Spirits, Provisions, and in short every thing was landed out of her, and the Blocks were again laid down. On the 14th we endeavoured to get her on the Blocks but we found the water would not flow high enough for some days so that we again haul'd off. The same day the English Sloop Jackall arrived, a Mr. Stewart, Master, she is one of a Squadron of three vessels belonging to a company of London Merchants, the principal of which is Alderman Curtis, employ'd on this Coast on the Fur Trade, and afterwards intended to go on the Southern Fishery. The Commander of this expedition, a Mr Brown in a large ship call'd the Butterworth, was now, together with the third Vessel the Prince Lee Boo (a small sloop) to the Northward collecting their cargo. This was their first season, but they had as yet not been very successful. The Jackall came last from the Queen Charlotte's Islands.

On the 15th a very melancholy business[30] was discover'd. A fine little Spanish Boy—one of Mr Quadra's servants, who had been missing about eight & forty hours, was found most barbarously murdered in a small bight within the Cove where the Ships lay. A bloody knife was found lying near him. It is supposed he was decoyed thither by some of the Indians, under the pretence of gratifying an illicit intercourse with one of their women, but no reason could be assigned whatever for the taking away his life. No quarrel was known of that had happened between the Indians and him or any of the Spaniards, on the contrary the Indians enjoyed a happier time since the arrival of Mr Quadra among them that they had ever done since the Spaniards had been first there. None of his Cloathes were to be found but he was left naked with his throat cut in a dreadful manner from ear to ear. He had several stabs and cuts in his arms and on the backs of his hands, and the calves of his legs, and the fleshy parts of his thighs were most Butcherly cut out and supposed to be eaten by the savage perpetrators of this act.

When he was carried to the house, and the Indians heard of his being found, those that were in the Cove took instantly to their Canoes, and made out of the Cove, and in a few minutes not a canoe was to be seen, except one, which with four Natives happened to be on board the Hope Brig, but hearing the alarm, and observing the Spanish Boats com-

[30]Vancouver's brief account of this strange murder is not much different in conclusion. Both accounts leave the case shrouded in mystery.

ing in haste towards them, three of them jump'd into the canoe and got off, the remaining poor fellow had jump'd overboard from the Brig, and was endeavouring to escape by swimming, but he was taken up and carried on shore where he was detained a very short time being supposed innocent of the affair. Maquinna was sent for and Mr Quadra questioned him as to the murder, but declaring his total innocence of the transaction and his ignorance of it at all till he was sent for, nothing more was done and the matter rested. It is surely to be regretted that Mr Quadra's mildness and lenity would not suffer him proceeding further, and with more rigour in this inhuman affair, as it was thought by many, and even by all his own officers he ought, and might have done. But though I myself have not the most distant idea that the murder was committed by any persons but of the Native Indians, and that those parts of the Flesh cut out of the Legs & Thighs were eaten by them, it seems some of the Spaniards had their doubts of this, and did not think it improbable but that it was committed by a Mexican Indian, that had formerly belonged to the Spanish Brig but had deserted some time back and had not been heard of a good while. But this was far from being the general opinion, for the accounts of all that saw the Boy last pretty generally agreed that he was walking along the Beach towards the corner of the Cove with two Indians, and some of these said they saw him embark in a canoe from that place with these Indians and a woman and paddle towards the little Cove where he was afterwards found. But these good qualities, mildness and Lenity, that I have observed Mr Quadra possessed so considerable a share of, are often too mistaken, and are as frequently carried to as great extremes by some as the opposite qualities are by others. Here we may say Mr Quadra was *too good* a man, he even treated the Indians more like companions than people that should be taught subjection. His house was open to them all and a considerable number of them were fed there every day. But such goodness is thrown away on these wretches, they are possessed of no affection, nor gratitude and the man that would profess himself your warm friend today would cut your throat & dine off you tomorrow.

On the 18th arrived the Brig Fenis a trader belonging to Macao, under Portuguese Colours. She had been but one season on the Coast and was now going direct to China with a tolerable cargo of 700 Skins. The management of this concern was under a Mr Duffin who was on board her. This is the Mr Duffin that was in the Feluce with Mr Mears when he first came to Nootka and built his small vessel in the summer of '88 and that was afterwards in the Argonaut when she was captured (under the command of Mr Colnett) by the Spaniards in this

Cove in the summer of '89 and so often mentioned in Mears's Memorial & papers respecting the captures &c.,

'Twas about this time that the business between Seigr. Quadra and Captn. Vancouver respecting the giving up and receiving of Nootka was drawing to a conclusion and we found after all that the difference respecting the *right* of Possession of the English to this place, which I have before mentioned arose between these two gentlemen, and which was at that time thought so little of, was now the very barrier to the settlement of the business and it was now known that the Spaniards would not give the place up to us, in the manner that we wanted. Nor did either party conceive that they acted contrary to the Articles of the Convention. Various letters officially passed between Captn. Vancouver & Mr Quadra.

The Article of the Convention runs thus:— "It is agreed that the Building and tracts of Land situated &c. &c. of which the subjects of His Britannick Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April 1789 by a Spanish Officer shall be restored to the said British Subjects."

The place where Mr Mears built his house was in a little hollow of the Land[31] in the N. Western corner of the Cove formed by high rocky Bluffs at each side; here it was he built his vessel, for which purpose it was extremely commodious and as he carried on all his operations in this corner, 'twas natural for him to have his houses, sheds &c., contiguous to his works, not, but what he had (according to his own account) an equal right to all and any other part of the Cove, having purchased the whole of the Land, of the Chiefs Callicum and Maquinna, but he had built his house, sheds &c. and carried on all his business here because it was a snug, convenient place. For the same reason when we first came in, because the place seemed so convenient, we erected a Tent here, and all the repairs of the boats, casks &c. was done here. Our Cables, Provisions &c. when taken out to lay the vessel ashore were landed here, and 'twas at this place the Chatham was haul'd on shore and repaired. The two high rocky Bluffs I have spoken of were the limits at each side, and the Sea Beach, and an old Tree towards the end of this little nitch in the land, were the other limits of the ground that Mr Mears's works & houses occupied and in this space there was not altogether half an acre of ground, with in it, the Spaniards had no buildings of any kind. Now Mr Quadra says that, as this was the only place occupied by Mears, *this spot* of ground, and *this spot only* was all the "Tracts of Land of which the Subjects of His Britannick Majesty were dispossessed," that consequently this was the extent of the British

[31]Vancouver published a picture of "little hollow," which allows one to pick out the exact site at the present time.

Territories on this Coast, and to no more than which they have any right or claim, and that finally, according to the Letter of the Article in the Convention, he could only give this Spot up to Captn. Vancouver as *British property* and under the *Sovereignty of Great Britain.* He said he would leave us in possession of the *whole of the place*, and his own house, and all the other houses and buildings &c., but not as British property, that the right of Sovereignty of the whole of the Sound (except the little spot of British Territory I have mentioned) should belong to the King of Spain and should remain *Spanish property.* I have likewise heard that he even said, that, when he was going away the Spanish Flag should be haul'd down from the Fort on Hog Island, and the English Colours being hoisted in their room he would salute them, but this was only said in conversation. Captn. Vancouver asked him to write this officially in a letter, that however he would not do, for had he done it, little more altercation would have taken place, as the striking their colours, and saluting the English in their room, would be a cessation of the place to all intents and purposes. On these terms that I have stated Captn. Vancouver refused to receive the place and here the matter rested, till, as is specified in the Treaty, the two Courts decide the difference.

Mr Quadra prepar'd for sailing in a few days, he dispatched the Hope Brig to the Streights of Defuca,[32] at the entrance of which the Spaniards have a small settlement and a Frigate lying there, with orders to the commander to evacuate the settlement and make all haste to Nootka where he was to remain for the ensuing winter.

Mr. Duffin happened to arrive about the time that the above difference arose respecting Nootka, and in order to substantiate Mr Mears's rights & claims to the Land, and to do away all claims of the Spaniards on just grounds, he drew up the following statement, and delivered to to Captn. Vancouver.[33] "To Captn. George Vancouver, commander of His Britannick Majesty's Ships Discovery and Chatham, now lying in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. Whereas different reports have been propogated relative to what right Mr Mears had for taking possession of the Land in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. I shall here state with that candour and veracity which has always influenced me on such occasions, an impartial account of Mr Mears's proceedings in the above Port.

"Towards the end of the year 1787 a commercial expedition was undertaken by John Henry Cox Esq. & Co., Merchants then residing at Canton, who accordingly fitted and equipp'd two ships for the Fur Trade on the N. W. Coast of America. The conduct of this expedition was

[32]Reference is here made to Neah Bay which the Spaniards had called Nunez Gaona. There Lieutenant Fidalgo was beginning a fort.

[33]The testimony was considered important by Captain Vancouver, who sets it forth at considerable length in his journal.

reposed in John Mears Esq., as commander in chief and sole conductor of the voyage & who was likewise one of the Merchant proprietors. These vessels were equipped under Portuguese Colours with a view to mitigate those heavy port charges imposed on ships of every nation (the Portguese only excepted) which circumstanc is well known to all commercial gentlemen trading to that part of the world, therefore the above vessels were fitted out in the name and under the firm of John Cavallo Esq., a Portuguese Merchant then residing at Macao, but he had no property in them whatsoever, both their Cargoes being entirely British property and entirely navigated by British Subjects.

"We arrived at the above Port in Nootka Sound in May, 1788. On our first arrival at that port the two chiefs Maquinna & Callicum were absent. On their return which was about the 17th or 18th of the same month Mr Mears and myself accompanied by Mr Robert Funter our 2nd officer went ashore and treated with the said chiefs for the whole of the Land which forms Friendly Cove Nootka Sound in His Britannick Majesty's name and accordingly bought it of them for 8 or 10 Sheets of Copper and several other trifling articles and the Natives were fully satisfied with their agreement and their chiefs and likewise their subjects did homage to Mr Mears as their Sovereign using those formalities that are peculiar to themselves and which Mr Mears has made mention of in his publication. The British Flag was display'd at the same time that these formalities were used as is customary on these occasions (and not the Portuguese Flag as has been intimated by several people who were not present at the time and consequently advanced these assertions without a foundation). On our taking possession of the Cove in his Maj's. name as aforementioned Mr Mears caused a house to be erected on the Spot where the Chatham's Tent now stands it being the most convenient spot of the Cove for our intentions. The chiefs and their subjects offered to quit the Cove entirely and reside at a place call'd Tashees and leave the place to ourselves as entire Masters and owners of the whole Cove and Lands adjacent, consequently we were not confined to that spot but had full liberty to erect a house in any other part of the Cove, but chose the spot we did for the abovemention'd reason. Mr Mears therefore appointed Mr Rob; Funter, his 2nd. officer, to reside in the house which consisted of 3 Bedchambers for the Officers and men, and a Mess room. The above apartments were about 5 feet from the ground and under them were apartments allotted for putting our stores in. Exclusive of this house were several sheds and outhouses for the convenience of the Artificers to work in, and on Mr Mears's departure the house &c. was left in good con-

dition, and he enjoin'd Maquinna to take care of them until his (Mr Mears's) return or else some of his associates on the coast again.

"It has been said by several people that on Don Martinez's arrival on the Coast not a vestige of the said house remain'd, however that may be I cannot say as I was not at Nootka when he arrived there. On our return in July 1789, in the said Cove we found it occupied by the Subjects of His Catholic Majesty and likewise some people belonging to the Ship Columbia, commanded by Mr John Kendrick under the Flag and protection of the United States of American had their Tents and out houses erected on the same spot where formerly our house stood but I saw no remains of our Architecture. We found lying at anchor in the same Cove His Catholic Majesty's Ships Princessa and San Carlos and likewise the Ship Columbia and Sloop Washington, and the second day after our arrival we were captured by Don Martinez and the Americans were suffered to carry on their commerce with the Natives unmolested. This, Sir, is the best information I can give you that might tend to elucidate the propriety of Mr Mears's rights & claims to Nootka Village and Friendly Cove, and shou'd anyone whatsoever doubt the truth of this protest I am always ready to attest it before any Court of judicature or any one person duly authoriz'd to examine me.

I have the honor to be,
Sir, your &c. &c.
(Signed) Robt. Duffin"

Before Mr. Duffin sail'd from Nootka Sound he made oath to the above before Captn. Vancouver. The state of affairs was now materially altered and instead of our (the Chatham) staying at Nootka it was confidently reported she was to go immediately home to England with dispatches. The Doedalus who was now just unloaded was ordered to reload as quickly as possible and each of the Vessels were to take a certain quantity of stores and provisions out of her.

On the 19th at high water we hove the vessel on the Blocks and repair'd that part of the false Keel that was knock'd off. The following day we hove her Broadside on the beach to repair some Copper, that was knock'd off her keel farther aft and on the 21st the repairs being finished we hove off and began reloading with all dispatch. The same day arrived the Margaret, American ship belonging to Mr Magee. She had made a successful trip to the Northward and had collected together between 11 & 1200 Skins and as she was to come on the Coast the following season she landed here on the beach the frame of a small Schooner with one of her Mates and a party of seamen & artificers who were to be her crew. These people were to remain here the winter and build

this little vessel so as to be ready to start on the coast the first ensuing season. They were to live in the house now occupied by Mr Magee who was going away in the Margaret to the Sandwich Islands from whence he was uncertain whether he should proceed to China to dispose of his cargo and come out again or spend the winter at those Islands and after that come strait on to the Coast.

On this day Mr Quadra took his farewell dinner with Captn. Vancouver on board the Discovery as he intended sailing the next day. Seigr. Camaano was likewise there. The healths of the Spanish & English Sovereigns were toasted with great Loyalty, and accompanied by a salute of 21 Guns from the Discovery, and Mr. Quadra's health and good passage to his next port was most cheerfully bumpered, and accompanied by a salute of 13 guns, in the evening he insisted on our all going on shore, and spending the last evening with him which we did exceedingly pleasantly with Singing, Music, Dancing and all kinds of amusements. The next morning he sail'd in the Activa Brig for Monterrey a Spanish Settlemnet on the Coast of California and as he rounded Hog Island paid the last compliment to Captn. Vancouver by saluting him with 13 Guns, which was return'd. With Mr Quadra Mr Wethered went. Seigr. Camaano now hoist'd his Pendant on board the remaining Spanish Vessel the Arasansu, and became the Commandante of the Place. He took up his residence on shore in the Government house.

Never was the departure of a man more regretted than that of Mr Quadra's. He was universally belov'd and admired and the only consolation we had was that we should see him again at Monterrey (whither 'twas reported we were to go from this) there he said he wou'd wait for us and make it his business to receive us. In such a place as Nootka, so remote from all civilized places (except the small settlements in California) and after having been so long there, he lived in a style that I should suppose is rarely seen under such circumstances, and supported the dignity of his Court in a very becoming manner. His house was open to every gentleman, he gave few particular invitations, they were general. He was fond of society and of social amusements and the Evening parties at his house were among the pleasantest I have spent since leaving England. One of the Articles in the Convention provides for all difficulties which may arise between the officers of either party in case of infraction of the treaty being settled by *only* the two Courts. Captain V. and Seigr. Quadra therefore parted on as good terms as they met.[34]

[34]Captain Vancouver, in his own journal, manifests the same enthusiasm in speaking of the character of Quadra.

23rd. This day arrived the American Ship Columbia commanded by Mr Grey and his sloop the Adventure.[35] This little vessel was built on this coast. He was now proceeding to China with a valuable cargo of skins, having no less (according to report) than 17 or 1800. He sail'd the next morning. It was very difficult here to come at the truth of what numbers of skins ships collected; for the Masters of them and their mates & ships company, whether from a privilege they think they can claim by passing round Cape Horn, or from some unaccountable species of distrust or jealousy seldom agree in their accounts of their quantity on board, many of them, and often, varying hundreds of skins. However I believe I may be somewhat tolerably near the truth in the quantities I have mention'd throughout, at all events I am pretty sure I am not above the mark, more likely considerably under it.

28th. We had hitherto since we came been very fortunate in our weather having had regular Land and Sea Breezes every day with clear pleasant dry Weather but today the wind came from the S. E. and blew a very fresh Gale with rain, which continued all night and the next day, and in the evening, by a sudden gust, the Bower Cable parted in the nip of the clinch, and as we were moor'd pretty near the shore in the N. W. part of the Cove, the vessel on parting swung head to wind and gently drifted on the Rocks, but we soon clear'd her by heaving on the N. E. Cable. We then weigh'd the anchor we parted from and bent the Cable which the Deodalus's Launch carried it out to the S. E. corner of the Cove where we hove into and moor'd. She had received no damage her side only having touch'd the rocks and that slightly.

Captain Vancouver now thought proper to send his first Lieut: Mr. Zach Mudge to England with his dispatches. He was to sail in a day or two in the Fenis bound direct to China (touching in her way at the Sandwich Islands) and from thence to proceed home by the first India Ship. In consequence of this more promotions took place. Mr Paget (2nd Lieut. of the Discovery) became first Lieut:, Mr Baker (the 3rd Lieut:) became second, Mr Swaine our late new Master was promoted to 3rd Lieut: and Mr Munby, a Master's Mate of the Discovery appointed Master of the Chatham.

October. On the 1st of October the Fenis with Lieut: Mudge on board sail'd out of the Sound as also the Jackall sloop. We had by this time got nearly all our Provisions and Stores on board. The Guns were this day got off and the Yards and Topmasts were sway'd up. Our water was almost compleated, the late rain had formed a fine run of water in the *British Territories,* before this we had been obliged to send

[35]The Spaniards bought this little vessel from the Americans, paying for her "seventy-five prime sea otter skins."

above two miles for that article. The weather return'd to its old pleasant state and we had now the regular Land and Sea Breeze.

On the 2nd in the morning arrived the Spanish Frigate Princessa commanded by Seigr. Don Salvador Fidalgo,[36] a Lieut: in the Royal Navy, together with the Hope Brig, Ingram, this is the same Princessa which Martinez commanded when he took possession of Nootka but is much such another Vessel as the Aransasu but carried more guns and men. She had 10 Guns mounted.

This Vessel came from the entrance of the Streights of Defuca, where in a small part near Cape Classett, they as I have already mentioned had a small settlement, their only establishment being the Princessa and her crew: they now evacuated it.[37] A melancholy murder as equally unprovoked, although not attended with such barbarous circumstances, as that of the Spanish Boy, was committed during their stay at their new Settlement. The first Pilot of the Princessa going on shore with his fowling piece to amuse himself shooting, after proceeding a little distance from where he landed was dragg'd by a party of the natives (with whom they had till that time been on the most amicable terms) into the woods, where they stripp'd him naked, and then taking his Gun from him which was loaded with Ball, they shot him dead with it. No provocation was known to have been given. Seigr. Fidalgo therefore determined very properly to punish these Savages for so atrocious a crime in a manner that it well deserved and with a severity that would make them ever remember it, and deter them from committing such for the future. He fired indiscriminately on the whole tribe, laid the Village waste, and routed them so successfully that they fled to the opposite side of the Streights.

Mr Fidalgo being an older officer than Seigr. Camaano immediately took the command on him, and as he was to remain here the winter, where he might expect much bad weather, he wisely began whilst the fine weather remain'd, to repair and refit his House, Gardens &c. He brought with him from the late settlement in Defuca, no less than 8 head of cattle, besides Poultry in abundance, Hogs, Goats, Sheep &c. On the 4th Seigr. Camaano in the Arasansu sail'd out of the Cove.

6th. This day the Jenny a ship Schooner, Baker, Master, belonging to Bristol, on this coast for Skins, arrived in the Cove. She had been but one season on the Coast and being unsuitably provided with articles of Traffic, her success had been but poor, having collected no more than about 350 good Sea Otter Skins. As she was to take the

[36]His name is commemorated by that of the island separated from the mainland of Skagit County, Washington, by Swinomish Slough. Anacortes is the principal city on Fidalgo Island.

[37]They had begun the erection of a fort at Neah Bay, for to this day fragments of old Spanish bricks are found where the foundations were started.

cargo home to England by orders, Mr Baker had determin'd on going now straight home, touching only at the Island of Masafuero to kill a few seals. Had he had a pass to entitle him to have gone to China where he could have sold his cargo he would have in that case laid in an assortment of articles that would have suited the natives on this Coast, to which he would have return'd and probably procured a valuable cargoe. He had on board two poor Girls, Natives of the Sandwich Islands whom he had brought with him from those Islands, but not wishing to touch there on his way home (provided he could otherwise get them a passage to their home) and hearing that Captn. Vancouver was now in Nootka he came in here for the purpose of requesting him to give them a passage to their native Island Atooi. This was readily agreed to, and the Ladies accordingly remov'd into the Discovery. There the poor girls found themselves happy and satisfied not only with the pleasing idea of getting soon home to their friends & country, but having a companion on board the Discovery, (one of their countrymen that Captn. Vancouver brought with him from Owhyee as I have at that place taken notice of) to whom they cou'd converse and who from his knowledge of our language could contribute much to their comfort by interpreting their wants and desires.

This is the Vessel that touch'd at Otaheite and brought from that place Mr Wethered, and the 4 or 5 others of the shipwrecked crew of the Matilda. Besides touching at Otaheite she had likewise touch'd at Easter Island, and, on her passage from Otaheite to the Sandwich Islds; at Christmas Island, where Mr Baker found Captn. Cook's Bottle, and he also found what Captn. Cook could not find on this Island, which was the very essential article fresh water. Here he completed his Wood & Water, turn'd about 70 Turtle, and found plenty of excellent Cocoa Nuts. He left on the Island a fine Otaheite Boar & a Sow big with young and half a dozen Cocks & Hens, and putting another paper mentioning what he had done here into the Captn. Cook's Bottle seal'd it up again and left it in the same place he found it.

8th. We had very fresh Breezes from the S. E. attended with rain and we afterwards learn'd it had blown a very heavy Gale at sea. The Doedalus being now reladen, shifted her birth further out and was getting ready for sea.

10th. Arrived the Butterworth English Ship, Mr. Brown, Master, together with one of his Squadron, the Jackall. Of these Vessels I have already given some small account. I shall only here add that the Squadron under him had been but unsuccessful this, their first season, but they were yet to be on the coast another season from which Mr. Brown expected great things.

The sale of the effects of the late unfortunate gentlemen Messrs Hergest and Gooch commenced this day. Only the Officers and gentlemen of the two Vessels were permitted to purchase anything. The sale was by auction and as wearing apparel was among the principal articles (Books & Nautical Instruments being the chief of the remaining things) every thing went off well and indeed the generality at high prices.

On the 11th arrived here the Prince William Henry, English Schooner, a Mr Ewing Master, belonging to New Castle and one of Mr Alder's Squadron employ'd on the Fur Trade. She had not procured many Skins. This Vessel made a most remarkable passage from England to the Coast round Cape Horn having made it in no more than 5 months including a fortnight's stay at the Sandwich Islands. I have since understood that Mr Alder and his associates were proceeding illegally in their Commerce not having a South Sea pass, this renders them fair and lawful prizes to all Vessels on the Coast properly authorized to Trade.

Being now ready for Sea and having got our Boats & everything from the shore, on the 13th the Discovery made the Signal to unmoor. The wind that for some days before had been from the S. E. blowing fresh with rain now shifted to its old quarter the N. W. with regular night Land Breezes. The Jenny, Hope and Margaret sail'd out of the Cove, at 9 warped further out, but the Doedalus not being yet unmoor'd we brought up in 13 fathom water. At 11 we weigh'd but the wind shifting more to the Northward the Vessel wore round upon the point of the Cove and took the ground. We soon however hove her off and as we then thought without receiving much damage, but in this we were mistaken as will appear hereafter. We anchored after this outside the Cove, and at 7 o'clock the next morning once more weigh'd and with the Doedalus in company made sail out of the Sound, saluting the Fort with 13 Guns which was return'd with an equal number from the Princessa. The Discovery having got clear out the night before did not come to an Anchor but stood out and we now saw her lying too for us. As we were going out we saw a Brig working into the Sound which we took to be the three Bs.—Alder.

We were now bound to Monterrey, a Spanish Settlement on the Coast of California, touching on our way at Deception Bay (as 'tis called by Mr Mears) in the Latitude of 42.18 N or thereabouts, where Mr Grey, Master of the American Ship Columbia found a River which he enter'd, and being the first person as he conceived that ever entered it, he call'd it Columbia River. By a plan of it which Captn. Vancouver got at Nootka Mr Grey proceeded up the River about 50 miles where he left it wider considerably than the Entrance, and from whence

nothing of its source or termination was to be seen. Our business therefore was to determine either its source or termination.

After the commencement of the month of October much bad weather may be expected on this Coast as far to the Southward as the Latitude of 39° and 40° N and our passage to that situation which I shall presently relate will fully evince the truth of this observation. Had we sail'd from Nootka at the time Mr Quadra did, or even as late as the 1st of October we shou'd have escaped perhaps one of the most disagreeable, one of the most unpleasant passages that we have experienced, or shall experience during the voyage. S. E. Gales, with constant rain and Fogs, is the predominant weather on this coast in the Winter Months and we were informed by the Spaniards and others that have wintered at Nootka that they have been most generally three months of incessant hard rain. Very little snow falls on the low ground nor is the Frost at all intense, the Ice on no part of their Lakes or Rivers being above an inch thick.

These were among the comforts we shou'd have enjoyed had we remained here for the Winter which it was certainly intended we should had the place been given up to us as was expected.

The Latitude of Friendly Cove as it was made at the Observatory on shore was 49°34′30″ N.—and the Longitude 233°33′Et of Greenwich.

Having now given an account of our transactions in Nootka Sound I shall proceed in the following pages to give some account of the Natives of the Coast we have been on this season and on the Trade to it for Skins although Mr Mears's Voyage, so generally read in England, and Portlock's, Dixon's and tho' the last, yet the best of all Cook's, very accurately give everything materially worth noticing.

Of the Natives of Nootka Sound and the Coast adjacent, their Manners, Customs, &c.

Although we had now been on the Coast of America for nearly six months—a whole summer—yet it is to be remembered all our Navigation from entering Defuca's Streights had been Inland and we had but little opportunity of making any remarks on the Inhabitants except those of Nootka, for as to what we saw in the Streights of Defuca they were not very numerous, they however, as well as those we saw off Cape Classett at the entrance of the Streights seem'd from what we could observe, to differ but little in appearance, manners, customs &c., from the Nootkan Indians, except the language, this at the entrance of the Streights and at the Sound into which we came from Desolation reach (and which led us to the Sea) was the same as spoken in Nootka Sound,

but in the interior part of the Streights, more than two or three very different languages are spoken. The generality of the men are under the middling size, tolerably well made with long Black Hair and good teeth, their Eyes small & Black with but little vivacity or expression in them, their cheek bones are in general high and prominent and their foreheads in the generality of them also very high and tapering to a small size at the back of the head. This curious distortion of the head is occasion'd by the manner they are treated when Infants, the head being tightly bound up in a Cradle with Fillets to produce the intended shape. The women except having their heads distorted in much the same manner as the men, in general in my opinion are superior in appearance to the men. They are delicate, with tolerable good eyes and smooth skins and I have seen some very handsome faces among them. The colour of these people when they are clean and free'd from the Ochre and filth with which they daub themselves, approaches very near to Europeans and some women I have seen as white as an English woman.

In their countenances they have very little animation, on the contrary they are in general of a very reserved dejected appearance and are not very prone to mirth. The women are very modest in their behaviour and cannot bear the most trifling attacks of gallantry. An indelicate word will often bring tears into their eyes but as there are few Societies without a Bad member or two so it was here.

The married men here were very jealous and could no more bear any indelicacy offered to their wives than they themselves. Polygamy is allowed here, at least I know among the chiefs, who are allow'd many wives. Maquinna had four, by all of whom he had children. Both men and women are extremely filthy and dirty in their persons, dwellings, manner of living and in short in everything whatever. They seldom or ever wash themselves, and they beautify themselves highly in their opinions by besmearing their faces with Red Ochre and white paint mixed with Fish Oil, in different figures, which at times renders their appearance frightful. This custom is however commonly confined to the men. As to their Hair, very little or scarce any care is taken of it by the men except indeed that when it is long enough they often plait the hind part into several separate long tails, which by being adorn'd on those days that they go to Whale feast or other Gala, with a large quantity of Powder'd Red Ochre, Oil of Fish, and down of Birds, get in time so thick and clotted as to become next to inseparable. They never use combs but the Women do and their Combs which are of wood are made by themselves. The Hairs of the women hang down behind straight and in the middle of the Front of the head is parted off towards each side but it is mixed

troughout with oil which is generally Venison Oil and with this species of oil the women likewise are fond of greasing their faces. But the combs they make use of are only for the purpose of combing the Hair smooth and straight and not for destroying vermin. These they conceive too precious to run the risk of loosing by using small combs therefore they pick them out with their fingers from each others heads and not willing to go unrewarded for their pains—eat them. Their Garments, Canoes and fishing implements are their chief workmanship and of these I procured samples that will better shew their ingenuity than I can explain it. The Garments worn by all ranks are much the same, the most common kind are made of the inside part of the Bark of the Pine tree[38] which after going through a particular process of steeping it in water, beating it out &c. is wove in small narrow strips into the Garment, the upper edge being generally bound with a Strip of Sea Otter skin and the end terminating in Tassels & fringes either of the Bark or of a small line which they make from a species of Flax plant. The Chiefs frequently wear Otter Skins, either made into Garments, or in their natural state as taken from the animal, only sewing the sides of two together and letting the head & paws hang over like lappets, but the shape and manner of wearing these garments I had forgot to mention, the Garment is square, or nearly so, being deep enough to hang from the chin to just below the Calves of the legs and long enough to wrap round them, this is passed under the left arm and ties with a thong at the two upper corners, over the right shoulder leaving thereby both arms free and the right side of the garment open entirely. Over this in bad weather they commonly wear a small round cloak if I may be allowed to call it so, it is of one piece, circular, with a hole to admit the head, and hangs from the neck to the middle of the body. They likewise manufacture a Woollen Cloth which they use to wear, though not so generally as the other kinds I have mentioned, this I believe is made from the Wool of an animal which we never saw and call'd the Mountain Sheep.[39] This last being much scarcer than their other manufactures, are more valuable among themselves than Otter Skins, that is, *one* garment is of more value than *one* Otter skin.

Besides their employment at these manufactures, fishing & killing the Sea Otters are their principal occupations. As to their amusements and pleasures I cannot say that I ever saw any, nor do I think they have any. They are extremely indolent and lazy and in general seem devoid of mirth. Their risible Faculties are seldom exercised and they never appear surprized, delighted or astonished at any thing they see, however

38A mistake was here made by the observer. The bark used was that of the cedar tree. (Thuja plicata.)

39In reality the mountain goat which does produce wool while the mountain sheep produces hair like a deer.

new, strange, or entertaining. In their tempers I should suppose them very suspicious, fearful and revengeful. They eat all their food (which always is Fish) boiled or broil'd and this they perform by putting the Fish into a Wooden Vessel with water which they heat by putting hot stones in.

Their Houses are universally built of Wood and in the same manner as that of Maquinna's which I have described. The Natives about Nootka have regular Summer and Winter Habitations. Their Summer ones are near the Sea Coast and their Winter ones, on the banks of the Arms of the Sea that run for a considerable distance Inland. All the Indians that we have seen this year on the Coast have preferr'd Copper to all other Articles. Blue Cloth was I believe equally as valuable. Next to these two articles all other kinds of Cloth of Woollen manufacture, large Yellow Metal Buttons, Copper Tea & Cooking Kettles were in most estimation. They are very fond of our food, and their general cry was for Bread and this they preferred to everything else in barter for Fish and such like small articles. But of all the different things they get the Woollen Cloth is almost the only one that is ever seen among them a second time, for they wear it on them and in the same fashion they wear their own garments. Perhaps the other articles they send inland to Barter with different tribes of Indians, for what, those on the Sea Coast cannot themselves attain otherwise. This indeed is known to be the case, some of the Masters of the Merchantmen told me they saw articles among Indians in the Latitude of 46° that they sold to Indians in the Latitude of 55 & 56 N and the Natives explain'd that they had got them last from an Indian tribe, and thus I suppose do the articles traverse from tribe to tribe. Sails for their canoes they are likewise very fond of, and use them with great dexterity.

As to the religion of these Indians I know nothing, it being a subject too profound to enter into with them, and more especially as I was not sufficiently acquainted with their Language for such an undertaking. We had however frequent opportunities in Defuca's Straits of seeing the manner the Indians there dispose of their dead and which I conceive to be the same method they use at Nootka from the very inconsiderable distance between the two places and the very great affinity between them in all their other manners and customs. The corpse is wrapp'd up either in Matts or Deer Skins, according I should imagine to the rank of the deceased, and put into a canoe which is secured in the spreading branches of the largest Trees. About the middle of the Tree we often found canoes fastened on the lower Branches and some of them containing four or five dead Bodies. Sometimes instead of a canoe we found the Corpse squees'd

into a Box. This last method I shou'd suppose was used by those who could not afford to expend a Canoe for such purposes.

Though Maquinna is the greatest chief in the neighborhood of Nootka Sound yet Wicananish who resides at Clyonquot[40] seems to me to be the Emperor of the Sea Coast between Defuca's Streights and Woody point, an extent of upwards of a degree & a half of Latitude, and the most populous part of the Coast (for its extent) but Maquinna is not tributary to him nor does he allow his rank to be inferior to Wicananish's. Their families are united by Marriage which of course unites their Politicks. Wicannanish's property is very great and as I before mentioned is possessed of about 400 Muskets. With such a force no wonder that small vessels are afraid to enter the Port. He attempted to take the Ship Columbia while she was wintering in Clyonquot but I must confess I cannot bestow much pity on those who have been attacked when I recollect that they themselves have put the very weapons in their hands which are turn'd against them. Notwithstanding this threacherous piratical disposition the Chiefs behave with some degree of honor to those with whom they make bargains.

Wicananish amongst others frequently receives in advance from the Masters of Vessels (particularly Mr Kendrick) the value of from 50 to 100 Skins to be paid in a certain time which hitherto he has commonly fulfill'd and when the Butterworth & Jenny were together in that part I have understood they could not purchase a skin as Wicananish was making up a quantity he owed and had likewise made a promise to the person he was in debt to to keep all the skins for him over and above the sum due, that he collected. From what I have seen and heard I have not a doubt remaining in my own mind that these Indians are Cannibals. Knowing well in what light we consider this species of Barbarity, of course, when questioned on the subject they will not own it but the circumstance of the murder of the Spanish Boy where the Flesh was clearly cut out of the Legs & thighs and some other of the fleshy parts of the Body puts it beyond a doubt. It was well known among the Spaniards that Maquinna had killed and feasted on two Boys his own Slaves a little time before Mr Quadra arrived at Nootka for which Mr Quadra threatened to kill him. The fear of this prevented him doing it in so public a manner as that it could be found out although it is said he had often since privately regaled himself on human flesh. During the time we were at Nootka Mr Hanson in passing from the Doedalus to the Chatham had a human hand thrown into the boat to him from some Indians in a Canoe that had not been a very long time cut from the

[40]Spelled Clayoquot in British Columbia literature. Clayoquot Sound is on the western shore of Vancouver Island, south of Nootka Sound.

Body. In short from all that I have heard and from my own observation I have no doubts (as I already observed) but that these Indians are Cannibals.[41] Having now dwelt long enough on the Indians of Nootka I shall proceed to make some observations on the Fur Trade on the N. W. Coast of America nor am I going to give these observations and opinions on the subject as entirely my own, many of them being collected from the conversation of those whom I conceive to be good judges of the matter.

The Trade to the N. W. Coast of America had it been properly carried on might now have probably been a remarkably lucrative one. Had England in the first instance taken possession of the Coast by making a settlement at Nootka or some other convenient place and built a Fort and confined the Trade to themselves the Advantages arising from it to England would I should suppose be great. The average prices of the first cargoes of Sea Otter Skins that were carried to China (according to an account of them which I have seen published by Mr Dalrymple and which he says was procured from a Mr Cox a Merchant residing at China) compared to the average prices of the latest cargoes carried there were greater in the proportion of more than three to one. Many of the first Cargoes having sold on an average at 40 dollars per Skin whilst the late cargoes averaged no more than from 12 to 15 dollars per skin, though more good skins were among the cargoes of the latter, the more considerable part of the first cargoes being composed of garments of skins that had been worn and the average value of the articles *now* given in barter to the Indians for the skins in this Coast compar'd to what was at first given is greater in the proportion of near four to one. Both these effects were caused by the number of vessels of all nations (particularly the Americans) who instantly jumped at the Trade on hearing the success of the first vessels. More and more ships were seen every season and the Indians who soon saw the eagerness of all hands to purchase their skins demanded their own prices which was as readily given them by the purchasers who studying their private interests *for the moment argued* to themselves that those who gave the most got the most. A sheet of Copper that at one time wou'd purchase four skins at last wou'd not purchase at some places one. Muskets were early given them in Barter which they could not use without Powder and Ball, these they demanded for the Skins and got them and for a length of time no skins could be purchased without ammunition & Fire Arms. Some of the first Muskets that were sold procured 6 and seven Skins, now, two skins, but more commonly one, is the price. At the district of Wicananish that chief can turn out four hundred men arm'd with muskets and well found with am-

[41]It is probable that the cannibalism that once prevailed there was for for supersitious ceremonials rather than for food.

munition, a considerable part of which have been given him in barter by a Mr Kendrick, Master of an American Vessel call'd the Washington.[42] Their former weapons, Bows and Arrows, Spears and Clubs are now thrown aside & forgotten. At Nootka it was the same way everyone had his musket. Thus are they supplied with weapons which they no sooner possess than they turn against the donors. Every season produces instances of their daring treacherous conduct. Few ships have been on the Coast that have not been attack'd or attempted to be attacked and in general many lives have been lost on both sides.

Such a number of Vessels soon glutted the China market and some who were needy and could not stand out with the Chinese sold at the best price offered. Some were ruined, some few grew rich still however the number of Traders encreased every season. The eagerness of some of these desperate Traders has in more than two or three instances urged them to infamous practices for procuring their cargoes for where the Indians have refused disposing of their Skins either from disliking the articles or from the quantity offered being too small in their opinions, some of these Traders have by force of Arms made them part with the skins on their own terms, nay have in some places forcibly taken their skins from them without making any return whatever. The interval of time between the capture of the English Traders by the Spaniards and the concluding of the Treaty between England and Spain afforded the Americans an opportunity of doing all that I have mentioned and the opportunity was readily embraced by them as they well knew that their career would not be of very long duration, for should the business have been decided in favor of England they knew of course their trade wou'd not be allowed and they had but little doubt shou'd the Spaniards have been confirmed in their rights to Nootka that their Trade would from that time be no longer allowed. If England conceived that the Trade on this Coast was worth her while to quarrel with Spain about why did she not in the first instance make a settlement there. Had this been done none of the evils I have mentioned would have come to pass and a small number of Vessels on a well regulated plan would have carried on the Trade with (*most probably*) as much success now as at the beginning. The first Vessels sent out from England on this Coast were fitted out by Messrs Etches & Co. who unfortunately failed in business but this did not arise from any loss sustained by their Vessels, their misfortune having happened before the voyage was completed and the voyage although it

42The Lady Washington which had come out with the Columbia from Boston in 1788. Captain John Kendrick exchanged ships with Captain Robert Gray who returned to Boston in the Columbia by way of China and was thus the first to carry the Stars and Stripes around the Globe. Captain Kendrick remained on the Lady Washington in the fur trade between China and the American coast.

did not prove in the end so very lucrative as was expected was far from being a losing one. It was those gentlemen who fitted out the King George and Queen Charlotte, commanded by Messrs Portlock & Dixon and the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal Messrs Collnett & Duncan. But had Mr. Portlock done what (in the opinion of those who were well able to judge) he ought to have done he might have ensured his owner's fortune and his own. The K. George & Q. Charlotte were fitted out on a most liberal plan, furnished with the best Artificers and with everything necessary, not only for prosecuting their Trade on all parts of the N. W. Coast but for making a Settlement on it should it be deemed by Mr P. Expedient.

We find they make the Coast in very good time but instead of seperating and each ship taking the opposite ends of the Coast as I think they obviously ought to have done they both together enter Cook's River where they staid a considerable time without getting scarcely anything and after leaving that place without stopping at any other place whatsoever they run down the Coast, made an attempt to get into Nootka, which not succeeding in as soon as they expected, and not having patience to persevere, they gave up and stood away for the Sandwich Islands with no more than Eighty skins of all kinds between the two Vessels. Here it was they missed their fortunes, this season they had no rival and it has since been supposed and from many concurring circumstances very rightly supposed that at the very time Mr Portlock was off Nootka there was not less than 800 to a thousand Sea Otter skins in that Sound and its neighborhood. When the time for the second season of their returning to the Coast drew nigh, we find they again came together and enter Prince Wm's Sound where they met Mears. This circumstance first gave rise to the idea of seperating which had they not done, there is every reason to believe they would have left the Coast with but as little success at the ends of this Season as they did last, for after they seperated Mr Dixon discovered the Queen Charlotte's Islands and there procured the most considerable part of their cargo. Mr. Portlock after leaving Prince Wm's Sound only touches at one other Port in the Lat: as high as 57½ N. Here he stayed a considerable while picking up a few skins and from this with but little more than two hundred skins and without again attempting Nootka nor any other part of the Coast he goes away to the Sandwich Islands bidding a final adieu to the Coast of America and the whole of the two vessels cargoes did not amount to more than 1800 Otter Skins of all sorts. For as to all the other kinds of skins they are of but little value at China comparatively speaking with Otter Skins. But 'twould have been of but little service had Mr Portlock even gone to Nootka this last

year, at least if his purpose had only been to collect skins, he was too late, for, this last season of their being on the Coast, there was a Ship in Nootka call'd the Imperial Eagle commanded by a Mr Berkely[43] from Ostend under Imperial Colours who procured in that Sound and its neighborhood (for he went no further to the Nrd.) above a thousand Sea Otter Skins the greater part of which Mr Portlock might have had had he persever'd and gone into that place the first season.

Mr Berkly was by himself. He staid but one season on the Coast and went to China with the above cargoes.

The Trade at present is carried on chiefly between Columbia River in the Latitude of 46° and Cross Sound in the Lat. of 58 N though within that extensive range I believe the Queen Charlotte's Islands have furnished more skins than all other parts put together. Some are collected in Admiralty Bay in about the Lat: 59° but to the Nrd. of that the Russians monopolize everything and are making rapid strides to the S. every year. Skins may be got to the S. of Columbia River but the Indians there are few and the places of shelter for shipping likewise as few.

Besides Fire Arms; Woollens & Warm Cloathing are in general request all over the American Coast as also Cooking Kettles, Copper *in Sheets* no farther than 53 Lat: but as we shall make some progrses next year to the Nd. I shall here close the subject & resume it when we get there.

43See note 7 for reference to proper spelling—Barkley. The captain's visit is commemorated by the name of Barkley Sound on the western shore of Vancouver Island.

END

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SOME REMARKS UPON THE NEW VANCOUVER JOURNAL

All readers of the Washington Historical Quarterly, but especially those who are interested in the approach by sea, must have enjoyed the "New Vancouver Journal." Their one regret will be that its publication has ended without giving us, at least Vancouver's return voyage to the coast in 1793; and their hope will be that the remainder, so far as it touches the Northwest coast, may yet see the light. Although Professor Meany has appended many interesting notes, which have added greatly to the reader's enjoyment and intelligent appreciation of the journal, yet the following remarks are offered on the assumption that a series of cross-references may be found useful, even to those who are well-acquainted with the sources. These notes relate to the instalments of the journal appearing in the issues of July 1914; October, 1914, and January, 1915.

Restoration Point was named on the 29th May, 1792 (see Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 153). The reference is, beyond question, to the restoration of Charles II, who landed at Dover on 25th May, 1660; yet, inasmuch as the 29th was his birthday, it was celebrated as Restoration Day. (See Pepys Diary, May 29, 1664, and May 29, 1665.) In the troubles of 1715, the students of Oxford wore, on the 29th May, the oak leaf in honor of the Stuart Restoration.

There is little doubt that the journalist's surmise that the natives in the vicinity of Vashon Island had had no direct dealings with the traders was correct. So far as the records at present available disclose Captain Gray in the *Washington* in March, 1789, marked the furthest advance of the trader within the straits of Fuca when he reached Clallam Bay. (See Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, p. 32.) In 1790 Quimper reached Port Discovery; in 1791 Elisa made his way into the Gulf of Georgia and examined its shores as far as Cape Lazo; but these were Spanish exploring expeditions. Vancouver's expedition appears to have been the first of any kind to enter Puget Sound.

The double allowance of grog (p. 216) was the regular concomitant of high days and holidays. It was served out, for instance, when Vancouver took possession at the end of his survey in August, 1794. (See

Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 6, p. 39.) Captain Dixon used it as an inducement to the sailors to desist from the usual horse-play on crossing the equator. (See Dixon's Voyage, Letter IX., p. 30.) Captain Portlock ordered it to be served on the occasion of the belated celebration of Christmas Day at the Falkland Islands. (See Portlock's Voyage, p. 33.)

Spruce beer (p. 217) was always regarded as a specific against scurvy, and its brewing was a regular thing on all properly equipped voyages. For this voyage Vancouver had requisitioned 280 pots of essence of spruce. (See Appendix to B. C. Archivists Report, 1914, p. 44.) Earlier voyagers, however, made the decoction—and a horrible one it appears to have been—direct from the trees themselves. Thus, as soon as Captain Cook had made his vessels secure in Nootka Sound, he set men "to brew spruce-beer, as pine-trees abounded here." (See Cook Voyage, third edition, Vol. 2, p. 273, and Kippis, Life of Cook, Vol. 2, p. 223.) Meares's reference to a decoction of pine tree juice which he found very efficacious in the treatment of the scurvy (see Introductory Voyage, p. xx.) is manifestly to this preparation. The brewing of spruce beer was one of the first duties ordered by Captain Dixon on his arrival on our coast. (See Dixon's Voyage, p. 151.) Captain Portlock was constantly at this work. (See his Voyage, pp. 215, 217, 231, 234, 235.)

The meeting between the Chatham's boats and the Spanish vessels, *Sutil* and *Mexicana* (pp. 219, 220), is thus given in the Viage, p. 48: "After leaving the channel [i. e., of Pacheco, between Lummi Island and the mainland] in the creek of Lara we saw two small boats, one with a sliding sail riggin, the other with square sail, which were following the coast to the north. We had no doubt that they belonged to the English vessels which were in the strait, according to the information of our friend Tetacus [the chief at Cape Flattery, otherwise Tatooche]. We went on without changing our course, thinking to navigate all night with little sail and be off the point of San Rafael [North Bluff] at daybreak, so as to get to the mouth of Florida Blanca [Fraser River] early in the morning, to go within and make the survey at once, which as has been said, we had reason to believe would be very interesting. From ten o'clock until midnight we crossed the creek Del Garzons [Birch Bay] and saw lights within it which indicated that the vessels to which the smaller boats belonged were in that anchorage." The Spaniards continued their course into Ensenada del Engano [Boundary Bay], but finding the water shoaling rapidly they anchored "in a line with the point of San Rafael [North Bluff] and the east point of the peninsula of Cepeda [Point Roberts]. The visit of the Chatham to the Spanish vessels at this point, of which our journalist gives us so many details, is merely mentioned by Vancouver in Vol. 2, p. 214.

The survey which Vancouver intended to carry on in conjunction with the Spaniards began at their meeting near Point Grey on Sunday, 24th June, and ended near Hardwicke Island on Thursday, July 12th. The portion from Point Grey to Jervis Inlet had, however, been already examined by Vancouver in his boats. Having reached the conclusion that the land on his port was an island, Vancouver was anxious to proceed to Nootka, and the joint survey was by mutual consent abandoned. Vancouver arrived at Nootka on August 28th, and the Spaniards two days later.

The very large village called by the natives Whanneck (p. 220) is that known to students of Vancouver's voyage as Cheslakee's village. It was situated on the Nimpkish River. The terraces on which the houses stood, as shown in Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 269, are still to be seen on the west bank of the river. The Indians now reside at Alert Bay, just opposite. (See Walbran's Place Names.) The journalist's name of the chief—Cathlaginness—does not much resemble Vancouver's form—Cheslakee—, but neither does the Spanish—Sisiaquis. Yet the spot is the same, as may be seen by comparison of the text with Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, pp. 268-274. In a letter from Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas to Captain Duntze of H. M. S. *Fisgard*, dated Fort Vancouver 7 September, 1846, they refer to the same locality as "Choslakers, latitude 50° 36′."

The journalist has no doubt that the port in which the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* anchored on 11th August, 1792, was Duncan's Port Safety in Calvert Island (p. 220). Vancouver, however, found the spot too greatly dissimilar to justify him in believing it to be Duncan's celebrated harbour, hence he called it "Safety Cove." (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, pp. 311 to 326.)

The vessel referred to as the "*Three Bs*" (pp. 223 and 301) is properly the *Three Brothers*. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 336, and Appendix to B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 28.) It is, nevertheless, strange that we find this ship mentioned in the Viage, p. 116, as "El Bergantin Ingles Tresbes." Vancouver states that there were on the stocks, when he arrived at Nootka in August, 1792, an English and an American shallop. The Viage on page 116 agrees with the journalist that the English one was brought out by the *Three Brothers*. The identity of the American was in doubt. We now know from the journal itself (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, pp. 54-5) that it was to be a tender to the *Margaret*. The name of one of the vessels under Mr. Alder is given in Vancouver's list—(see Archivist of B. C. Report, 1914, p. 28)—as the schooner *Prince William Henry;* the name of the other has not been ascertained.

The latitude at which the *Matilda* was wrecked, which the journalist leaves blank (Washington Historical Quarterly for October, 1914, p. 301) is given by Vancouver, Vol. 3, p. 66, where the story of the wreck is told, as 22° S., and Longitude 138° 30′ W. The journal names the master of the *Matilda* "Mr. Wetherell" and later "Mr. Wethered," while Vancouver calls him "Mr. Matthew Weatherhead." The *Daedalus* was, by Vancouver's instructions, to call at Otaheite on her return voyage to Australia and take on board the survivors.

The visit of Vancouver and Quadra to Maquinna at Tashees in September, 1792 (Washington Historical Quarterly for October, 1914, pp. 303-305), is mentioned by Vancouver in Vol. 2, pp. 354-356. The description in the journal is in very much greater detail than Vancouver gives either in his printed volume or in his report to the Admiralty, which will be found in the B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 19. In the former he speaks of the place as "Tasheis," in the latter as "Tasheer's." The suggestion is made in the note on page 305 that the journalist has omitted some such phrase as "for Seignor Quadra" in his reference to the gift of the second sea-otter skin. But we find that Vancouver in his description of the event (Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 356; B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 19) states categorically, as the journal does, that the two sea-otter skins were given to him. Perhaps Maquinna was wily enough to realize that Spain's sun had set.

The journalist says (October, 1914, p. 306) that Mr. Dobson, who acted as Spanish interpreter for Vancouver, was one of the mates of the *Daedalus;* but Vancouver, both in Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 339, and in B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 12, calls him "a young gentleman," and later (Voyage, Vol. 3, p. 347) "one of the midshipmen who came out in the *Daedalus.*"

The expedition under Mr. Brown composed of the *Butterworh*, *Jackal,* and *Prince Lee Boo* (Washington Historical Quarterly for October, 1914, p. 307) appears to have been familiar to Vancouver, as well as to the writer of the journal. In the list of vessels on the coast in 1792, which Vancouver sent to the Admiralty by Lieutenant Mudge, he mentions these three vessels (B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, pp. 28, 29), yet he makes no reference to the arrival of the *Jackal* at Nootka on September 14th, 1792, or at all; at the same time that he was familiar with this vessel is plain from his reference to her upon her arrival at the Sandwich Islands in February, 1793—(see Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 3, pp. 198-9.) The Viage mentions the arrival at Nootka during the early summer of 1792, of the *Butterworth* and the *Prince Lee Boo.* The reference to the former, on page 116, is: "An English frigate of thirty guns named the *Butterworth,* Captain William Brown, that brought documents for Van-

couver and had orders to form two establishments on the coast and one on Queen Charlotte's Island." The latter is on the same page called "La Balandra Inglesa el Principe Leon." Vancouver met these three vessels in July, 1793, in the vicinity of Chatham Strait. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 4, pp. 112-121.) Brown on that occasion saluted with seven guns, which Vancouver duly returned with five. So valuable was the geographical information obtained from him that Vancouver named in his honour Brown Passage. The *Butterworth* sailed for England at the close of the season of 1793. In July, 1794, near Cross Sound Vancouver again met Brown, then in command of the remaining vessels, *Jackal* and *Prince Lee Boo*. Having just returned from China he imparted to Vancouver the latest European news, including that of the execution of Louis XVI and the declaration of war between France and England (Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 5, p. 354.) In October, 1794, the *Jackal* arrived at Nootka on her return voyage to China with over one thousand prime sea-otter skins (Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 6, p. 91.) Brown was killed at the Sandwich Islands in January, 1795, in defending his vessel from an attack by the natives.

The journalist seems to have been better posted than Vancouver as to the *terminus ad quem* of the Hope's voyage when she sailed from Nootka about 19th September (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 52.) He tells us that she was bound for Neah Bay—the Nunez Gaona—of the Spaniards but Vancouver believed that she was "charged with Spanish dispatches respecting these transactions," i. e. relative to the delivery of the lands at Nootka. (See B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 26.) Later however, Vancouver learned the facts and mentions them. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, pp. 379-380.) The *Hope* had sailed from China in April, 1792, and on 3rd August, 1792, her commander, Captain Ingraham, had in conjunction with Captain Gray, given to Seignor Quadra the celebrated letter set out in Greenhow's Oregon, 1844 ed. p. 414.

The variance which the journalist notes (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 56) between the stories told by the masters and the crew as to the number of skins obtained was not confined to Captain Gray. Haswell complains of the lack of veracity in this respect. (See his log, Sept. 1788.) Dixon too notes the same peculiarity. (See Dixon's Voyage, Letter XXIX, page 157.)

The journalist merely mentions the fact that Lieutenant Mudge is being sent home by the *Fenis and St. Joseph* (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 56.) Vancouver's reason for this is given in B. C. Archivist's Report, 1914, p. 28. He thought that the Admiralty should know of the deadlock which had occurred between himself and

Seignor Quadra and determined to send his report of the negotiations by "the fastest and most expeditious conveyance." This report is printed with other papers in the appendix to the B. C. Archivist's Report for 1914, to which frequent reference has been made in these notes. It is strange that Vancouver and the journalist rarely agree upon the exact date. It would be tiresome to point out the discrepancies in this respect.

The *Jenny* of Bristol arrived at Nootka, according to the journal, on 6th October (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 57), according to Vancouver, on 7th October. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 387.) Although this vessel was supposed to sail from Nootka direct for England, Broughton found her in Baker's Bay on the Columbia in November, 1792; and she had been there earlier in the year (Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 3, p. 121.) Vancouver refers casually (vol. 2, p. 387) to the two Sandwich Island maidens whom he received from the *Jenny* for transportation to their homes; but in volume 3, page 381 *et seq.* he goes into the matter in great detail. They appear to have regarded their experiences as of such importance as to justify them in taking new names—Raheima and Tymarow. The Sandwich Islander mentioned by the journalist as already on Vancouver's ship was named Terrehooa. (See Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 3, p. 349.) The Jenny was on this occasion rigged as a three-masted schooner and commanded by Mr. Baker. In September, 1794, Vancouver met the *Jenny* once more, at Nootka; he describes her then as "a very small ship" commanded by Mr. Adamson, and tells us that during that season she had collected in the neighborhood of the Queen Charlotte Islands upwards of two thousand sea-otter skins. (Vancouver's Voyage, Vol. 6, p. 90.)

The reference to Cook's bottle at Christmas Island (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 58) will be found in Cook's Voyage, 1785, 3rd ed. vol. 2, p. 186, under date 31st December, 1777. The inscription therein was:

"*Georgius Tertius, Rex,* 31 *Decembris,* 1777.
Naves
Resolution, Jack. Cook, Pr.
Discovery, Car. Clerke, Pr."

Captain Cook also obtained at this island about three hundred turtles weighing from 90 to 100 pounds each.

Deception Bay—Meares's name for the entrance of the Columbia—is not, as the journalist states (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 59) in 42° 18′ N. According to Vancouver (vol. 2, p. 398) it is in 46° 20′ N. Meares made it "by an indifferent meridian observation" 46° 10′ N. (See Meares Voyage, Chap. XV., p. 167.)

Those who care to follow the story of the death of Messrs. Hergest

and Gooch (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 59) will find it in Vancouver's Voyage, vol. 3, pp. 160, 163, 307, 322, 341, and 343 to 346. These references also cover Vancouver's steps to obtain possession of some of the murderers, their trial, and execution.

The true position of the observatory at Friendly Cove (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 60) as given to me by the late Captain J. T. Walbran is 49° 35′ 31″ N. and 126° 37′ 32″ W. Haswell gives the position in his log as 49° 36′ N. and 126° 46′ W.

The animal from which a portion at least of the wool was obtained for the woolen garments (Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1915, p. 62) was a sort of dog. These dogs are described by Vancouver in his Voyage, vol. 2, pp. 130-131, as resembling somewhat those of Pomerania though larger; the fleeces, he says, were very compact and were composed of a mixture of a coarse kind of wool with very fine long hair. These dogs were also to be found on the mainland as the following quotation from Fraser's Journal of his descent of the Fraser River in 1808, shows. Speaking of the Indians near Yale he says: "They have rugs made from the wool of the Aspai or wild goat and from dogs' hair, which are as good as the wool rugs found in Canada. We observed that the dogs were lately shorn." (Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest, Vol. 1, p. 193.) See for a reproduction of the blanket and a description of the process of weaving,—Guide to the Anthropological Collection in Provincial Museum, B. C. pp. 50 to 53. This book also contains a reproduction of a picture by Paul Kane showing an Indian woman at work in blanket manufacture, and in the foreground, the dog from which the wool was obtained. It is, doubtless, this kind of blanket which is referred to in Work's Journal. (See Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 3, p. 218.) This subject attracted the attention of Mr. John Keast Lord, F. Z. S., the naturalist attached to the British North American Boundary Commission, and in his well-known work, The Naturalist in Vancouver Island and British Columbia, will be found (vol. 2, pp. 215-217) a lengthy discussion as to the origin of these dogs.

Upon the interesting question concerning the identity of the writer of this journal it is my intention to make some remarks, but as the present scrappy notes have reached a size far beyond my anticipations at the outset I refrain from entering upon that topic at this time.

F. W. Howay.

New Westminster, B. C.
February 27, 1915.

THE ORGANIZATION AND FIRST PASTORATE OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF WALLA WALLA, WASHINGTON*

The remark is not an infrequent one that "history repeats itself," meaning that the current events which go to make history occur again after an interval of time; this is true in a general sense but seldom in the exact or scientific meaning of the phrase. In the narration of history, however, there is necessarily some repetition, particularly that of a single institution or individual; and the narrative of the organization and life of the First Congregational Church of Walla Walla has been told before and cannot be changed materially in the retelling. But upon the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the church it is very fitting that the story be repeated and memories refreshed as to the events of the past.

The honor of organizing the first protestant church in the County of Walla Walla is claimed by both the Congregationalist and the Presbyterian denominations. As an introductory chapter to the history of this particular church brief inquiry might be made concerning the growth of the religious idea in this Walla Walla Valley. It would be of some value to inquire whether, as stated by some, Capt. William Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in the years 1805-6 told the story of the divinity of Christ to the natives of the Shahaptin family of Indians hereabouts. It would be of interest to know the religious beliefs and influence, if any, of the various gentlemen fur traders of the Hudson Bay Company in charge of the commercial establishment known as Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia River from the year 1818 on to 1856. It would be well, even if not profitable, to inquire as to the permanency of the missionary labors of Dr. Marcus Whitman, whose was the ruling mind in the first Protestant religious organization in this Valley at the Waiilatpu Mission on August 18th, 1838; and it would be courteous to mention the work of Father Chereuse, the Roman Catholic missionary who some years later followed Dr. Whitman as a resident religious teacher and erected the first building devoted to strictly religious work in the Valley. Mention of the religious teachings and visitations of Rev. Cushing Eells, one of the honored founders of this church, while a resident at the Whitman Mission Donation Land Claim six miles west of this city would complete the chapter, aside from some pertinent inquiry into any possible influence of his missionary associate, Rev. Henry H. Spalding, who came

*A paper read at the anniversary service on January 2nd, 1915.

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Journal of William Fraser Tolmie, April 30 to May 11, 1833.
Journal of John Work, November and December, 1824; and June, 1825, to June, 1826.
A new Vancouver Journal.

Also shorter documents relating to The first attempt to ascend Mt. Rainier, Beginnings of the Lake Washington Canal, Chief Leschi, Indian troubles, Beginning of the San Juan dispute, Establishing of the Navy Yard, Puget Sound, Transfer of Alaska to the United States and the Secret Mission of Warre and Vavasour.

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Announcement

¶ Readers of Judge Howay's article in this issue will realize how deeply interesting the New Vancouver Journal has proved to be among those familiar with the history of the Pacific Northwest. Copies of the journal in separate form may be obtained from the Printing Department, University of Washington, Seattle, at one dollar each.

¶ The announcement that Professor Frank A. Golder is to lecture in the Summer Session of the University of Washington should appeal to all interested in the history of the Northwest and especially of Alaska. He has recently returned from his work of research in the archives of Russia.

¶ History will be a prominent theme at a number of the large meetings to be held in San Francisco during the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

¶ Doctor Charles M. Buchanan, whose plea for the Indians of Puget Sound appears in this Quarterly, is one of the best known Indian Agents in the country.