



ARCHIVES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

MEMOIR NO. I

THE FIRST
CIRCUMNAVIGATION
OF VANCOUVER
ISLAND.

BY C. F. NEWCOMBE, M.D.



THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

PRINTED BY
AUTHORITY OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

VICTORIA, B.C.:

Printed by WILLIAM H. CULLIN, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

1914.

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VICTORIA, November 7th, 1910.

*To the Honourable Henry Esson Young, M.D., LL.D.,
Provincial Secretary, Victoria, B.C.*

SIR,—I have the honour to submit herewith the first bulletin of the Provincial Archives Department, entitled "The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island." The monograph has been prepared by Dr. C. F. Newcombe, a recognized authority on the early history of the Northwest Coast. The author has had access to many original unpublished documents bearing upon the question, and he is therefore in a position to give a new and detailed presentation of the case from the British point of view. Inasmuch as it embodies the results of painstaking research and a mass of evidence found in scattered books and manuscripts, the monograph is a valuable contribution to historical literature. At the same time, it should be observed that while it is the purpose of the Archives Department to encourage historical research and the publication of material dealing with our early history, it does not assume responsibility for any statements that may be contained in the memoirs published under its auspices in the form of contributions. The reader must judge for himself as to the accuracy of the deductions made from the material used in the memoirs, of which the paper under consideration is the first to appear.

In justice to Doctor Newcombe, it should be observed that he was the first to present this view of the case in a lecture before the Natural History Society of British Columbia on January 25th, 1904, in a paper bearing the title "In the Tracks of Captain Ingraham," and he dealt with the subject again before the same Society on November 15th, 1909, in an address entitled "Vancouver's Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island."

In acknowledging Doctor Newcombe's public spirit in presenting to the Provincial Archives Department so valuable a contribution to the historical literature of our country, it is only fair to say that the preparation of the monograph entailed a minute comparative examination of many original sources, not only in British Columbia, but elsewhere, the work extending over a period of many years. I

believe that the first bulletin of the Provincial Archives Department will be very helpful to the students of the early history of the North-west Coast.

In passing, I venture to call attention to the large number of unpublished manuscripts which have been acquired in the past few years from obscure sources. Many of them are exceedingly valuable, and they give a unique distinction to the Provincial collection, which is now one of the recognized repositories of historical materials relating to North-west America generally, and to British Columbia in particular.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. O. S. SCHOLEFIELD,

Provincial Archivist.

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THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION

—OF—

VANCOUVER ISLAND.

IT is the object of this paper to vindicate the contention of Captain George Vancouver that his ships were the first to complete the navigation of the inner channels which separate the island, now called by his name, from the mainland of British Columbia.

In preparing this review of the progressive discovery of the inner channels of Vancouver Island, use has been made of original and unpublished material collected within the last few years at the Library of the Department of State at Washington, and at that of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston. Thanks are due to the courtesy of the Librarians of these institutions for permission to copy and make photographs of certain journals and rare charts, some of which are here reproduced. The custodian of the Library of Congress was also most liberal in allowing the same privileges.

A list of the more important works which have been consulted is given in the appendix to this paper. The new material which is relied upon as further substantiating Vancouver's claim is the following:—

1. Memorandum of "Information obtained from Captain Meares" at the British Foreign Office in the year 1790, and now deposited at the Public Record Office, London.

2. Passages in the "Journal of the Brigantine Hope," by Captain Joseph Ingraham. For many years this manuscript journal was held at the Library of the Department of State at Washington, D.C., and was inaccessible to the ordinary student. Even Bancroft, the well-known historian of the States and Territories of the Pacific Coast, makes no direct quotations from it, and Professor George Davidson, occupying the Chair of Geography at the University of California, states that he has never seen it. This journal has recently been

removed to the Library of Congress, and will, doubtless, be available for public use. The Provincial Archivist has, fortunately, become the possessor of a verbatim copy of such portions as bear upon the early history of this Province, thereby making a notable addition to his growing collection of what might be termed State papers.

3. "The Narrative of a Voyage to the North-West Coast of America and China, on Trade and Discovery, by John Hoskins, performed in the Ship *Columbia Rediviva*, 1790, 1791, 1792, and 1793." This manuscript is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston, to whose courteous Librarian, Dr. Samuel A. Green, acknowledgments are due. The manuscript is only a fragment, written by the clerk or supercargo of the *Columbia*, in the year of the passage of the *Columbia River* bar by Captain Gray, and of the winter months following, but it contains many entries of special interest covering the events of that period. A certified transcript is among the valuable records in the Provincial Archives Department.

4. A part of the "Voyage Round the World on board the ship *Columbia Rediviva* and sloop *Washington*, 1788-9," a narrative by Haswell, one of the mates of the ships named. A copy of that part relating to the exploration by Captain Gray of the entrance of the Strait of Fuca has been obtained by His Honour Judge Howay, and lent to the writer for the purposes of this paper. The Provincial Archives Department also possesses a copy of this narrative.

Vancouver's claim that his expedition was the first to prove the insular character of the region to which his name is attached was asserted by him in a dispatch which he promptly forwarded to England by Lieutenant Mudge.

A copy of the original communication he then sent has lately been obtained by the Provincial Archivist from the Public Record Office, London. It deals for the most part with the negotiations between Vancouver and the Spanish Commandant Quadra with regard to the cession of territory in the Nootka region. The following portion is the unrevised statement by Vancouver of the circumstances which led to his naming the island by the double title which it so long bore.

Writing from Nootka on September the 5th, 1792, Vancouver says:—

"Next morning after breakfast we embarked on our return." (Quadra and Vancouver had been paying a friendly visit to Chief Maquinna at Tahsheis.) "The weather was pleasant, but the wind though light was contrary. The afternoon was cloudy, attended with some rain, thunder and lightning: about 5 o'clock we reached Friendly Cove, having dined by the way. In the course of conversation which passed this afternoon, Sigr. Quadra requested that in the course of my farther exploring this country I would name some port or Island after us both, in commemoration of our meeting and the friendly intercourse that on that occasion had taken place; which I promised to do; and, conceiving no place more eligible than the place of our meeting, I have therefore named this land, (which by *our* sailing at the back we have discovered to be an extensive island) The Island of Quadra and Vancouver: which compliment he was exceedingly pleased with, as also my retaining the name of Port Quadra to that which in May last I had called Port Discovery, but finding it had been formerly explored and named after this Officer, I had since adopted that name."

It will be shown that Vancouver did not attempt to claim the honour of this discovery until he had assured himself of his right to do so by questioning his possible Spanish and American competitors, and after learning from them that he had no predecessor so far as they knew.

Vancouver,
op. cit., p. 318.

The final proof of the insular character of Vancouver Island was made by the boat party, under Johnstone and Swaine, which was dispatched from a bay on the west side of Redonda Island, near the entrance of Desolation Sound, where the Spaniards and British were at anchor. Leaving this place on July 4th, 1792, with only a week's provisions, the flying expedition passed to the north-west through the Euclataw Rapids, and onwards by Cordero and Wellbore channels until they reached Johnstone's Strait, noting various inlets on the continental shore, which they partially explored. The mouth of the Nimpkish River was gained on the morning of the 8th, and, helped by a fresh

Vancouver,
op. cit., p. 327.

Vancouver,
op. cit., p. 334.

Vancouver,
Voy. I, p. 329,
Sutil y
Mexicana
Viaje, p. 77.

Vancouver,
op. cit., I,
355, 362, 369.

easterly gale, the boat proceeded until midnight, when they sheltered under the lee of a small island, somewhere near the mouth of Queen Charlotte Sound. As wet and stormy weather continued during the whole of the next day, they remained here until the morning of the 10th, when they rowed to an island, conspicuously situated, from which they had a clear, though distant, view of the "expansive ocean."

Having now only one day's provisions left, they made their way back to the ships by way of Nodales Channel, and announced their arrival at 2 a.m. on the 12th, as confirmed by the narrative of Galiano and Valdes.

These say that the expedition had reached an outlet to the ocean in the latitude of 51°, and that, in consequence, Vancouver expressed his intention of returning through the passage in which they were all anchored, and of proceeding by a channel to the south-west which, it was considered, must communicate with that which had just been surveyed. He added that this was suitable for his ships, but that the northern one which the Spaniards intended to follow was unfavourable by reason of numerous shoals and the strength of its currents and eddies.

Vancouver lost no time, but weighing anchor on the morning of July the 13th sailed by way of Cape Mudge, and anchored for the night not far from the Yuculta village, while a boat party under Puget and Whidbey were examining Seymour Narrows and the channels to the northward. Next day, the 14th, they went on to Menzies Bay, and remained there at anchor until the boat party returned on the evening of the 14th. It is not necessary to trace the movements of the Discovery and Chatham from this date, as they slowly progressed towards the outlet to the ocean, since Vancouver's narrative makes it clear that he was amongst the islands and already known waters at the east end of Queen Charlotte Sound on the 5th of August. The weather was so foggy, however, that it was not until the 9th that it was possible to be sure that the ships were in waters that "had been visited and named by several of the traders from Europe and India," and that the inlet through which they had lately passed was Queen Charlotte Sound, the name given to it by Mr. S. Wedgborough, the commander of the Experiment, in August, 1786.

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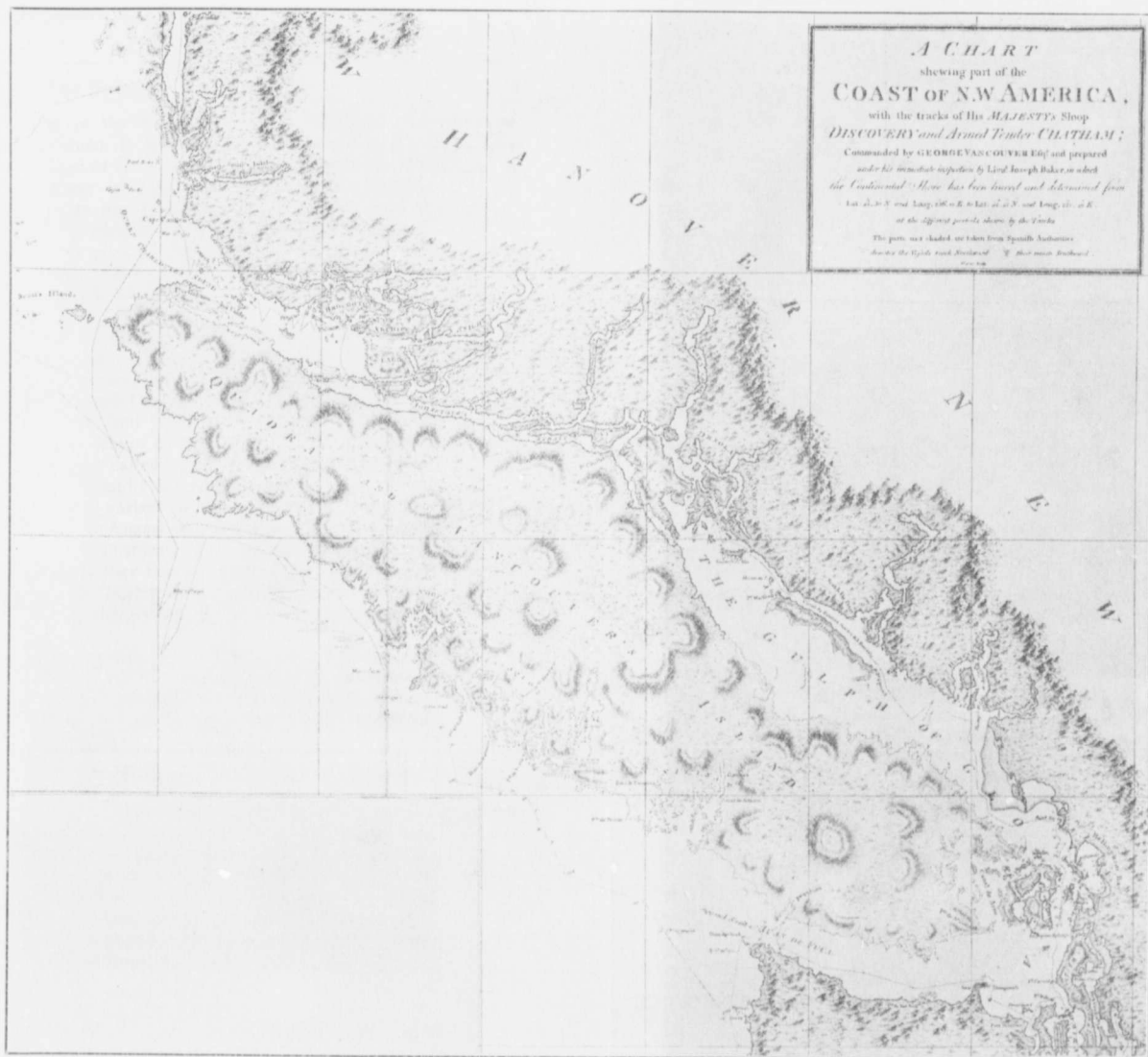
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A CHART
shewing part of the
COAST OF N.W. AMERICA.

with the tracks of His MAJESTY'S Sloop
DISCOVERY and *Around Timby CHATHAM*;

Commanded by **GEORGE VAN COVE** Esq; and prepared
under his immediate direction by **Lieut. Joseph BAKER** in which
the *Continental* has been surveyed and delineated from
Lat. 23° N. and Long. 126° W. to Lat. 22° N. and Long. 121° W.
at the different points shown by the Tracks.

The parts not shaded are taken from Spanish Authorities
According to the *Hydrographical* & *Marine* Authorities.



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THE SPANISH VOYAGE OF 1792.

Returning to the narrative of the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, it will be found that, although they had the advantage of the information gained by Johnstone's preliminary survey of Yuculta Rapids and the channels leading from them into Johnstone's Strait, a great deal of time was lost in passing Arran Rapids and Cordero Channel, so that it was not until the 28th July that they passed into Johnstone Strait, notwithstanding that they had left the anchorage in Lewis Channel on the same day that Vancouver sailed.

On the 9th of August, when Vancouver was recognizing Smith's Inlet, Calvert Islands, and Fitzhugh's Sound, which names, he said, had been applied by Captains Hanna and Duncan and would be adopted by him in his charts and journal, the Spaniards had not got beyond the village at the mouth of the Nimpkish River. Vancouver called this Cheslakees after the chief. The Spaniards thought his name was Sisiaquis, which is probably only a variant of the same name. From the 11th to the 23rd of August they lingered at the port which they called Guemes, evidently Fort Rupert, and it was not until the 30th that they finally left the inner channels and sailed for Nootka, having been detained at Bull Harbour or Port Valdes, as they called it, for five days, on account of stormy weather.

On comparing these two records, it will be found that Vancouver's boat party passed through the unexplored portions of the inner channels at least a month in advance of the Spaniards, and that Vancouver's own ships preceded them by a few days.

EARLY SPECULATIONS RESPECTING INLAND CHANNELS.

As the scope of this article is limited to the consideration of the authentic voyages round Vancouver Island, and to one which was so plausibly put forward by an able but untrustworthy writer as to mislead many historians not in possession of the facts, it will not be necessary to discuss at length the supposed voyage of Juan de Fuca in 1592. The Greek pilot's account of his wonderful trip through a strait which led from the Pacific out into the Atlantic

"Relacion del viaje hecho por las goletas *Sutil* y *Mexicana*," 78.

Sutil y *Mexicana*, 102.
Sutil y *Mexicana*, 108-110.

Juan de Fuca, 1592.

Bancroft, H. H.
"History of
the Northwest
Coast," 1884,
I, Chap. III.

Ocean is fully treated in the "History of the Northwest Coast," under the heading of "Apocryphal Voyages," a title which indicates sufficiently Mr. Bancroft's opinion as to its authenticity.

Davidson.
"Pacific
Coast Pilot,"
1880, p. 520.

No new evidence in support of the voyage has been brought to light since Bancroft wrote, and almost the last word upon the subject is contained in the terse summing-up of the case by Professor George Davidson, of the University of California, who says: "There is not a single statement in the so-called narrative of Juan de Fuca, as given by Matthew" (misprint for Michael) "Locke, the elder, that applies to this strait. The whole story is a fabrication."

Professor Davidson has also written at length on this subject in an article published in California, but which is not at present available for quotation.

Lok's Map,
1582.

An extract from a letter lately received from him will, probably, give some idea as to the purport of it: "I have on my table copies of five charts of North America published between 1566 and 1587," says the Professor. "On four of them the Northwest Coast is laid down into the far north and west. The chart of 1566 has the main coast line broken by the Strait of Anian that runs into the north. But the one I principally wish to note is that of 1582. This map is known as the *Michael Lok* Map. It is uniquely erroneous on the western coast. It was dedicated to Michael Lok, probably by Hakluyt, but is not recognized in later maps. You will find a reduced copy in Miller Christy's 'Silver Map of the World,' which I refer to in my California paper, page 11. Whoever got it up presumptuously named all the land north of Frobisher's discovery, as 'L O K.' On the western coast the shore line runs northwardly to latitude 47° under the Sierra Nevada, just above the City of Quivera! Then runs to the E.S.E. to a peninsula in latitude 40°. This peninsula is 60 miles wide and 150 miles north and south. The head of the Western Ocean near this peninsula is named the *Mare de Verrazano*. From the east side of this peninsula and in latitude 40° stretches far to the eastward 'Carenas,' which I translate, Cabo Arenas, which equals Cape Cod! (Arena means sand.)

The Silver
Map, by Miller
Christy,
London, 1900,
No. 7.

Also in Bancroft, H. H.,
op. cit., 65.

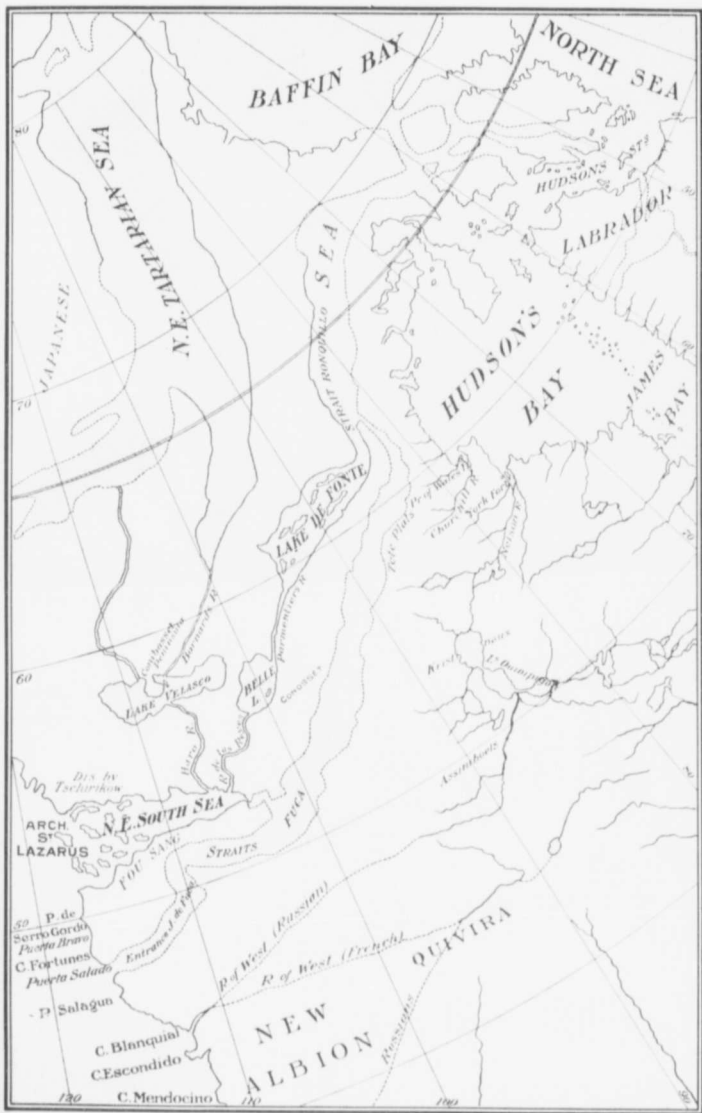


PLATE I.

1768. From JERREYS. *Tra. The Great Probability of a North-west Passage.*

The mythical Straits of Juan de Fuca are shown as leading from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean, as in Michael Lot's account. A little to north is also shown the Strait of de Fonte with the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. While Vancouver was exploring the former the Spaniards were searching for the latter in 1792.





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"The only comment I have to make is, that, ten years later, the 'illustrious citizen Michael Lok' invented Juan de Fuca!"

Miller Christy's "Silver Map of the World" reproduces, in addition to the map mentioned by Professor Davidson, some others which bear out the British contention that Drake reached the latitude of 48° in 1579, in an attempt to return to England by the supposed North-west Passage, the non-existence of which was established by Vancouver 200 years later.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the attention of many British explorers was devoted to the discovery of a passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Many attempts were made from the east towards the west, but Cook was the first to reach the North Pacific in an endeavour to work in the opposite direction.

Map No. 1, published by Jefferys in 1768, shows what one of the most expert cartographers of the seventeenth century understood by Lok's description of the Strait of Fuca, and the strong influence the writers of mythical voyages still had over the minds of historians of that period.

In latitude 45° we see the Oregon of Carver, or the River of the West. Near 47° is the entrance of Juan de Fuca, leading far away to the north-east, and communicating with the Atlantic Ocean through channels amongst numerous islands to the north of Hudson's Bay.

Between latitudes 52° and 54° is a wide entrance, with the Archipelago of St. Lazarus at its mouth, still commemorated by Mt. Lazaro. This entrance is connected by rivers and two lakes with the eastern end of Fuca's Straits, the larger lake bearing the name of the supposed discoverer of the whole passage, de Fonte of British authors, or de la Fuente of the French. While Vancouver was exploring the inner channels of the North-west Coast in 1792, a Spanish vessel under Caamano was even then trying to verify Colnett's belief in the existence of this strait, having that navigator's maps and papers in his possession.

Maurelle, in the Spanish voyage of 1775, had already made an unsuccessful attempt to find it, and, from very imperfect data, had pronounced that there was no such strait. It was soon discovered that neither he nor Cook

Jefferys, T.
"The Great
Probability of
a North-West
Passage," etc.,
1768.

Carver, J.
"Travels
through the
Interior Parts
of North
America,"
1778, 76.

See Moures's
Map, Pl. 5.

Sutil y
Mexicana.
Introd., cxxiii.

Barrington, D.
"Miscel-
lanies," 1781,
508.

had touched the continental shore between latitudes 49° and 55° and upwards, so that there was still the possibility of finding a navigable channel in the intervening waters.

It was on this, therefore, that the attention of geographers was concentrated until the final clearing-up of the mystery by the expedition under Vancouver in the years 1792-4.

A reference to the large "General Chart" of Cook's voyages will make it clear that the region open to wild speculation was greatly reduced in area by his discoveries and those of Hearne. Fonte and de Fuca's names and their water communications with the Atlantic Ocean are for the first time omitted from the map of North America. Meares certainly attempted to revive the old fables in a comparatively small way, but his views were not adopted by any serious writer, as the era of romantic speculation was drawing to a close.

Fleurieu, the learned author of the introduction to Marchand's Voyage of 1791, mentions Meares's theories, but does not venture to embody them in his charts. He presents a copy of Meares's map on a separate sheet, and cautions his readers against accepting this as having any authority.

Marchand, Etienne.
"Voyage
autour du
Monde,"
1798, xviv.

CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY VOYAGES.

Before passing to the disputed question as to what ship was the first to sail through the inner channels of Vancouver Island, a short chronological history of their progressive discovery will simplify the position here assumed, that Meares had reason to believe in the existence of these passages, in addition to the information which many of the explorers had received from the natives of Nootka, although he was wrong in assuming the probability of their communicating with the Atlantic Ocean.

Amongst the earliest expeditions attracted to the North-west Coast by the large profits obtained in China for furs collected during Captain Cook's last voyage was that sent from Bengal, under the flag of the East India Company, consisting of the Captain Cook and the Experiment, commanded by Captains Lorie and Guise. They reached Nootka on the 27th of June, 1786, and sailed

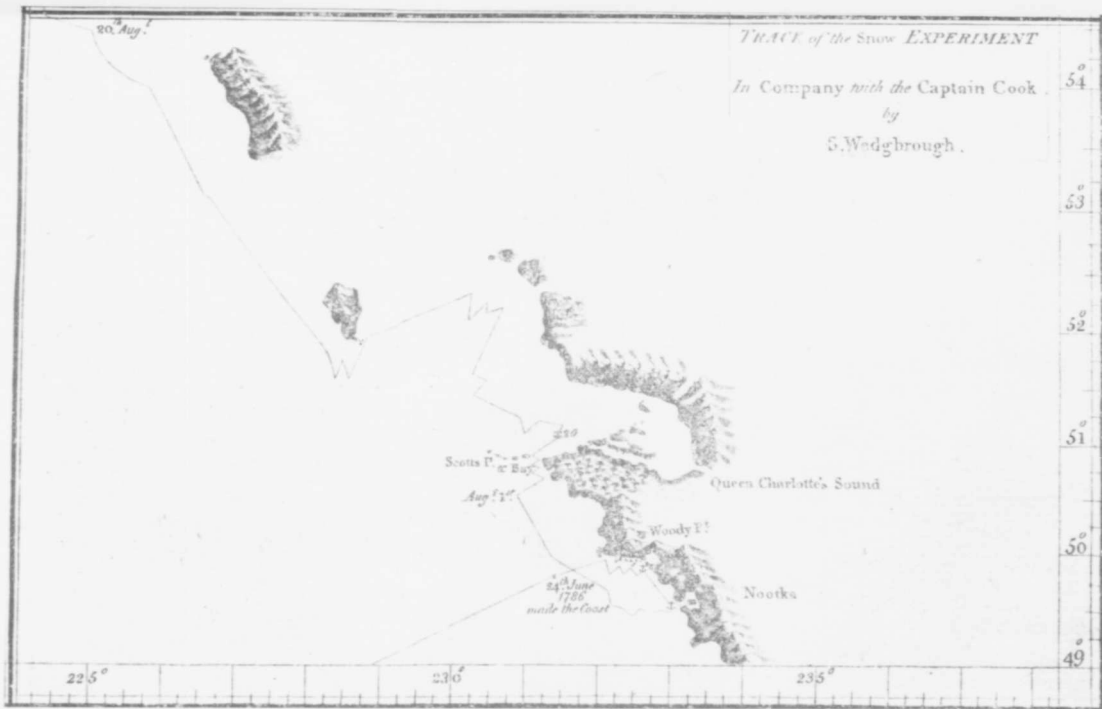
Dixon, George.
"Voyage
round the
World,"
1789, xviii.



PLATE II.

1786. Wainman's Track of the Snow Experiment in company with the Captain Cook, in August, 1786. Published by Dalrymple in 1789.

This is the first map showing indications of the separation of Vancouver Island from the mainland. It is also the first published showing parts of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Like that of La Perouse, made at the same time but published in 1797, there are blanks owing to the fogs then prevailing.



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northward on the 27th of July, leaving behind them their surgeon, John M'Key, suffering from scurvy.

At the beginning of August, Scott's Islands and Bay were seen, and then the officers mentioned explored Queen Charlotte Sound, noticing the channel to the south of it by which the Spaniards left six years later.

In S. Wedgborough's sketch, Queen Charlotte's Sound is represented as being about sixty miles in length and as leading into a narrow channel to the south-east, the end of which was not seen.

After leaving Vancouver Island the expedition continued northward, sighted the Princess Royal Islands, passed close to Cape St. James, at the south end of the Queen Charlotte group, and reached the north end of these islands about the 29th of August. They had passed the two ships commanded by de la Pérouse in the thick fog which prevailed nearly every day between the 9th and the 17th, according to the narrative of the last-named explorer. The map showing the track of the two vessels was published by Dalrymple in 1789, but copies of it were furnished to Dixon and Meares before that, and were used by them. Vancouver also refers to it, as will be noted later. Greenhow, Dall, and Bancroft (H. H.) seem to have overlooked this map and contemporary charts by other navigators.

The next voyage to the region under discussion is that by Captain James Hanna in the year 1786. He arrived at Nootka two months after the expedition just noted, and, according to the account of M'Key, left again in September. The sketch which shows part of his explorations is not nearly so accurate as that of Wedgborough, but it also indicates the northern end of the channel of which the southern was soon afterwards identified as being the entrance of the Strait of Fuca. Hanna seems to have supposed that the northern end of Vancouver Island was separated from the southern by a channel leading to the west coast through Kyuquot Inlet. Some of his names are retained upon the present chart, having been adopted by Vancouver. The Virgin Rocks, Smith's Inlet, and Fitzhugh Sound commemorate his voyage, but his *Peril* Rocks were changed by Vancouver into the less appropriate *Pearl* Rocks.

Hanna's account of Fitzhugh Sound and neighbouring

(Lowrie of Meares.)
(Mearey of Meares.)

Pl. 2.

La Pérouse,
J. P. G.
" Voyage de
... autour
du monde,"
1797.

Dixon, G.,
op. cit., XXII,
and " Further
Remarks,"
1791, 43.

Pl. 3.

Hanna's Map,
1786.

Dalrymple,
"Plan for pro-
moting the
Fur-Trade,"
1790, 12-14.

Dixon, G.,
op. cit., XXII.

Dixon, I. c.,
pp. 235-6.

Meares,
"Voyages,"
I.V.
Dixon,
"Voyage,"
253.

Mrs. Barkley's
Journal.

waters is given circumstantially in Dalrymple's rare "Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade."

Captain George Dixon, who had accompanied Captain Cook in a subordinate position in his third and last voyage, passed outside the entrance to Queen Charlotte Sound on his way south from the islands of that name, but does not seem to have sighted it. However, on his large chart of the North-west Coast of America he shows this entrance, and in his introductory remarks states that he did so from information derived from the charts of his predecessors, Guise and Hanna.

Before leaving Captain Dixon's narrative, it may be well to point out that when summing up the results of his explorations on the North-west Coast, the writer makes the following remarks: "That we have made considerable additions to the geography of this coast, cannot be denied, yet much remains to be done; indeed, so imperfectly do we still know it, that it is in some measure to be doubted whether we have yet seen the main land; certain it is that the coast abounds with islands, but *whether any land we have been near is really the continent*, remains to be determined by future navigators."

From various sources it appears that the next addition to the knowledge of the inner channels was made by Captain Charles William Barkley, of the Imperial Eagle, a British ship, but sailing under Austrian colours.

An interesting diary was kept during this cruise by the Captain's wife, Frances Hornby Barkley, who seems to have been the first white woman to visit these shores.

Captain J. T. Walbran, then of the Dominion Government steamer Quadra, was permitted by the late Captain Edward Barkley, R.N., a grandson of the explorer, to make use of this diary when preparing his well-known work entitled "British Columbia Place Names," and he embodied much of the information so gained in a lecture which he delivered before the Natural History Society of British Columbia early in the year 1901. This was somewhat fully reported in the *Victoria Daily Colonist* of March 2nd of that year.

In July, 1787, Barkley sailed southward from Nootka, taking with him as interpreter the John M'Key

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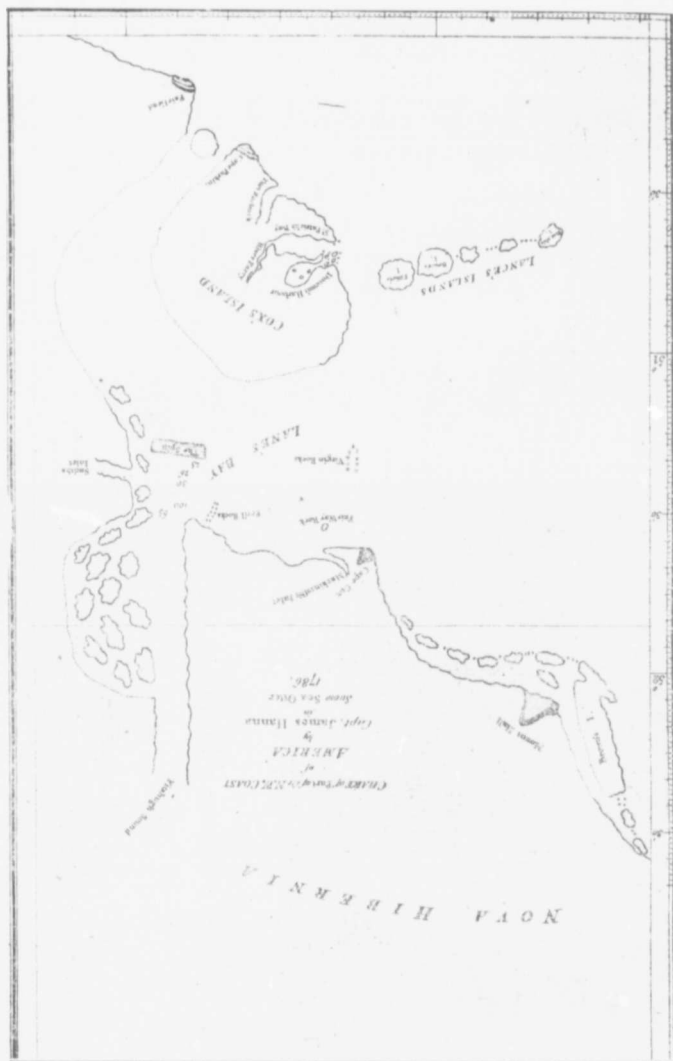
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PLATE III.

1786. HANNA, JAN. Chart of part of the N.W. Coast of America. Commanding the Snow Sea Otter, Hanna followed Lewis and Gibbs who were in the Cook and Experiment, a few weeks later. The map shows speculative separation of Vancouver Island from the mainland and indications of what Meares called the Great Northern Archipelago. Delimited by H.S.



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who had been left there in 1786 by Mr. Strange, the supercargo of the Captain Cook and Experiment, as before mentioned. M'Key had been for a year at Nootka, and having "made frequent incursions into the interior parts of the country did not think any part of it was the Continent of America, but a chain of detached islands."

Dixon.
"Voyage,"
233.

After visiting Port Cox (Clayoquot) and Barkley Sound, of which he sketched a plan which was afterwards published without acknowledgment by Meares, Barkley next discovered "a large opening extending to the eastward, the entrance of which appeared to be about four leagues wide and remained about that width as far as the eye could see, with a clear easterly horizon, which my husband immediately recognized as the long-lost Strait of Juan de Fuca and to which we gave the name of the original discoverer, my husband placing it on his chart."

Mrs. Barkley's
Journal.

The author has
not been able
to find this
reference in
the transcript
of Mrs. Bark-
ley's Journal in
the Provincial
Archives.

The chart to which Mrs. Barkley here refers was made use of by Dixon, and that his officers had early knowledge of it is probable from the fact that when they were lying at anchor in Macao Roads, in November, 1787, they were visited by Mr. Folger, chief mate of the Imperial Eagle, who gave them an account of the massacre of the second mate, the purser, and two of the crew at what is now known as the Hoh River, a little to the north of Destruction Island, Washington. Dalrymple mentions Barkley's chart and journal, to both of which he had access, and gives his positions of nine places at or near the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Dalrymple's notes give the latitude of the north point of entrance of de Fuca's Strait as $48^{\circ} 33'$, and that of the south point as $48^{\circ} 26'$. These figures and the position and size of the strait are far more accurate than as represented by Meares. This individual, although he had in his possession all of Barkley's data, pretended to have been the first discoverer and namer of Fuca's Strait, to the intense annoyance of Mrs. Barkley, who in no way spares the culprit in her diary. Partial justice was rendered the true discoverer by Dalrymple, as already stated, and this cartographer also published in 1791 Barkley's sketch of Wie-a-na-nish's Harbour (Clayoquot or Port Cox), giving the correct spelling of the discoverer's name, and the date 1787.

Dixon, *loc.*,
280.

Meares,
Exploration.

Captain John Meares, lately a lieutenant of the Royal Navy, was the next to further explore the southern end of the inner channels. In order to evade certain port charges in China and the necessity of obtaining licences from the East India and South Sea Companies, his vessels were supplied with Portuguese papers and nominal captains, although in other respects British ships and manned with British crews. Before leaving Macao in January, 1788, Meares obtained from John Henry Cox, of Canton, a copy of Barkley's chart from Nootka to the southward, and all the information that could be obtained from Captains Hanna, Lorie, and Guise. Mrs. Barkley's explanation as to how it was that her husband's papers were given to Meares is as follows:—

Dixon,
"Further
Remarks," 43.

Francis Hornby
Barkley,
"Journal,"
copy in
Provincial
Archives, p. 48.

"Captain Meares got possession of his Journal from the persons in China, to whom Capt. Barkley was bound under a penalty of five thousand pound to give them up, for a certain time, for mercantile objects, the owners, not wishing the knowledge of the coast to be published, Capt. Meares however with the greatest effrontery published and claimed the merit of the discoveries therein contained, besides inventing lies of the most revolting nature tending to vilify the person whom he thus pilfered."

Meares,
"Voyages,"
152-155,
1788.
Meares,
"Voyages,"
155.

On May 13th, 1788, Meares anchored at Nootka, and left again on June 11th to follow the course taken by Barkley so successfully in 1787, when the *Imperial Eagle* obtained 800 sea-otter skins, chiefly of a superior quality, at Nootka and to the southward. After trading at Clayoquot Sound for two weeks, Meares sighted the Strait of Fuca, and when off the entrance of the great inlet had a clear and unbounded view to east by north as far as the eye could reach. Ignoring the journals and chart of Barkley, he proceeded to name the inlet as if he himself had discovered it. Before proceeding farther Meares sent a boat party to examine the south side of the entrance, which explored the coast in the neighbourhood of Tatoche Island, and noted the position of the village called Classet.

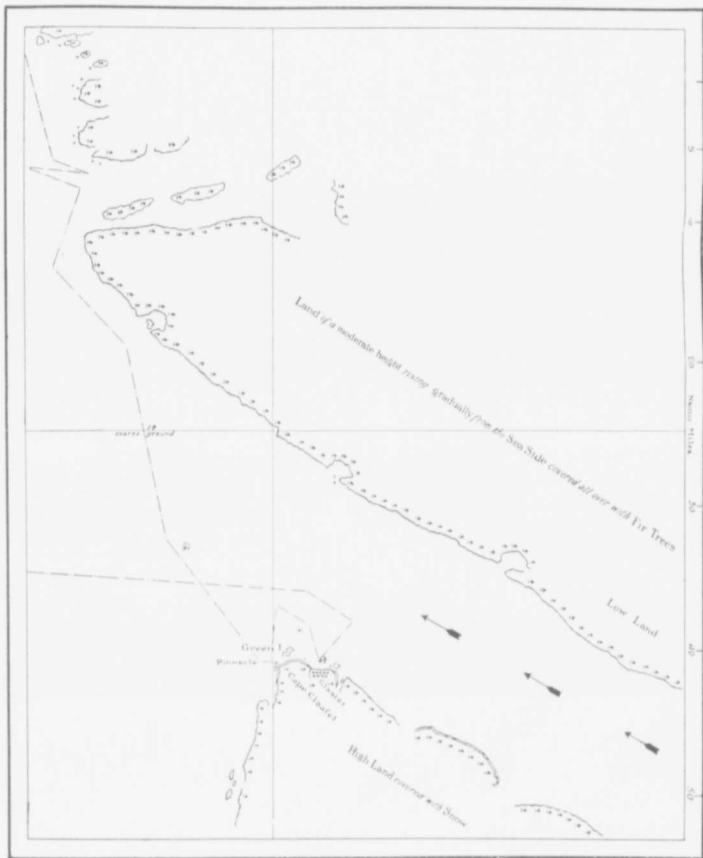
The *Felice* then passed down the coast and found the bay into which it was afterwards discovered by Gray that the Columbia empties. Turning back, Meares anchored in Barkley Sound on July 11th, and two days later sent his longboat under Duffin to explore the Strait of Fuca.



PLATE IV

1786. DEVIAX (U. S. S.) Sketch of the Entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. (Harpur, Am., p. 786.)

An early sketch showing the southern separation of Vancouver Island from the mainland, and Bowen's anchorage just to the west of each bay. A few days' more to see the true sources of information from the natives of Alouet that the sea ran a great way up to the northwest and down to the southwest.



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From Duffin's journal it would appear that he only penetrated about ten or twelve miles, and there is no evidence on record to support Meares's contention that he had sailed up the strait for nearly thirty leagues.

Less than a month after Duffin's return from his trip, Captain Charles Duncan anchored at Classet, a short distance to the east of Neeah Bay, and made a rough plan of the entrance to the strait. In a descriptive note inserted under the title of his sketch, we find that he was told by the natives of Classet that there was a great sea to the eastward, and that this "sea ran a great way up to the northward; and down to the southward."

This note is probably the earliest intimation on record by the Indians of the existence of the immense body of water now called Puget Sound. M'Key had doubtless already heard of the northern channel.

Vancouver, when entering the strait on April 29th, 1792, referred to Duncan's sketch, and described it as excellent. He was, however, unable to identify the Pinnacle Rock from thousands of others.

From the foregoing account, then, it is clear that the earliest stages in the progressive discovery of the inner channels of Vancouver Island were reached entirely by British ships. It has been shown that all of the commanders of the various expeditions put the results of their voyages upon record, and that their sketches and charts were of such a reliable nature that the names bestowed upon various places are still in use upon the maps of the present day.

As it was the policy of Spain to conceal the knowledge she had gained of the North-west Coast by her many explorers, it was mainly due to British and French writers that anything leaked out concerning their discoveries, until the publication, in the year 1802, of the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* under the command of Galiano and Valdes. The introduction, by Navarrete, contains a brief review of the Spanish voyages of discovery along the North-west Coast, up to the year 1792, but has little to say about those of other nations.

Duffin in Strait of Puca.
Meares, L.,
Appx. No. 3.

Duncan's Map of Entrance to Straits of Puca, 1788.
Pl. 4.

Vancouver, "Voyage," I.
216.

AMERICAN EXPLORATIONS.

Voyage of the
Columbia and
Washington.
Notes.
"The Dis-
covery of
Oregon," 477,
482.

Ingraham,
"Journal of
Hope," MS.

Haswell,
"Voyage of
Columbia,"
MS.
1789.

Pt. 7.

Pt. 5.

The first expedition to our coast under the flag of the United States arrived at Nootka in September, 1788, more than ten years after Cook had anchored there. The Columbia Rediviva and the Lady Washington had taken a year in making the voyage from Boston. The two ships passed the winter at Nootka, where they had met Meares and Douglas, the captain of the Iphigenia, and, if Meares's story be true, were told of the discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Douglas and Kendrick seem to have been on friendly terms, as the former presented the Americans with water-casks and small cannon. It is also related that Douglas and Kendrick sailed in company from China to Japan in 1791. Ingraham, too, more than once speaks of Douglas as his friend.

According to the journal by Haswell, the second mate of the Washington, this ship left Nootka for Clayoquot in March, 1789, and continued southward until, at the end of the month, they had reached Pachinat or Poverty Bay, inside the entrance of the Strait of Fuca. From the map of Captain Ingraham it is evident that this is the small harbour which was in the next year named Port San Juan by Quimper, and is now known as Port Renfrew. Judging by Meares's map, it must also be identical with Port Hawkesbury of Duffin, although it is difficult to make Duffin's account tally with it. From a copy of part of Haswell's journal recently obtained by His Honour Judge Howay, of New Westminster, it would seem that Gray, in the Washington, passed into the strait to a point somewhat beyond that which Duffin had reached. On the 31st of March the ship stood out from Poverty Bay, across to the south of the strait, then followed an east-south-east course along the shore for about four leagues. The weather was extremely stormy, and it was determined that to have continued farther up at such a boisterous season of the year, without any knowledge of where they were going, would have been the height of imprudence. On the 1st of April they saw the sun rise clear from the horizon up the strait, but as the weather was very bad they ran back to Poverty

Cove. On April 3rd they traded with the natives of "Ne'-ah" and noticed Tatoonche's Island, or Chandee (Chahdi of Swan).

This voyage of Gray's is the only one recorded which in any way substantiates his statement to Puget and Menzies in 1792 that he had penetrated the Strait of Fuca for the distance of fifty miles. It was on the way from Nootka that Haswell repeated what had already been surmised by M'Key, that he had reason to suppose that the whole land in sight consisted of islands. He also thought that there was a "great inland communication by rivers." It is probable that during the long winter which the Americans had passed at Nootka something had been told them of the Fraser and Columbia Rivers.

Also Bancroft,
op. cit., I, 205.

It was very shortly after the return of Captain Gray's ship to Nootka that the events occurred which led to the British controversy with Spain and the retirement of the latter from the territory now forming the Province of British Columbia. Martinez arrived in this region in May, 1789, carrying instructions from the Viceroy of Mexico to assert the rights of Spain to Nootka, by establishing a fortified post there, and to prevent other nations from doing so, lest their actions should be prejudicial to the trade, interests, and security of the Spaniards.

1789.

Here he found the Columbia, under Kendrick, and the Iphigenia, Captain Douglas, and demanded to see their papers. According to copies of Kendrick's correspondence with Martinez, preserved in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the presence of the Columbia at this port was explained by the statement that the ship had been damaged, that her crew was suffering from scurvy, and that she was on a "journey of exploration." Nothing seems to have been said as to any intention to trade with the Indians. It was further explained that the sloop in process of construction was to be employed in discovery to the northward, the "Streights of Admiral de Fonte" being particularly specified, and also in procuring hoops. These explanations were deemed to be satisfactory, and the American ships were allowed to remain. After making prizes of the British ships, and having seized their journals and charts, the Spaniards proceeded to make use of the information they had so gained.

Kendrick's
Letters.

*Satill y
Mexicana,
Voyage,
CXVII,
CXVIII, and
p. 1.*

One of the captured vessels, the North-west America, was rechristened the Gertrudis, and was sent to examine an inlet which Martinez now recalled that he had noticed in the year 1774, in the latitude of $48^{\circ} 20'$; that is to say, the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

No more information as to this expedition has come to light, further than that the officer in command returned, and stated that he had found this inlet in latitude $48^{\circ} 30'$, and that it was twenty-one miles in width.

It should be mentioned that the North-west America, under the command of Funter, before her seizure, had probably visited Queen Charlotte Sound in the month of May. A sketch of "Raft Cove, in Queen Charlotte Sound, by Captain Robert Funter," was published by Dalrymple in 1791. It was previously inserted by Meares in his "Voyages," but without acknowledgment. Raft Cove is evidently the Shushartie Bay of the present charts.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to sum up what was generally known as to the probable existence of inner channels by the fur-traders resorting to Nootka Sound in the year 1789.

SUMMARY OF SURVEYS UP TO AND INCLUDING YEAR 1789.

See Pl. 5.

See Pl. 6.

From the unassailable evidence of British explorers, about sixty miles of the northern end of these channels had been reconnoitred and one harbour charted with a great number of soundings. Of the southern end, Meares's boat party explored about twelve miles in 1788, and Gray passed a few miles farther in the next year. There are no proofs of either of these explorations extending beyond the distances noted. The extra mileage claimed by them is only based upon surmise. From Indians it was supposed that the country "back of Nootka" was one or more islands, as we learn from M'Key, Haswell, and Duncan.

Pl. 3.

That the coast north of Vancouver consisted in great part of islands had been shown by Hanna's chart, here reproduced. On page LII of his introduction, Meares says: "Captain Hanna was so kind as to submit his journal for examination. It was seen to confirm De Fonte's discoveries. Hanna entered the Sound as he esteemed the Great Northern Archipelago to be." It may be seen by Jefferys's map of

See Pl. 1.



PLATE V.

1788-9. MEARES, JOHN.

The famous map which Dixon said resembled nothing so much as a "good old wife's butter-pat." It shows the alleged track of American ship *Washington* in the autumn of 1788, through a wide channel passing far to the east of Vancouver Island, and heading into south-east Alaska, where it spent on the north side of Dixon's Entrance, opposite the Queen Charlotte Islands. Although entirely uncorroborated by any evidence on the part of Captain Kendrick, who then commanded the *Washington*, this map is considered by some American authors as proving the priority of American explorers in the circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, Princess Royal Islands, Neeson Sound, and Port Stephens, all names still used on modern charts. They were originally given by Coombs and Drouin; the latter was ruined by the Spaniards at Nootka in his Journals and charts, and was therefore unable to publish them himself.

Vancouver Islands of the year 1788
 Plate V. Meares



LAND SEEN

THE SEA

THE SEA

Sketch of the
Track of the American Sloop
WASHINGTON in the Autumn of 1780

SANDWICH ISLANDS
in the Autumn of 1780

MOKUAIA ISLANDS

OAHU
MOLOKAI
MAUI
HAWAII

Discovered by
Captain Cook in 1778

Discovered by
Captain Carteret in 1771

1780

Sketch of the
Track of the American Sloop
WASHINGTON in the Autumn of 1780

Sketch of the
Track of the American Sloop
WASHINGTON in the Autumn of 1780

OAHU
MOLOKAI
MAUI
HAWAII

Discovered by
Captain Cook in 1778

Discovered by
Captain Carteret in 1771

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1768 what De Fonte's discoveries were supposed to be. It will suffice to say here that an archipelago was described as existing at the mouth of a large river emptying into the Pacific Ocean in latitude 53°. Mount Lazaro, on the present charts, on the Alaskan side of the Strait of Fuca, commemorates the Archipelago of St. Lazarus to this day, and was first shown on the map of Meares. "The Straights De Font" are also marked on the map by Ingraham.

Pl. 5.

Although Dixon had not himself been able to prove it, he recorded, as we have seen, his doubt whether he had yet seen the mainland and the certainty that the coast abounded with islands. Colnett and Duncan explored the island coast in the region about the supposed straits of De Fonte in the years 1787 and 1788, and their work was made known to the world by Dalrymple. According to Dixon, Duncan's track amongst the islands was shown on a chart by Arrowsmith, which had been given to Meares at Canton, and Duncan's Banks Island and Port Stephens are duly shown on Meares's map.

Dixon, *op. cit.*, 235.

Dixon, "Further Remarks," 43.

Colnett's maps were used by Caamano when in search of the same Strait of Fonte in 1792, as stated in the introduction to the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*.

Sutil y Mexicana, p. CXXVII.

Having in his possession all these facts (in which knowledge he was by no means singular), there is nothing remarkable in the following statement in Meares's narrative: "During the whole length of our coasting voyage, we did not meet with a single river of any magnitude, . . . so from these and other circumstances, with such accounts as we could get from the natives we had frequently been disposed to imagine, that the land which we had considered as the American coast, was a chain of islands, separated by large and capacious channels from the continent."

Meares, *op. cit.*, 235.

The following note is appended: "This conjecture will be considered in one of the Introductory Memoirs, with some account of the voyage of the American sloop *Washington*, in the autumn of 1789, which was not received till we were thus far advanced in our narrative."

On reference to Meares's map there will be seen a sketch of the track followed by the *Washington*, made, as was afterwards explained by its author, from notes supplied to him not by the captain of the vessel himself, but communicated by a gentleman who had seen him in China.

Pl. 5.

ALLEGED VOYAGE OF THE AMERICAN SLOOP WASHINGTON.

Very opportunely, while this paper was in progress, the Provincial Archivist, Mr. Scholefield, received from the Record Office, London, a batch of papers relating to the early history of the Province of British Columbia, among them the copy of an original deposition which runs as follows:—

"*Foreign Office Miscellaneous Papers*, 5.—Information obtained from Lt. Meares, 4 July, 1790.

"Mr. Neville, an Officer in the Et. India Company's Service, came home from China in the Duke of Buccleugh. He was some weeks at Macao, and frequently in Company with Capt. Kendrick of the Washington, from whom he learnt—That the Washington left Nootka in the latter end of September, that she afterwards went up de Fonti's Strait and passing thro' a Sea came out at the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Kendrick named the Island formed by these Straits, *Washington*."

According to this statement, Kendrick sailed through the inner channels from the north towards the south. This is distinctly contrary to the assertion of Meares which follows. The confused ideas of the narrator regarding the geography of the coast are manifested by his taking the Strait of Juan de Fuca as one of the boundaries of the "Washington Islands," the name given to the Queen Charlotte group by Gray some months before Kendrick saw them.

In the "Observations on the Probable Existence of a North-West Passage," one of the introductory memoirs to the narrative of the voyage, Meares says:—

"The Washington entered the Straits of John de Fuca, the knowledge of which she had received from us; and, penetrating up them, entered into an extensive sea, where she steered to the Northward and Eastward, and had communication with the various tribes who inhabit the shores of the numerous islands that are situated at the back of Nootka Sound, and speak, with some little variation, the language of the Nootkan people. The track of this vessel is marked on the map, and is of great moment, as it now completely ascertains that Nootka Sound, and the parts adjacent are islands, and compre-

hended within the Great Northern Archipelago. The sea, also, which is seen to the East, is of great extent; and it is from this stationary point, and the most Westerly parts of Hudson's Bay, that we form an estimate of the distance between them. The most easterly direction of the Washington's course is to the longitude of 237 degrees east of Greenwich. It is probable, however, that the master of that vessel did not make any astronomical observations to give a just data of that station; but, as we have those made by Captain Cook at Nootka Sound, we may be able to form a conjecture somewhat approaching the truth, concerning the distance between Nootka and the easternmost station of the Washington in the northern archipelago; and, consequently, this station may be presumed to be in the longitude, or thereabout, of 237 degrees east of Greenwich."

Such a remarkable addition to the knowledge of the topography of the North-west Coast was surely deserving of fuller treatment and the presentation of more accurate data than Meares offers in his short explanatory note respecting this alleged voyage.

The publication of Meares's book in 1790 took place at a time when the attention of the whole civilized world was drawn to the North-west Coast on account of the war which was threatening to break out between Great Britain and Spain, in consequence of the seizure by the Spaniards of certain vessels at Nootka. It is not necessary to go into this controversy further than to remind the reader that the captured ships belonged to the company in which Meares was interested, and that he was endeavouring to get ample compensation both for direct and for indirect losses alleged to have been caused by this capture.

Captain George Dixon, whose work was criticized by Meares in various places, at once took the opportunity of replying to these attacks, and of pointing out some of the numerous inconsistencies and other faults contained in that of Meares. Amongst his charges, he states that Meares used and claimed credit to himself for information really derived from Captains Barkley, Duncan, and others, and these charges are certainly borne out by evidence. It would take up too much space to go into

Meares's story criticized.

Dixon.
"Remarks,"
p. 30.

these matters, and they are only mentioned as bearing upon the character of Meares as a credible witness in the point under discussion, namely, how and why it was that Meares constructed the map which purports to show "the track of the *Washington* in the autumn of 1789."

Dixon,
op. cit., 22.

Meares was challenged by Dixon to produce his evidence in the following words: "Be so good, Mr. Meares, as to inform the public from what author you introduced this track into your chart? I have read your amusing and instructive book again and again, and cannot find any account of it; I therefore strongly suspect that it was never taken from any actual survey, but has been introduced into your chart merely as a pretty variety to fill up a blank; and I cannot think of anything it resembles so much as the mould of a good old housewife's butter pat."

Meares,
"Answer to
Mr. George
Dixon," p. 14.

Meares answered this attack to the effect that the respect which he owed to the public made him condescend to reply to the question. He owed the communication as to the track of the *Washington* to Mr. Neville, a man of most respectable character, who had returned to England in the *Chesterfield* from China; that Mr. Kendrick had arrived in China with a rich cargo of furs shortly before the *Chesterfield* left, and that Mr. Neville had spent the whole of his time in the company of Mr. Kendrick while the ships were together. This shows that Meares got his information not directly from Kendrick himself, but through the intervention of a third party, not even belonging to Kendrick's crew.

Whether Meares made his deposition before or after Dixon issued his challenge we have no means of determining. It will be noticed, however, that the two statements as to Mr. Neville cannot be reconciled with each other. The account first quoted plainly limits Kendrick to the circumnavigation of what had already been named by Captain Gray the "*Washington*," or, as we know them, the Queen Charlotte Islands; while Meares's published account and maps claim for him the credit of having sailed through the Strait of Fuca and then by a channel of magnificent distances which led him to the north of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Although the accounts of other navigators have been ransacked over and over again, not one particle of other evidence has been found to support Meares's contention.

It is universally conceded that Kendrick himself made no claim to be the discoverer of the inner channels; and Meares's book, which was republished in England and translated into French, German, Dutch, and Russian, seems to have elicited no confirmation, either written or verbal, from the officers of ships whom Kendrick must have met during his prolonged stay in Chinese waters.

One might almost rest the case here were it not for the fact that Kendrick's supposed voyage was in after years relied upon as strengthening the American side in the controversies as to the boundaries of the Oregon Territory, and was even instanced in the evidence laid before the German Emperor in the dispute as to San Juan Island.

In a second memorial composed by Meares in support of the earlier one in which he was claiming compensation from the Spanish Government in consequence of the seizure of his ships at Nootka, Meares restates much of the information contained in the memoir just quoted. The second, or later, memorial (of which the copy recently made at the Public Record Office, London, is given in full in an appendix to this paper) seems to provide an explanation for Meares's action in inserting the unauthenticated voyage of Kendrick in his ably written but inaccurate work. It will be seen that Meares was trying to get "indirect damages" for having been prevented from making a trading voyage into a productive and hitherto unopened field of operations. His own words are:—

"The Washington in her progress had intercourse with great bodies of Indians inhabiting these parts, and carried on a considerable traffic with them, but that being in want of the necessary articles of trade, such as are had in estimation with the natives, she was for this reason necessitated to leave large quantities of furs behind her, particularly sea-otter skins, in the possession of the natives, sufficient to lade the Washington. That your Memorialist from this circumstance begs leave to point out, the probable consequences that must have

Meares's
Second
Memorial.

Author's
Italian.

ensued, if the Ships of him and his associates had been permitted to have traded unmolested on the Coast, as the small vessels of your Memorialist would have penetrated those parts explored by the *Washington*, and being in possession of the very Articles of Commerce held most in request by the Indians, would have purchased all the Furs which they could not sell to the Americans, and those small vessels of your Memorialist would have finally been able to have extended their Commerce considerably."

This memorial of Meares provides one explanation as to his reasons for attributing "anything meritorious" to the Americans who witnessed the discomfiture of his expedition by the Spaniards at Nootka, about which Greenhow and his followers have had so much difficulty.

Meares's
Answer to
Mr. George
Dixon,
London, 1791.

A second reason was put forward by Dixon in his "Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares" when referring to Meares's assertion that his ships were prevented from examining further the Strait of Fuca by the destruction of his commercial enterprise by the ships of His Catholic Majesty.

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

It is quite possible, therefore, that Meares had in mind not only the desire to fortify his claims for heavy damages, but also wished to put himself forward as a candidate for the command of an expedition in search of the North-west Passage for which such a substantial prize was offered.

Kendrick,
1787-1792.

For certain reasons American authors have considerably reduced the extent of Kendrick's supposititious voyage, and now only claim that he was the first to complete the passage of the waters to the east of Vancouver Island. As doubt has been expressed as to the opportunities he had of making his discoveries known to the world, it is desirable at this point to show that there were numerous occasions on which Kendrick might have placed indubitably on record the actual results of his

explorations. A brief account, therefore, of his doings from the date of his first voyage to the time that Vancouver appeared on the coast may be in order.

Students of the history of the North-west Coast will remember that after a dilatory voyage from Boston, which place he left in October, 1787, Kendrick reached Nootka late in September, 1788, having lost time at the Falkland and Cape de Verde Islands, and with many of his men in an advanced stage of scurvy. Having experienced terrific gales off Cape Horn, Kendrick had put in at the Island of Juan Fernandez to refit and rested there for seventeen days.

With his companion vessel, the *Columbia Rediviva*, under Gray, Kendrick wintered at Nootka Sound, and it was not until March of the next year that either of the vessels moved from this harbour in search of furs. During a short cruise to Clayoquot and back, the *Washington*, according to the diary of her second officer, Haswell, on April 1st reached a point in the Strait of Fuca probably the same as that attained by Duffin in July, 1788, the account of which Meares claims that he had given to Kendrick. In May, the *Washington* started for the north, reached southern Alaska by Hecate Strait, noting the existence of the straits of Admiral de Font (or Fuente of Spanish and French authors), and returned by the west coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands, to which they gave the name of their ship.

At Nootka they found the Spaniards in possession and two British vessels under arrest. Kendrick had moved from his old anchorage in Friendly Cove to Mawinnah, a place a few miles higher up Nootka Sound, where Gray joined him. It was arranged here that the two captains should exchange ships, but the transfer seems to have taken place at Clayoquot a little later.

The *Columbia*, now under Captain Gray, with Ingraham and Haswell as his first and second officers, left Clayoquot at the end of July and reached Whampoa Roads on November the 16th. Having sold their sea-otter skins at a sacrifice at Canton, they reloaded with tea, and left China, on the home voyage, on February 12th, 1790.

We now come to the supposed voyage of Captain Kendrick, which, according to Meares, took him through

Baneroff, H. H.
"History
N.W. Coast,"
p. 187.

Kendrick and
Gray at
Clayoquot,
August, 1791.

the inner channels to the east of Vancouver Island and brought him out again into Dixon's Entrance by a passage through the Prince of Wales Archipelago in south-east Alaska.

Hoskins,
Narr., MS.

The only American record of this that the writer has been able to find is the brief notice in Hoskins's journal to the effect that shortly after Gray's departure for China, Kendrick followed him, sailing to the northward to the Queen Charlotte Islands, where he was successful in procuring skins. He also states that at Barrell Sound (and this is confirmed by Ingraham's account) Kendrick had trouble with Koyah, whom he placed in stocks formed by a gun-carriage, and that this incident led to the fight of 1791 described later on.

Bancroft, the historian of the North-west Coast, who was indefatigable in his search for data bearing upon his subject, sums up the question in a manner that can hardly be improved upon. His words are as follows:—

Bancroft,
"Northwest
Coast," I, 208.

"After Gray's departure we know nothing in detail of Kendrick's operations on the coast. In Meares's map, copied in the preceding chapter, we find laid down the 'track of the Lady Washington in the autumn of 1789,' through a strait whose southern entrance is that of Fuca, and the northern above Queen Charlotte Island, thus making a great island of the Nootka region. When Vancouver met Gray in 1792, and was told by him that he made no such voyage, the inaccuracy of Meares's statement was believed to be established; but it subsequently appeared that Meares got his information from a man who had obtained it from Kendrick after his return to China at the end of 1789, and therefore it was plausibly concluded by Greenhow and others that the Lady Washington had made the trip through the strait under Kendrick's command after the departure of the Columbia. I cannot say that such was not the fact; but from the extreme inaccuracy of Meares's chart, from the narrowness of the real channel, and from the fact that Kendrick is not known to have made subsequently any claims to a discovery so important, I am strongly of opinion that the chart was made from second-hand reports of Kendrick's conjectures, founded on Gray's explorations of the north and south, already described, and supplemented by his own possible

observations after Gray's departure, as well as by reports of the natives, which, according to Haswell, indicated a channel back of Nootka. . . . At any rate the evidence is not sufficient to give Kendrick the honor of having been the first to sail round Vancouver Island."

While admitting that there is no documentary evidence to prove that Kendrick circumnavigated Vancouver Island, some authors seem to think that this is due to the scant record of authentic nature of the work of the two pioneer American captains, Kendrick and Gray. This can afford no explanation of the silence of all contemporary writers of the time, after Meares and Dixon had finished their controversy in 1791. This silence is the more remarkable, because the expedition was no ordinary private venture, but was provided with sea letters by the Federal Government, agreeably to a resolution of Congress, with passports from the State of Massachusetts and letters from the Spanish Minister in the United States, recommending the attention of the authorities of his nation on the Pacific coasts.

While no evidence of Kendrick's supposed voyage appeared during his lifetime, yet there are no less than *three* diaries in existence which ought to mention it if there were any truth in Meares's account. Of these, only one has, so far, been published, even in part. This is the "Voyage of the Columbia Rediviva," by Robert Haswell, which was obtained by H. H. Bancroft from the daughter of the writer, and is frequently quoted by the historian of the North-west Coast. Haswell, the son of a British naval officer, had left Clayoquot at the end of July, 1789, as second mate in the Columbia, under Gray, and reached China on November the 16th, anchoring in Whampoa Roads. Kendrick, in the Washington, reached Macao and anchored some miles away from the Columbia, towards the end of January, 1790, and two weeks afterwards was passed by the latter on her voyage to Boston. That Gray and Kendrick corresponded on this occasion we have positive evidence from their letters preserved in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It was not until August 29th, 1791, that the Columbia and the Washington were again in company. This was at Clayoquot, where Kendrick was leisurely repairing his

Ms. Journals
of Haswell.

Hoskins.

Ingraham.

Hoskins,
See Appendix
II.

Porter, E. G.
"The Ship
Columbia and
the Discovery
of the
Oregon,"
N. Eng. Mag.,
Boston, 1892,
p. 482.

Ingraham,
Joseph.
"Journal of
the Hope,"
MS.

vessel. After spending a week together, the Columbia went off on a cruise in search of winter quarters, but returned on the 18th of September, again finding the Washington at her anchorage, which she did not leave until the 29th, eleven days later. During these periods, which together amounted to eighteen days, we learn from Hoskins, the author of the second diary referred to, full details of a fight between Kendrick and the Haida Indians of "Barrell Sound"—that is, Ninstantins—in the previous June, but there is not one word recorded as to the supposed marvellous trip of the autumn of 1789.

From Porter we hear that Kendrick, on this occasion, told the officers of the Columbia that after the sale of his skins at Macao, in 1790, he began to make his sloop into a brig, assisted by Delano. "This took so much time that he lost the season on the coast and stayed at Lark's Bay (China) till the spring of 1791, when he sailed in company with Douglas and touched at Japan, and was the first man to unfurl the American flag in that land. He sought to open a trade, but was ordered off, as might have been expected had he known the rigidly exclusive policy of Japan at that time. Kendrick had called at Nootka where, he said, the Spaniards had treated him kindly, and sent him daily supplies of 'greens and salads.' He had come to Clayoquot to haul up the *Lady Washington*—now a brigantine—to grave at a place which he had fortified and named Fort Washington."

Where Mr. Porter obtained his information he does not tell us, but in his introductory remarks he states that his facts were gathered mainly from private sources, and many of them are not found in the writings of other authors. On this occasion, then, both Haswell and Hoskins, each of whom left written records of their meeting with Kendrick at Clayoquot, had an opportunity of learning about the voyage of 1789, but make no mention of it.

The third diarist who must have been told by Kendrick of his addition to the knowledge of possible channels leading to the long-sought-for North-west Passage is Ingraham. From Haswell we learn that Kendrick sailed for China on the 29th of September, 1791, and Greenhow tells us that he arrived at Macao

while the Hope (Captain Ingraham) was lying there. Ingraham had reached this place on December the 1st, and, according to Fleurieu, the editor of Marchand's voyage, sent to the Solide for a doctor, to whom he gave the latest news from Nootka. He remained at Macao until April 2nd, 1792.

Ingraham's journal contains this entry respecting his interview with Kendrick at Macao, December 7th, 1791:—

"7th Decr. in the evening arrived the Brign. Washington Capn. John Kendrick from the N.W. coast of America he had been into Nootka Sound where the Spaniards had still possession but they did not molest him however least they should attempt to detain him on his way out he came out by another passage to the Northd. of the one he enter'd by which he got clear after purchasing many valuable furs."

Ingraham,
"Journal,"
copy in
Provincial
Archives,
pp. 150-151.

After this entry there follows a long and spirited account of the fight Kendrick had had with Koyah's tribe, in the Queen Charlotte Islands, of which he had already told Gray and Hoskins, as reported by Haswell and Hoskins and mentioned above. Like these writers, Ingraham says nothing of the alleged voyage round Vancouver Island.

Before closing the account of Kendrick's doings for the year 1791, mention must be made of his purchase of immense tracts of land on Vancouver Island for himself and for a company of which he was the promoter. "The company's territory embraced," according to Kelley, "all of Cuadra's" (i.e., Vancouver's) "Island not sold to Kendrick and to Spain."

Bancroft,
H. H.,
op. cit., 254,
foot-note 33.

In a letter dated March 1st, 1793, from the Island of King Kong (? Hong Kong), addressed to Thomas Jefferson, Kendrick mentions this purchase, and encloses copies of the deeds to remain in the Department of State. He says that his title was "recognized by the Spaniards, by being excepted in a deed of lands at Nootka from Maquinna to Cuadra." Yet, strange to say, he makes no claim that his circumnavigation of Vancouver Island must strengthen his case, nor do any of his supporters at the time.

Finally, in Bancroft's "History of the North-west

Bancroft,
op. cit., 206,
207.

Vancouver,
op. cit., II,
151.

Delano,
"Narrative
of Voyages,"
etc., 1818,
pp. 309, 400.

Vancouver,
op. cit., I,
213.

Vancouver and
Gray, 1792.

Vancouver,
op. cit., I,
p. 214.

Coast" will be found many references both to printed and to manuscript writings relating to Kendrick's doings up to the time of his death. From these it appears that the date of his death is not even known—Greenhow alleged that he was accidentally killed in 1792, but Bancroft found some correspondence between him and the Governor of California in 1794. Vancouver also records that he met Kendrick more than once at the Hawaiian Islands in the same year. Bancroft also says that Delano, the author of a "Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres," Boston, 1817, met Kendrick at Canton in 1791, and did not hear of his death until 1801. It is notable that, like all other authors contemporary with Kendrick, Delano has nothing to say as to the voyage under consideration. Evidently when the two navigators met in China, Kendrick had not reported it.

It is for believers in the mythical voyage, as related by Meares, to account for this omission, and for what must amount to a conspiracy of silence amongst all of Kendrick's contemporaries.

In this conspiracy we must include Kendrick's colleague, Captain Gray, who first passed over the dangerous bar of the river to which he gave the name of his vessel, the *Columbia*. When Vancouver met Captain Gray on the 29th of April, 1792, a little to the south of Cape Flattery, he "sent Mr. Puget and Mr. Menzies to acquire such information as might be serviceable in our future operations." Mr. Menzies had been on the coast in a trading-vessel before, and was therefore eminently fitted to make the necessary inquiries.

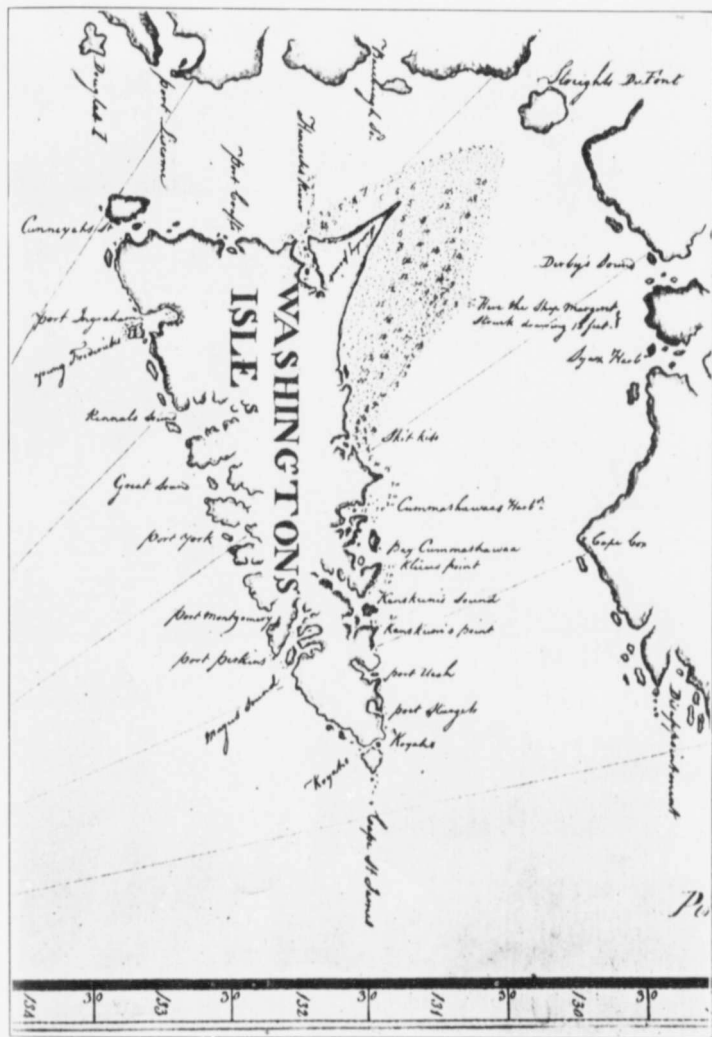
Vancouver's report of this interview is as follows: "On the return of the boat, we found our conjectures had not been ill-grounded, that this was the same gentleman who had commanded the sloop *Washington* at the time, we are informed, she had made a very singular voyage behind Nootka. It was not a little remarkable that, on our approach to the entrance of this inland sea, we should fall in with the identical person who, it had been stated, had sailed through it. His relation, however, differed very materially from that published in England. It is not possible to conceive any one to be more astonished than was Mr. Gray, on his being made acquainted,



PLATE VI.

1792. INGHAM, Joseph. *Journal of the Belgouine Hoop*. (M.S.)

Shows the Queen Charlotte Islands under the name of Washington, after the ship so called which first visited them, under Captain Gray, in the year 1791, two years after they were examined and named by Captain Dixon, in the Queen Charlotte. The supposed straits of de Foucay are seen in the northeast corner.



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that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop *Washington*. In contradiction to which, he assured the officers, that he had penetrated only fifty miles into the straits in question, in an E.S.E. direction; that he found the passage five leagues wide; and that he understood, from the natives, that the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; that this was all the information he had acquired respecting this inland sea, and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he had entered at."

As Vancouver was not aware that Meares had mentioned in his "Reply to the Remarks of Captain Dixon" (published in 1791, after Vancouver had left England) that Kendrick commanded the sloop *Washington* during the supposed voyage in question, having omitted this piece of information in his original text and on the map accompanying it, he must now have imagined that the matter was settled. In any case, if Gray knew that Kendrick had made the voyage, he must have been a consummate actor to have so successfully concealed his knowledge.

Captain Vancouver, however, seems to have still had some uneasiness about the alleged discovery, for we find that when he met the Spanish exploring expedition under Galiano and Valdes in the Gulf of Georgia he discussed the matter with these commanders.

Arguing from the great number of whales which were playing round his ships, he says that "this circumstance, in some measure, favoured the assertion in Mr. Meares's publication, that a passage to the ocean would be found by persevering in our present course; though this was again rendered very doubtful, as we had understood, from our Spanish friends, that, notwithstanding the Spaniards had lived upon terms of great intimacy with Mr. Gray and other American traders at Nootka, they had no knowledge of any person having ever performed such a voyage, but from the history of it published in England; and so far were these gentlemen from being better acquainted with the discoveries of De Fuca or De Fonte than ourselves, that, from us, they expected much information as to the truth of such reports."

Vancouver,
op. cit., I,
218.

Author's
notes.

So far, then, except for the original statement of Meares, the supposed voyage of Kendrick remains in the darkest obscurity. Not one single witness to its truth could be found on the North-west Coast.

We now come to a positive statement by one of his fellow traders from Boston that it never took place at all. We learn from the long-buried "Journal of the Voyage of the Brigantine Hope, of Boston," which for forty or fifty years was treasured in the Library of the Department of State at Washington, D.C., that the writer, Captain Joseph Ingraham, after discussing the matter with Vancouver at Nootka, denied the truth of Meares's fiction in the following words, of which we possess a certified copy:—

"The dotted line forming a communication between Pintard's Sound" (the name used by American traders to denote the Sound called Queen Charlotte's by Wedg-brough in 1786; see Pl. 2) "and the Streights De Fuca is marked from certain information that such passage exists therefor to prevent its being compared as Dixon does Mr. Meares's track of the Sloop Washington (to an old wife's butter pat). It is necessary to mention that this season two Spanish schooners and His Britannic Majesty's Ship Discovery and Brign. Chatham (passed) through this channel but the former first from whence I call the Isled, it forms Quadras Isle after Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra the Spanish Commodre. This Genta, and Captn. Geo. Vancouver were obliging in shewing me their charts but a momentary view was insufficient to stamp a remembrance of particulars in order to commit it to paper with accuracy therefore I tho't it prefferable to prick a line just to shew that such a passage existed rather than to mislead by laying down windings and Turnings coves and Islands I never saw.

"The sloop Washington as Mr. Meares supposed never passed through that passage tho' we saw little doubt of their being such passage from the information of the Indians during our stay in Nootka Sound."

A short biographical notice of Captain Ingraham, compiled from Greenhow and other authors, is inserted here to enable the reader to form some idea as to his competence to speak so positively of Kendrick's doings.

When the first American fur-trading expedition was

Ingraham,
"Journal of
"the Hope,"
MS.
Nootka,
Oct. 2nd, 1792.

Ingraham's
Map of
"Streights de
Fuca,"
Pl. 6.

Ingraham,
"Journal,"
copy in
Provincial
Archives,
pp. 290-1.

Author's
Notes.

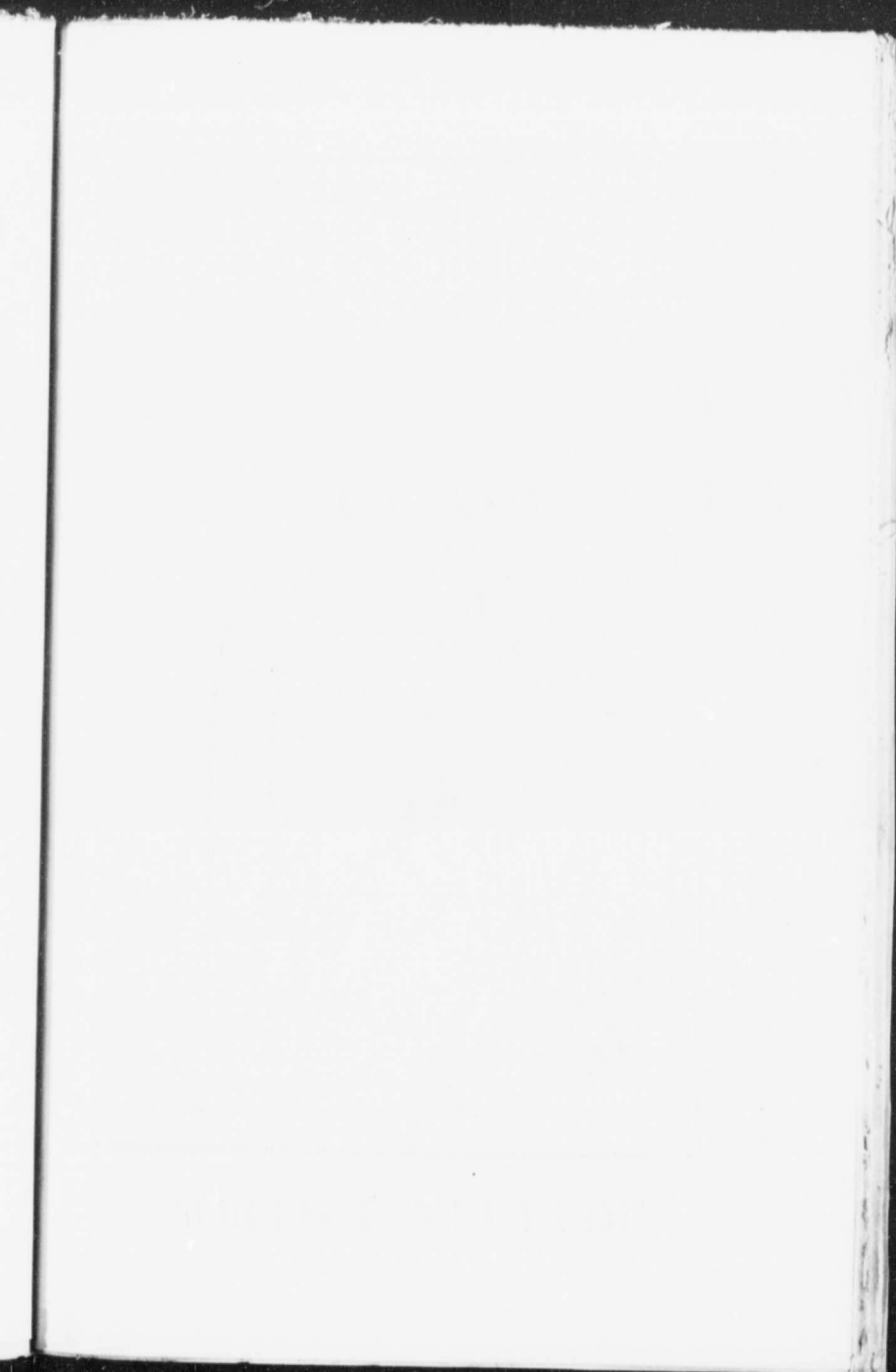


PLATE VII.

1792. INGRAHAM, JESSE. Journal of the Belzoniho Hoop. (M.S.)
Shows the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland, the dotted portion representing what Ingraham had learned from Vancouver and the Spaniards at Nootka immediately after their return from the first circumnavigation of V.I. In the note accompanying the sketch Ingraham states that Kendrick never passed through this channel as supposed by Meares, and specially refers to the "butter-pot" map No. 5.

PLATE VII

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organized and put under the command of John Kendrick, who sailed from Boston in the ship *Columbia*, he chose as his second mate Joseph Ingraham, his first being Simeon Woodruff, who had been with Cook in his last voyage to the Pacific. The third officer was Haswell, who was the author of the record of the expedition. Discontented with Kendrick's dilatory methods, Woodruff left the ship at the Cape de Verde Islands, and his place was taken by Ingraham. After a very stormy passage the *Columbia* reached Nootka about the 23rd of September, 1788, with her crew suffering from scurvy. Her consort, the *Lady Washington*, had arrived a week earlier.

Porter, i.e.,
474.

1788.

At Nootka the *Columbia* remained inactive until 1789, when she moved to Clayoquot, and after an exchange of captains sailed for China at the end of the month, as before mentioned. During his long stay of nearly ten months at Nootka, Ingraham wrote an account of the region, which he gave to his Spanish friends. It is contained in the "*Viages en la Costa al Norte de Californias*," a transcript of which was obtained from the Spanish Archives by Professor George Davidson.

1789.

At the end of July the *Columbia*, under Captain Gray, left Clayoquot, and after selling her furs in China sailed for Macao in February with a load of tea, arriving at Boston in August, 1790. Ingraham had returned with Gray as mate, and, after little more than a month's stay, was given command of the *Hope*, which was fitted out by a different owner from those under whose colours he had before sailed.

1790.

Greenhow thus refers to this voyage, citing Ingraham's MS. Journal:—

"On the 1st of June, Ingraham left the Sandwich Islands, and on the 29th of the same month he dropped anchor in a harbour on the south-east (a misprint for south-west) side of Queen Charlotte's, or Washington's Island, to which he gave the name of Magee's Sound, in honour of one of the owners of his vessel. On the coasts of this island and of the other islands, and the continent adjacent on the north and east, he spent the summer trading, and collecting information as to the geography and natural history, and the languages, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants, on all which subjects his

1791.
Greenhow, R.
"Hist. of
Oregon and
California,"
London, 1844,
p. 227.

journal contains minute and interesting details; and at the end of the season he took his departure" (with fifteen hundred skins) "for China, where he arrived on the first of December, 1791."

1792.

Ingraham again sailed for the coast from China in April, 1792, and after cruising round the Queen Charlotte Islands came to Nootka, and on the 3rd of August wrote a letter to Quadra, conjointly with Gray, as to the occurrences at this place, at the time when the British ships were seized by Martinez. He must have also communicated to the Spaniards about this time the result of his explorations in northern waters, for in Alcedo's "Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies," translated from the Spanish, London, 1814, are to be found nearly all of the names which he gave to places in the Queen Charlotte Islands, with mention of the author of them.

1792.

Dall, "Alaska Pilot," 1888, 51, foot-note, and 52, foot-note.

Dr. W. H. Dall also says of his work in the Queen Charlotte Islands that "Ingraham gives many details in an approximate way for the west coast of these islands. His latitudes, in general, are quite accurate where we have the means of checking them by other surveys."

"It is to be observed that the figures and sketches given in Ingraham's Journal of 1791 are much reformed and corrected and improved in his general chart of 1792."

"He compared notes with Vancouver at Friendly Cove, a fact which explains the attempt to retain his unpublished name for Point Frederick."

Ingraham, "Journal," Sept., 1792.

Ingraham's entry for September the 10th, 1792, is probably the basis for this note of Dr. Dall's. Here Ingraham says that with Captain Magee of the "Margaret" he dined with Quadra, and met Vancouver, Broughton, and most of the British officers.

In October Ingraham left for China and returned to Boston next year. He afterwards joined the American navy, and was lost in the Pickering, which left the Delaware in August, 1880, and was never afterwards heard of.

The valuable journal of Ingraham has been so closely kept in the Library of the Department of State at Washington that very few writers have quoted from it directly. Bancroft always cites Greenhow when using it. In preparing his very careful memoir on the Hydrography

of the Coasts and Navigable Waters of Washington Territory for the Pacific Railroad Reports, which were published at Washington, D.C., in 1860, the well-known cartographer, Dr. J. G. Kohl, made direct use of Ingraham's journal and maps, and states that he copied one of them which shows the position of Cape Flattery after information which was derived from Gray.

This, then, is the witness whose evidence as to the falsity of Meares's statement that Kendrick circumnavigated Vancouver's Island in 1789 has been not only ignored by American writers, but also carefully withheld from the general public, notwithstanding Greenhow's assertion that he "had neither misstated nor suppressed the truth, and that he had omitted nothing voluntarily, which if made known might have led to conclusions different from those here presented."

Greenhow,
op. cit.,
Preface, XI.

Kendrick himself and his fellow traders from Boston having failed in any way to substantiate Meares's account, and one of them, well knowing what was actually at stake having denied its truth, Vancouver felt himself justified in giving a name to the land the insular character of which he was the first to prove. If Meares's story were a true one, this island should, of course, have taken the name of the man who preceded Vancouver by three years, and should therefore have been called "*Kendrick's Island*," a pretension which, it is strange to say, has never yet been put forward.

While the Oregon Territory dispute was at its height, and soon after the return of Commodore Wilkes's expedition, which proved that the territory in question was well worth contending for, Dr. Greenhow, the able Librarian of the Department of State at Washington, was employed in compiling his "History of Oregon and California," an *ex parte* statement of the grounds upon which the United States founded their claims to the ownership of the west coast of America between the parallels of 42° and 54° 40' north latitude. It is this partisan, therefore, who, with Ingraham's denial before him, makes the following assertions respecting Meares's account and supposed track:—

"With regard to the truth or falsehood of the account, no information has been obtained, in addition to that afforded

Greenhow,
op. cit., 219.

by Meares; and, although little dependance can be placed on his statements, when unsupported by other evidence, yet they should not be rejected in this case, because—*first*, he had no interest in ascribing anything meritorious to citizens of the United States, whom he uniformly mentions with contempt or dislike in his work, and accuses of taking part with the Spaniards against his vessels;—*secondly*, the subject was one with which he was perfectly conversant, and on which he would not probably have been deceived, or have committed any error of judgment; and,—*lastly*, the geography of that part of the American coasts corresponds exactly with the descriptions given by Kendrick of what he had seen, though the inferences drawn from them by Meares are incorrect. Thus the easternmost part of the Strait of Fuca is now known to be in the meridian of $237\frac{1}{2}$ degrees east from Greenwich, and under the parallel of $48\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, from the intersection of which lines the coast of the continent runs north-westward, through ten degrees of latitude, penetrated by numerous inlets, and bordered by thousands of islands; so that a navigator, sailing along this coast, without tracing to their terminations all these channels and inlets, might well have supposed himself in a sea extending far on either side, and filled with islands.

"Under these circumstances, Kendrick is to be considered as the first person, belonging to a civilized nation, who sailed through the Strait of Fuca, after its discovery by the Greek pilot, in 1592."

It is difficult to reconcile Greenhow's assertion that "no information has been obtained, in addition to that afforded by Meares" as to the "*truth or falsehood*" of his account, with his knowledge of Ingraham's denial contained in the journal he had so carefully studied.

That Greenhow's logic was not entirely convincing even to controversialists of his own side may be inferred from the following passage, contained in the second letter on the Oregon Question by Albert Gallatin, who had been one of the Commissioners of the United States in the earlier stages of the negotiations with Great Britain:—

"The pretended voyage of the sloop Washington throughout the straits," (of Fuca, *i.e.*,) "under the command of either Gray or Kendrick, has no other foundation than an assertion of Meares, on which no reliance can be

Gallatin,
Albert.

placed." This quotation was kindly supplied by His Honour Judge Howay, of New Westminster, in this Province.

Greenhow himself, Judge Howay also points out, in a previous work, his "Memoir, Historical and Political, on the North-west Coasts of North America and the adjacent Territories," published by order of the Senate of the United States in 1840, expressed his opinion that Meares's map was founded on an exaggerated account of Gray's alleged sixty-mile trip into the Strait of Fuca. Why he abandoned this position he omits to explain.

It will be remembered that the United States claimed the region west of the Rocky Mountains to the north of California and up to the Russian boundary on three grounds—of discovery and occupation, the Louisiana purchase, and cession from Spain. It was to strengthen the first of these that Greenhow was so urgent as to Kendrick's voyage. With the exception of Gray's memorable crossing of the bar of the Columbia River in 1792, the mouth of which was discovered by Heceta in 1775, the American fur-traders added but little to the exact knowledge of the North-west Coast, having been everywhere preceded by Spanish and British ships. Owing to unexplained circumstances, too, the excellent journals kept by some of them have not, as before stated, yet been published in their entirety. The proofs, therefore, of their discoveries, and the names which they applied to various points on the coast, have only come to light in a disjointed manner, by no means worthy of their true merits.

Notwithstanding the written statement of Gallatin as to Kendrick's voyage, Greenhow obtained a certain following amongst those whose opinion is entitled to great weight, including Dr. W. H. Dall, of the Smithsonian Institution, who, during the last forty or fifty years, has been a recognized authority and a voluminous writer on a great number of scientific subjects, notably the geography and history of the coast of North-west America. For this reason he was commissioned by the late Mr. Grover Cleveland, when President of the United States, to report upon the boundary-line between Alaska and British Columbia in the year 1880. This report was transmitted to the Senate and House of Representatives as a Message from the President of the United States in March of that year.

In the year 1870, soon after his return from Alaska, where he had spent some years as Director of the Scientific Corps of the Western Union Telegraph Expedition, Dr. Dall published his valuable book, entitled "Alaska and Its Resources."

In 1870, he supplied the Geological Survey of Canada with a historical sketch of the Queen Charlotte Islands, which was introduced by the late Mr. Whiteaves in the following words: "By far the most trustworthy account of the progress of discovery on the North-west Coast of America yet published, is to be found at Part II., Chap. II., of Mr. W. H. Dall's able work, entitled 'Alaska and its Resources.' In answer to inquiries with reference to the authenticity or otherwise of supposed discoveries in this vicinity by Admiral Fuentes and others, and as to what was the vocation or rank of Juan Perez, Mr. Dall kindly furnished the following historical sketch of the group," (i.e., of the Queen Charlotte Islands) "which, as it contains some unpublished facts and information which probably no other person could give, is gladly printed here with his permission, and in his own words."

As many of the statements in the sketch thus referred to are at variance with information contained in the present paper, it becomes desirable to draw attention to them.

Paragraph 5 alleges that Lowrie and Guise left no information on record in regard to their visit to the Queen Charlotte Islands. The annexed map, photographed from the original chart of this voyage contained in the portfolio of charts published by Dalrymple, disproves this, and shows, as already stated on page 17, that their expedition passed along the west coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands at the very time that La Pérouse was in the same waters. The chart was issued in 1789.

Paragraph No. 6 states that Dixon named a certain strait after himself. Dixon's own story is that his name was given to this strait by Sir Joseph Banks, to whom he dedicated his work.

No. 7 asserts that the east coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands had not been visited by any white man before the exploration of Captain Gray in the year 1789. Yet Dalrymple published in 1789 a chart made

Geol. Surv.
Can.;
Memorial
Points, 1876,
page 1.

See Phillips,
P. L., "Alaska
and the N.W.
part of
N. Amer.,
1588-1898."

Dixon,
"Further
Remarks," 49.

in 1787 by James Johnstone, R.N. (later one of Vancouver's officers), showing a carefully drawn outline of this shore for more than twenty miles northward from Cape St. James Islands and including a good sketch of "Rose's Harbour with anchorage," which he named at the time. The same set by Dalrymple has two sketches of the coast by Charles Duncan, R.N., of the Princess Royal, made in 1788. One of these is of Luxaena Bay, a name still continued on the British Admiralty chart; the other is of Etches Sound, between Lyell and Burnaby Islands, with two anchorages, and now bearing the name given to it by the late Dr. G. M. Dawson, of Juan Perez Sound.

The last two maps added about twenty-five miles to the known coast-line, and in point of accuracy compare very favourably with similar work done at the same period. That Duncan examined the east shore of the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1788 was asserted by him, with data to prove it, in a letter published by Mr. Dixon in his "Further Remarks" on Meares's voyages, in 1791. His charts were published in January, 1790, and a map, by Arrowsmith, of this time is said to show his track.

Paragraph 8, perhaps by a printer's error, makes the year of Ingraham's first visit to these islands to be 1790 instead of 1791. Dr. Dall says that he anchored on the 29th of June in a harbour on the south-east side of the Queen Charlotte Islands, which he called Magee's Sound. From Ingraham's own narrative and chart it is clear that Magee's Sound is on the west coast. It is shown in this position on Greenhow's own map of the Oregon Territory, and also on Wilkes's of the same region. Dr. Dall twice copies this error from Greenhow, as it is also contained in "The Resources of Alaska," p. 312.

Another oversight by Dr. Dall is contained in the same paragraph, wherein he states that Ingraham is to be considered as "the first white man, whom we have any account of as actually landing on these islands. All previous voyagers and coasters, for fear of the natives, had contented themselves with standing off and on near the shores, or anchoring at a distance, and trading from their vessels." In the preceding paragraph he had already mentioned the visit of Douglas to the Queen Charlotte

Duncan's
Voyage of 1788,
in Dixon's
"Further
Remarks,"
p. 25.

Meares, *op. cit.*, 396-399.

Islands in 1789, though without stating the year in which he made it. Yet, from the narrative of Douglas, it is quite clear that this captain landed more than once at or near the village of Dadens, North Island, in the month of June, 1789.

Here Chief Blacow-Conechaw, seeing the crew of the *Iphigenia* gathering antiscorbutics on the shore of what is now called Lucy Island, ordered a large quantity to be sent aboard every morning. It is also noted that Douglas, having seen that there "was some appearance of cultivation" near the village, and that in one place in particular it was evident that seed had been lately sown, "himself planted some beans, and gave the natives a quantity for the same useful purpose." He thought Gray might have been here before him.

In paragraph 9, Dr. Dall makes the statement that Douglas anchored at North Island, and gave a brief description of his observations after it had been "traversed by Gray, who first identified North Island as an island." This must be incorrect, as the very name, North Island, is shown on the map of Dixon made in 1787, which was published in 1789, where its position and detachment is properly shown. The Spaniards under Perez were in this region in 1774, and were only prevented by foggy weather from anticipating this discovery. The assertion that Marchand prepared the first chart, in detail, published of any of the Queen Charlotte Island harbours, is disproved by the evidence already produced of harbours and anchorages sketched by Johnstone and Duncan, published in 1789 and 1790, before Marchand had seen the North-west Coast of America.

It is a matter of regret that, after due consideration, it is found impossible to agree with Dr. Dall's final note on the subject, which runs: "I can assure you of the correctness of the preceding notes, as I have verified them carefully."

It has thus been shown that, partly from imperfect information, partly from reliance upon inaccurate statements derived from another writer, and partly from overlooking evidence that was easily to be obtained in works mentioned by him, Dr. Dall fell into conspicuous errors as to the early history of our coast. These render it

imperative to examine very critically any assertions elsewhere made by him on this subject, especially those which bear more particularly upon the voyage which is relied upon by certain writers as disproving the priority of Vancouver's discoveries.

In his chronological history of Alaska, under the date 1789, Dr. Dall says that after Gray left the coast in the Columbia, "Kendrick immediately returned with the sloop, and more thoroughly explored the Straits of Fuca, and made the first passage through them." What meaning Dr. Dall intended to be conveyed by this assertion will be given later on.

Dall. "Alaska and Its Resources," 1876. Chronolog. Hist. 311.

The writer of this paper was under the impression that it was intended to reassert the position taken by Greenhow, who, speaking of Meares's track of the Washington, says "that a navigator, sailing along this coast, without tracing to their terminations all these channels and inlets, might well have supposed himself in a sea extending far on either side, and filled with islands," and thereby implies his belief that Kendrick's voyage extended far beyond the eastern termination of what is *now* called the Strait of Fuca.

That Dr. Dall himself was influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by Greenhow seems to be clear by the following quotations from an official publication edited by him in the year 1883. The reference is to the "Alaska Coast Pilot," a book remarkable and most useful from the infinite labour which has evidently been bestowed upon it in providing a bibliography of early works relating to the geography of Alaska and neighbouring shores. On page 1 of this work, under the head of Discovery Passage, the narrow channel leading from the northern end of the Strait of Georgia, beginning at Cape Mudge and ending at Chatham Point, where it takes the name of Johnstone Strait, Dr. Dall says: "This passage was first entered by the U.S. Sloop Washington, of Boston, Captain John Kendrick, in 1789." A few pages farther on, when naming a bay on the east coast of Prince of Wales Island, Alaska, in honour of Kendrick, Dr. Dall says in a foot-note: "Kendrick was mate with Robert Gray and was the *first to circumnavigate Vancouver Island and determine its insular character.*" The latter passage contains one un-

doubted error, probably caused by a momentary lapse of memory, as Dr. Dall himself has elsewhere shown that Kendrick and Gray were fellow captains in the first American expedition to the North-west Coast, and that Ingraham had served each of them in the capacity of mate.

The point to be observed here, though, is that, whereas in 1870 Dr. Dall was content with the statement that Kendrick *more thoroughly* explored the Strait of Fuca, and made the first passage through it, in 1883 he brings Kendrick through the whole of the inner channels, and asserts, without any qualification, that he was the first to determine the insular character of Vancouver Island.

Dr. Dall does not stand alone in making this pretension, as recent writers of the history of the North-west Coast, following his lead and that of Greenhow, have reaffirmed it; in some instances expressing regret that, during the Oregon controversy, greater stress was not laid upon the supposititious voyage of Kendrick in support of a claim to the whole of Vancouver Island. None of these writers, however, can speak with the same authority as Dr. Dall, and none can command more respect for veracity and fair dealing. Knowing that the Doctor was an admirer of Captain Ingraham, to whose journal he acknowledges his indebtedness for much useful information, the writer of this article, who is second to none in his appreciation of Dr. Dall's work and character, and of the willing assistance he has given to the scientific inquirers of this Province, thought it would be courteous to offer him an opportunity of explaining why it was that the evidence found in Ingraham's journal relating to the falsity of Meares's "Track of the Washington" should not be considered trustworthy, while every statement in it relating to other events is so willingly accepted.

The following reply was sent and is copied *in toto*, with the exception of passages which in no way relate to the subject under discussion:—

" Washington, D.C., Oct. 17th, 1910.

" My books on the N.W. coast have been in wrappers awaiting book-cases since we moved to the new National

Museum building last spring so I have not been in the best condition to make references to the literature, but I was able to get at Meares and the Ingraham MS. and my own book. I think you have somewhat hastily inferred the meaning of my remarks in Alaska and its Resources. I do not there state that Kendrick circumnavigated Vancouver Island, *but that he explored the Straits of De Fuca. This is, I think, indisputable.* On the other hand Ingraham does not say that Kendrick did not explore the Straits; all he says is that Kendrick did not make the complete circumnavigation via 'Pintard's Sound.' He also states that two Spanish vessels first, and Vancouver afterwards, did make the complete circuit. That Kendrick also explored the other entrance to Nootka Sound is immaterial. *That he knew from data obtained from the natives, if not otherwise,* that Vancouver Island was an island, there is no reason to doubt; as it seems to have been generally known by navigators of that day. My work on my *book* was made when all the data were fresh in my memory and daily in my hands. The statement in the *Coast Pilot* was made twelve years later and doubtless from memory of Meares's and Greenhow, together with forgetfulness of Ingraham's statement. If you are familiar with the N.W. coast literature you know that there was much quarrelling between Meares, Portlock and Dixon and other explorers about that time. I think that *Meares' statement is too precise to have been a mere rumor.* His 'butterpat' or broken line indicating the supposed track of the sloop Washington is really more like the truth than Ingraham's dotted line in his MS. chart; and I see no reason (except Dixon's spite) for ridiculing it. You see very much the same thing in other reconnaissances of the period. He states that Kendrick's easternmost point was approximately 237° East of Greenwich, which would have taken him the whole length of De Fuca Strait. Other allusions in Ingraham indicate a not altogether friendly feeling on his part toward Kendrick, and on the voyage of which his log is a record the two men were sailing for competing companies, Kendrick's company having discharged Ingraham, who was, as he intimates, much disappointed in having to seek other employment. During the period

Author's
Italics.

Author's
Italics.

Author's
Italics.

Memorial on
the Canal de
Haro.

when Kendrick was supposed to have circumnavigated the island Ingraham was not with him, but had been transferred to the Columbia. I am not sure but you might find additional evidence on the matter in the 1810 volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which I do not have access just now, or in the newspapers of the period about the time of the return of the Columbia to Boston."

It will be noticed in this statement of Dr. Dall's more recent standpoint that he limits the interpretation to be placed upon the words "Kendrick explored the Straits of Fuca" to the geographical expression as now understood. According to the American case presented for arbitration to the German Emperor in 1870, this would take him no farther than to the end of the narrow portion, about Race Rocks, in longitude $236^{\circ} 30'$. If the earlier official description contained in the report on the United States Pacific Railroad explorations, Vol. XII, Book L, made by Kohl, be accepted, Kendrick might have gone about thirty miles farther, that is up to Whidbey's Island. Greenhow, it will be remembered, with the same data as Dr. Dall, argues that "Kendrick, immediately on parting with the Columbia, proceeded in the Washington to the Strait of Fuca, through which he passed, in its *whole length*," or nearly to Texada Island according to Greenhow's map. The partial exploration, Dr. Dall thinks, is indisputable, but he does not adduce any new evidence to strengthen a claim so weak as not to convince such men as Gallatin, Professor Davidson, and Kohl, the well-known geographer.

Dr. Dall seems to think that Ingraham's denial of Kendrick's making this passage might have been inspired by unfriendly feeling. Another possible reason advanced by him is that Ingraham was not with Kendrick at the time he is supposed to have circumnavigated Vancouver Island, implying that on this account he was not in a position to speak with authority.

The former assertion, for the credit of the early American navigators, will surely require stronger support than a mere surmise of unfriendliness or jealousy.

Even if it be true that Kendrick's company discharged the mate Ingraham in 1790, he got the command

of a ship immediately, and left Boston in less than a month after he had arrived there on the first home voyage of the Columbia. This promotion left him, it would seem, in a better position than that of Kendrick, now in command of a small sloop, the Washington, although he had left Boston in command of the expedition of two ships, himself acting as captain of the larger. In the diary of the clerk of the Columbia is found this entry. Speaking of the first voyage of the Columbia, he says that this ship left Clayoquot (after an exchange of captains) on July 31st, 1789, and sailed for Macao, "politely" giving passage to a number of English prisoners. Without devoting a line to the mythical voyage Hoskins goes on to say that Kendrick then made a cruise to the northern islands, including Washington Island, and followed Gray to Macao, where he was seized by fever and was so prevented from going up the river and joining Gray. After some criticism of Kendrick, who is said to have been careless of his owner's interests, Hoskins goes on to state that "on arrival at China he was deprived of the largest vessel, his principal means of support." Whether or no Kendrick was deprived of his command by accident or design we do not know; but we do know that he was not again placed in charge of the combined expedition, or even of the larger vessel.

Hoskins,
Narr., MS.

It is a fact, as Dr. Dall states, that Ingraham was not with Kendrick on the alleged voyage, but before he wrote his denial of the truth of it he had met Kendrick at Macao in 1791 and could not have failed to discuss such an interesting subject.

That additional evidence will be found is most unlikely. Surely every available scrap must have been hunted for and the search finally abandoned before such a weak case would have been offered for consideration in the Boundary Arbitration of 1870. Here, in the "Reply of the United States" to the British case, it is alleged that "We know, alike from British and from Spanish authorities, that an American sloop, fitted out at Boston in New England, and commanded by Captain Kendrick, passed through the Straits of Fuca," etc. By the marginal references, which call attention to the exact authorities which are here meant, it will be seen that beyond the original statement made by Meares there

Memorial on
the Canal de
Fuca. Reply
of the U.S. to
the case of the
Govt. of Her
Britannic
Majesty, p. 6.

is nothing advanced to justify the use of the word "know," a word which would preclude all doubt and uncertainty as to the truth of the alleged fact. The passages referred to in Meares's book are nothing more than a short description of the hearsay report of Kendrick's voyage; that in Vancouver's voyage is simply an instruction from the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland that Vancouver should examine "the *supposed* straits of Juan de Fuca, *said* to be situated between 48° and 49° north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop Washington is *reported* to have passed in 1780, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka." What could be *known* from such carefully worded sentences? Nothing more than that the British Government had heard a plausible rumour as to the truth of which they wished to be fully informed. But any admission as to truth of the rumour is purposely guarded against.

Memorial on
the Canal de
Ilaro.
Appendix to
the Reply of
the U.S.,
pp. 100, 101.

But the strongest proof of the complete failure of the American authorities to obtain any material evidence is shown by their final exhibit, that of the Spanish authorities mentioned. This exhibit is contained on pages 100 and 101 in the Appendix to the Reply of the United States, with the marginal reference "Voyage of Kendrick in 1789." As, of course, the only voyage made by Kendrick which bears upon the point at issue is the supposed circumnavigation by him of Vancouver Island, one would naturally expect to find the passage quoted as proof of it so worded as to bear out this claim. Upon examination, however, it is seen that out of twenty-seven lines of text not more than four are devoted to Kendrick's doings in 1789, and that these four lines simply state that Kendrick was found at Nootka, by Don Estevan Martinez, in command of the sloop Washington and the frigate Columbia. There is not a syllable as to the movements of these ships on the North-west Coast in 1789, but the rest of the quotation is devoted to a description of Kendrick's appearing at Nootka in 1791 by the main entrance, and how, instead of returning the same way, he circumnavigated *Nootka Island*, and passed out to the ocean by the channel to the northwards, which leads into Esperanza Inlet.

From the Spanish evidence, then, of the mere fact

that Kendrick was at Nootka when Martinez arrived there in 1789—a fact which was never disputed by the British authorities—the American negotiators “knew” that he had made one of the most remarkable voyages in the annals of the North-west Coast, and they saw further proof of it when they found that he circumnavigated a small island to escape possible annoyance from a Spanish garrison!

This explanation is truly a case of “lucus a non lucendo.” The foundation of this whole contention is so weak that it is utterly unable to sustain the superstructure reared upon it by some historians of the present day, which includes a moral claim to the possession of Vancouver’s Island.

It is not necessary to go into a detailed account of the Spanish explorations of the inner channels in the years 1790 and 1791. These, it is admitted, extended up to the region near the north end of Texada Island, and, although far from being accurate, paved the way for future expeditions. Vancouver was put in possession of charts which embodied the surveys already made, but carefully re-examined the continental shores. He was still endeavouring, according to his instructions, to discover, if possible, some communication with the Lake of the Woods, or, in case of failure to find any such inlet to the south of Cook’s River, to ascertain if this river had its origin in any of the lakes already known to the Canadian traders. Hearne’s last journey to the mouth of the Coppermine River had greatly narrowed the field of conjecture as to a practicable channel to the Atlantic; but Meares having boldly represented on his maps that the Great Slave Lake, which was discovered by Hearne, extended as far west as the longitude of Skagway, there would, at first sight, have seemed to be some possibility of the existence of the long-sought-for passage in this region.

The unauthorized transposition of this lake from a place in which it was shown on a contemporary map by Arrowsmith is one of the absurdities which was immediately pointed out by Dixon. Whether or no he was actuated by spite, as some have contended, is beside the question if his criticisms are well founded.

It would have been thought that, once we had reached the period of authentic narrative, recent historians would have perpetrated fewer mistakes with

Quimper, 1790.
Eliza, 1791.

regard to the voyages of Vancouver and the Spanish expedition under Galiano and Valdes. The journal of the former was first published in the year 1798, and was promptly translated and brought out in the same form in France. A smaller edition was reprinted in English in 1801. The Spanish account of the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* did not appear until the year 1802.

Sutil y Mexicana, Voyage, CXXXV, CXXXVII, CXLVII, CLIX.

From the frequent references to the French edition of Vancouver's voyage, by Navarrete, the author of the historical introduction to the Spanish voyage, it is clear that Vancouver's dates and descriptions were well known to him. Not one of them is disputed either by the writer of the introduction or by the narrator of the account of Galiano and Valdes's explorations. Greenhow does not deny Vancouver's priority to the Spaniards in respect of completing the circumnavigation of the island bearing his name, and Bancroft explicitly affirms it in his "History of the North-west Coast."

Bancroft, op. cit., II, 322.

Gannett, H. "Boundaries of the U.S.," etc. Dept. of Interior, Washington, 1885, 128 and 20.

Now that, happily, boundary questions between the United States and Canada are, at least, in abeyance, it is to be hoped that early steps will be taken to put the foundations of our common history in a sound condition, even if in so doing it be found necessary to alter our preconceived ideas as to formerly disputed assertions. A step in this direction was taken in 1885, when American authorities admitted that the grounds of their title to Oregon Territory are obscure, and that on which of the three above mentioned the boundary on the 49th parallel was established will never be ascertained. The same publication also marks the abandonment by the United States of the claim to the original Oregon Territory as derived from the Louisiana purchase, in these words: "That this claim was baseless is shown not only by what has been already detailed regarding the limits of the purchase, but also by the direct testimony of the French plenipotentiary, M. Barbe Marbois. Some twenty years after the purchase he published a work upon Louisiana, in which he detailed at some length the negotiations which preceded the purchase, and, referring to this question, said: '*The shores of the western ocean were certainly not comprised in the cession, but already the United States are established there.*'"

APPENDICES.

- I. Extract from Meares's Memorial to the Rt. Hon. W. W. Grenville.
 - II. Extract from Hoskin's Journal relating to meeting of Kendrick and Gray in 1791.
 - III. Extract from Ingraham's Journal relating to a meeting with Kendrick.
 - IV. San Juan Boundary. Reply of United States to Case of Great Britain. Kendrick's Voyage of 1789.
 - V. List of Works consulted.
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APPENDIX I.

“ To the Right Honble
WM. WM. GRENVILLE, one of His Majesty's
principal Secretaries of State.

The Memorial of
JOHN MEARES Lieutenant in His
Majesty's Royal Navy—
Most humbly sheweth—

That your Memorialist having in the Month of May last presented a Statement of Facts, under the title of a Memorial, containing a full and particular account of the Seizure of the British Ships in Nootka or King Georges Sound, by a Squadron of His Catholic Majesty's Ships of War, together with a full and just statement of the amount of the losses which your Memorialist and his associates have sustained by the above captures, your Memorialist now begs to submit to your consideration.

That the American Sloop Washington, mentioned in the above Memorial, did arrive in China, at the Port of Canton, about the Month of February last with a very valuable Cargo of Furs.

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

Your Memorialist begs leave to state, that the Washington in her progress had intercourse with great bodies of Indians inhabiting these parts, and carried on a considerable traffic with them, but that being in want of the necessary articles of Trade, such as are had in

estimation with the Natives, she was for this reason necessitated to leave large quantities of Furs behind her, particularly Sea Otter Skins, in the possession of the Natives, sufficient to lade the *Washington*.

That your Memorialist from this circumstance begs leave to point out, the probable consequences that must have ensued, if the Ships of him and his associates had been permitted to have traded unmolested on the Coast, as the small Vessels of your Memorialist would have penetrated those parts explored by the *Washington*, and being in possession of the very Articles of Commerce held most in request by the Indians, would have purchased all the Furs which they would not sell to the Americans, and those small Vessels of your Memorialist would have finally been able to have extended their Commerce considerably.

Your Memorialist states these points as leading facts, which precludes conjecture, as to the advantages that have been lost, in the Seizure of the British Ships."

APPENDIX II.

JOHN HOSKIN'S ACCOUNT OF JOHN KENDRICK AND
ROBERT GRAY'S FIRST MEETING AFTER THEIR
VOYAGE OF 1789.

"At three in the morning of the 29th shortened sail and hove to maintopsail to the mast head to the south west at half past four again made sail for *Clioquot* at six it fell calm and so continued until eleven when a light breeze came from the southward the entrance of *Clioquot* at noon bore north east four or five leagues at three in the afternoon saw two sail to the westward standing to the eastward at four several canoes came of in one of which was our old friend *Hanna* he informed us Captain *Kendrick* was at *Clioquot* in a Brigantine and had been there some time the wind had now increased into a pleasant gale at five saw Captain *Kendrick's* boat a coming off fired a gun to leeward

and hoisted the colours which was answered when Captain Kendrick came on board

" Nothing can equal the pleasure I received on meeting with my old friend or our mutual professions of happiness on the occasion each being as eager to recount his various vicissitudes of fortune since parting as the other was to hear Captain Kendrick informed me that after the Columbia left China without stopping at Larksbay according to his orders to receive his dispatches for the owners and the Captain his final instructions he took a house at Macao he was so unfortunate as to loose the last season being detain'd in selling his skins and altering his vessel from a sloop into a Brigantine this being the cheapest way he could refit as she stood in need of every article both of sails and rigging he also met with every detention from the Chinese and the former Portuguese governor was not friend enough to assist him on the contrary did every thing to distress him he had his house at Macao broken open provissions denied him himself arrested in the streets by a guard of soldiers and ordered immediately to depart and not to return again on pain of imprisonment thus was he most distressfully situated obliged to go on board his vessel at Larksbay and but for the assistance of the new Portuguese governor who had just come over he thinks he should never have been able to get away

" Captain Kendrick left Larksbay in March in company with the Grace of New York Captain Douglass they went into a harbour on the southern coast of Japan where they were received by the natives with the greatest hospitality here Captain Kendrick displayed the American flag which is probably the first ever seen in that quarter they carried from China to Japan about two hundred prime sea otter skins but the Japanese knew not the use of them a few days sail from this they discovered a group of Islands to which on account of the natives bringing water off to sell was given the

name of Water Islands they not being down in any chart extant the natives of these Islands as well as those of Japan and the Chinamen could not understand each other in talking but in writing they could well their tarry among these Islands was short the two vessels parted company soon after leaving them each making the best of his way to this Coast.

" Captain Kendrick arrived on the 13th of June in latitude 52° 58' north he went into Barrell's Sound where his vessel a few days after his arrival was attacked and actually in possession of the natives nearly an hour when he again recovered his vessel killed and wounded a great many among the rest a woman who was a proper amazon This he attributes to the following cause soon after he sent the Columbia on to China he sailed from Clioquot for Washington's Islands and went into Barrell's Sound having been there a short time the natives found means to steal his linnen &c that had that day been washed this with some other things they had at times robbed him of induced him to take the two Chiefs Coyah and Schulkinanse he dismounted one of his cannon and put one leg of each into the carriage where the arms of the cannon rest and fastened down the clamps threatening at the same time if they did not restore the stolen goods to kill them nearly all the goods were soon returned what was not he made them pay for in skins as this was a means though contrary to his wishes of breaking friendship with them and well knowing if he let those Chiefs go they would sell him no more skins he therefore made them fetch him all their skins and paid them the same price he had done for those before purchased when they had no more the two Chiefs were set at liberty when he went into the Sound this time the natives appeared to be quite friendly and brought skins for sale as usual the day of the attack there was an extraordinary number of visitors several Chiefs being aboard the arm chests were on the quarter deck with the keys in them the gunners having been overhauling

the arms the Chiefs got on these chests and took the keys out when Coyah tauntingly said to Captain Kendrick pointing to his legs at the same time now put me into your gun carriage the vessel was immediately thronged with natives a woman standing in the main chains urging them on the officers and people all retired below having no arms but what was in possession of the natives save the officers private ones Captain Kendrick tarried on deck endeavouring to pacify the natives and bring them to some terms at the same time edging towards the companion way to secure his retreat to the cabbin a fellow all the time holding a huge marling spike he had stolen fixed into a stick over his head ready to strike the deadly blow whenever orders should be given the other natives with their daggers grasped and only waiting for the word to be given to begin a most savage massacre just as Captain Kendrick had reached the companion way Coyah jumpt down and he immediately jumpt on top of him Coyah then made a pass at him with his dagger but it luckily only went through his jacket and scratched his belly the officers by this time had their arms in readiness and would have ventured on deck with them before but for fear of killing their Captain Captain Kendrick now fired a musket from the cabbin then took a pair of pistols and another musket and went on deck being followed by his officers with the remainder of the arms they had collected the natives on seeing this made a precipitate retreat all but the woman before mentioned in the chains who there continued urging them to action with the greatest ardour until the last moment though her arm had been previously cut of by one of the people with a hanger and she was otherways much wounded when she quitted all the natives had left the vessel and she jumpt over board and attempted to swim of but was afterwards shot though the natives had taken the keys of the arm chests yet they did not happen to be lockt they were therefore immediately opened and a

constant fire was kept up as long as they could reach the natives with the cannon or small arms after which they chased them in their armed boats making the most dreadful havoc by killing all they came across this accounts for the story the natives told us when we were there

"Captain Kendrick after leaving that port proceeded to the southward went into Nootka Sound passed the Spanish garrison there and went up to Mawinna where he tarried several days from this he proceeded up Tashees river and came out to sea at a place called by the natives Ahateset which is a sound laying between Chickleset and Nootka sounds purchasing as he went of the natives all their skins and *landed estates* for muskets, iron, copper and cloathing he then came to this place where he has been more than a month purchasing of the natives their skins and *land* and equipping for China he spent the remainder of the day and evening with us"

* * * * *

"On the 29th the Lady Washington John Kendrick Esquire commander sailed for Macao in China the day before he sent up his boat with an officer to inform me of his departure and request my company to spend the day which I did and also the night taking the most affectionate leave of him as he left the harbour it would be an act of ingratitude in me not here to remark that during the continuance of our two vessels in port Captain Kendrick has offered and afforded us every assistance and also treated us with the most marked politeness particularly myself who am indebted for many tokens of friendship"

APPENDIX III.

JOSEPH INGRAHAM'S ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST MEETING
WITH JOHN KENDRICK AFTER THE LATTER'S VOYAGE
OF 1789.

Ingraham,
"Journal,"
transcript in
Provincial
Archives,
pp. 132-135.

"It happen'd nearly in the following manner. While Captain Kendrick was trading he suffer'd about 50 of the natives get on board his vessell while these remain'd above twice that number was alongside. Capn. Kendrick placing too much confidence in them it seems had no men under arms (a very necessary precaution among savages of any kind) neither did Captn. Kendrick wish to affront them by turning them out of his vessell as he thought it might be a hindrance to him in purchasing furs which he was very anxious to procure as he was late in the season while the above number of Indians were on board the keys of the arm chest which stood on the quarter were missing on which Capn. Kendrick challenged the natives with theft and applied to Koyah that they might be restor'd but instead of complying Koyah with severall others leap'd on the top of the arm chest the better to secure it Koyah exulting in his success telling Cap. Kendrick he could not get at his arms to kill them then at the same time holding out his legs saying now put me in Irons. Yucah and Sculkinon two other cheifs were on board who tried to allure Capn. Kendrick to trade and thereby put him of his gaurd but it seems he was aware of their scheme and stood on his gaurd with the best weapon he could get which was a bar of Iron. It was evident that the natives soon meant to put their plot into execution by hailing on shore for more canoes to come off not letting any of the seamen go before the main Hatchway and insulting them by taking their hats and their handkerchiefs of their necks likewise all of them preparing their daggers (a weapon which these people are never without). In this very critical situation Capn. Kendrick desir'd his officers and men to drop of the deck one by

one as well as they could and prepare what arms there was in the cabben this was fortunately effected and they 4 musketts a blunderbuss and a pair of pistols loaded—by this time Koyah (perhaps suspecting what they were about) sprang down into the cabben which Capn. Kendrick seeing jump'd instantly on his back Koyah seeing the muskets made a precipitate retreat Capn. Kendrick and those with him follow'd shouting and firing by which the decks were soon clear'd and having again possession of their arms they made good use of them and kill'd about 30 of the natives leaving others to lament their folly—happily no person was hurt on board the Washington. It is sincerely to be hoped the termination of this affair will be of generall service to vessells trading as by convincing them that they have little less than inevitable destruction to expect from attacking people whose instruments of death are so far superior to their own it may render them peaceable & content to enjoy what they possess by fair means only. It was by no means my original intention to enlarge this work by extracts from the transactions of other vessells but the above circumstance being such as may serve to put those on their gaurd who may visit these people hereafter I tho't it merited a place from what has been said no doubt most men would have the prudence always to have a proportion of their men under arms which alone would deter the natives from any hostile proceedings."

APPENDIX IV.

MEMORIAL ON THE CANAL DE HARO.

REPLY OF THE UNITED STATES

TO THE CASE OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY,

PRESENTED TO

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY

As Arbitrator, June 12, 1872.

"We know, alike from British and from Spanish authorities, that an American sloop, fitted out at Boston in New-England, and commanded by Captain Kendrick, passed through the Straits of Fuca just at the time when the American constitution went into operation,—two years before Vancouver, and even before Quimper and de Haro."

APPENDIX TO THE REPLY.

"El 12 de Julio entró en este puerto y pasó por nuestro castillo con las mechas encendidas y gente armada, el Capitan Juan Kendrick Bostonés, con bandera de su nacion, en la Balandra Wasinton aparejada de bergantin, y se fué à fondear al invernadero que llaman de Malbinas que se halla tres leguas al Nte. de esta entrada, y grande puerto de Noca: *siendo este individuo el que encontró Dn. Esteban Martinez el ano de 80 en este mismo invernadero, mandando la espresada Balandra y la Fragata Columbia, que ya tiene remitida desde Macao al Nte. de América, à Provincias Unidas.* Al pasar por el Castillo se le preguntó con la bocina, quien era y de donde venia, y respondió no entender, por cuya razon, y sin pérdida de tiempo le pasé oficio el Comandante interno de este Establecimiento Dn. Ramon Saavedra, que hasta la presente pertenecia esta tierra al dominio de Ntro. Soberano y que por lo mismo no podia entrar, ni comerciar sin el debido permiso, y que dijese de

(Original marginal references.)

"Meare's Voyage, I.VI, 235.

Vancouver's Voyages, I, XX. Quimper, MS. Journal.

Documento existente en el archivo de Indias en Sevilla.

Appendix No. 62, p. 101."

"Voyage of Kendrick in 1790."

Author's italics.

Bancroft, "Memorial in the Canal de Haro," pp. 100-101.

donde venia y la causa de entrar en este puerto, á que respondió: de Macao con destino de comerciar de toda la costa en picles de Nútrias, y que luego que concluyese su comision pensaba largarse, lo que verificó el día 2^o, saliendo á la mar sin pasar por el Castillo pues lo ejecutó por el brazo de agua salada que va por dentro de este puerto á la Bahía de Buena Esperanza, que se halla 10 leg. al Nte. de esta entrada de Noca, que tiene su entrada ó boca al mar sobre la misma costa, siendo toda ella una gran isla."

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VICTORIA, B.C.:

Printed by WILLIAM H. CULLIN, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1914.