



SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

ON

THE CESSION OF RUSSIAN AMERICA

TO

THE UNITED STATES.

Thirteen governments founded on the natural authority of the people alone, without a pretense of miracle or mystery, and *which are destined to spread over the northern part of that whole quarter of the globe*, are a great point gained in favor of the rights of mankind.—*John Adams's Preface to his Defense of American Constitutions, dated at Grosvenor Square, London, January 1, 1787.*

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SPEECH.

MR. PRESIDENT: You have just listened to a reading of the treaty by which Russia cedes to the United States all her possessions on the north American continent in consideration of \$2,000,000, to be paid by the United States. On the one side is the cession of a vast country with its jurisdiction and its resources of all kinds; on the other side is the purchase-money. Such is this transaction on its face.

BOUNDARIES AND CONFIGURATION.

In endeavoring to estimate its character I am glad to begin with what is clear and beyond question. I refer to the boundaries fixed by the treaty. Commencing at the parallel of 40° north latitude, so famous in our history, the line ascends Portland channel to the mountains, which it follows on their summits to the point of intersection with the 141° west longitude, which line it ascends to the Frozen ocean, or, if you please, to the north pole. This is the eastern boundary, separating this region from the British possessions, and it is borrowed from the treaty between Russia and Great Britain in 1825, establishing the relations between these two Powers on this continent. It will be seen that this boundary is old; the rest is new. Starting from the Frozen ocean the western boundary descends Behring straits, midway between the two islands of Krusenstern and Ratmanov, to the parallel of 65° 30', just below where the continents of America and Asia approach each other the nearest; and from this point it proceeds in a course nearly northwest through Behring straits, midway between the island of St. Lawrence and Cape Chonkotski, to the meridian of 172° west longitude, and thence, in a southwesterly direction, traversing Behring sea, midway between the island of Attou on the east and Copper island on the west, to the meridian of 193° west longitude, leaving the prolonged group of the Aleutian islands in the possessions now transferred to the United States, and making the western

boundary of our country the dividing line which separates Asia from America.

Look at the map and see the configuration of this extensive region, whose estimated area is more than five hundred and seventy thousand square miles. I speak by the authority of our own coast survey. Including the Sitkan archipelago at the south, it takes a margin of the main land, fronting on the ocean thirty miles broad and three hundred miles long, to Mount St. Elias, the highest peak of the continent, when it turns with an elbow to the west, and then along Behring straits northerly, when it rounds to the east along the Frozen ocean. Here are upwards of four thousand statute miles of coast, indented by capacious bays and commodious harbors without number, embracing the peninsula of Alaska, one of the most remarkable in the world, fifty miles in breadth and three hundred miles in length; piled with mountains, many volcanic and some still smoking; penetrated by navigable rivers, one of which is among the largest of the world; studded with islands which stand like sentinels on the coast, and flanked by that narrow Aleutian range which, starting from Alaska, stretches far away to Japan, as if America were extending a friendly hand to Asia. This is the most general aspect. There are details specially disclosing maritime advantages and approaches to the sea which properly belong to this preliminary sketch. According to accurate estimates the coast line, including bays and islands, is not less than eleven thousand two hundred and seventy miles. In the Aleutian range, besides innumerable islets and rocks, there are not less than fifty-five islands exceeding three miles in length; there are seven exceeding forty miles, with Unimak, which is the largest, exceeding seventy-three miles. In our part of Behring sea there are five considerable islands, the largest of which is St. Lawrence, being more than ninety-six miles long. Add to all these the group south of the peninsula of Alaska,

including the Shumagins and the magnificent island of Kodiak, and then the Sitkan group, being archipelago added to archipelago, and the whole together constituting the geographical complement to the West Indies, so that the northwest of the continent answers archipelago for archipelago to the southeast.

DISCOVERY OF RUSSIAN AMERICA BY BEHRING, UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM PETER THE GREAT.

The title of Russia to all these possessions is derived from prior discovery, which is the admitted title by which all European Powers have held in North and South America, unless we except what England acquired by conquest from France; but here the title of France was derived from prior discovery. Russia, shut up in a distant interior and struggling with barbarism, was scarcely known to the other Powers at the time they were lifting their flags in the western hemisphere. At a later day the same powerful genius which made her known as an empire set in motion the enterprise by which these possessions were opened to her dominion. Peter the Great, himself a ship-builder and a reformer, who had worked in the ship-yards of England and Holland, was curious to know if Asia and America were separated by the sea, or if they constituted one undivided body with different names, like Europe and Asia. To obtain this information he wrote with his own hand the following instructions, and ordered his chief admiral to see them carried into execution:

"One or two boats with decks to be built at Kamtschatka, or at any other convenient place, with which inquiry should be made in relation to the northerly coasts, to see whether they were not contiguous with America, since their end was not known; and this done, they should see whether they could not somewhere find an harbor belonging to Europeans or an European ship. They should likewise set apart some men who should inquire after the name and situation of the coasts discovered. Of all this an exact journal should be kept, with which they should return to Petersburg."—*Müller's Voyages from Asia to America*, by Jeffreys, p. 45.

The Czar died in the winter of 1725; but the Empress Catharine, faithful to the desires of her husband, did not allow this work to be neglected. Vitus Behring, a Dane by birth, and a navigator of some experience, was made commander. The place of embarkation was on the other side of the Asiatic continent. Taking with him officers and ship-builders the navigator left St. Petersburg by land 5th February, 1725, and commenced the preliminary journey across Siberia, northern Asia, and the sea of Okhotsk to the coast of Kamtschatka, which they reached after infinite hardships and delays, sometimes with dogs for horses, and sometimes supporting life by eating leather bags, straps, and shoes. More than three years were passed in this toilsome and perilous journey to the place of embarkation. At last on the 20th of July, 1728, the party was able to set sail in a small vessel, called the *Gabriel*, and described as "like the packet-boats used in the Baltick." Steering in a northeasterly direction, Behring passed a large island, which

he called St. Lawrence from the saint on whose day it was seen. This island, which is included in the present cession, may be considered as the first point in Russian discovery, as it is also the first outpost of the North American continent. Continuing northward, and hugging the Asiatic coast, Behring turned back only when he thought he had reached the northeastern extremity of Asia, and was satisfied that the two continents were separated from each other. He did not penetrate further north than $67^{\circ} 30'$.

In his voyage Behring was struck by the absence of such great and high waves, as, in other places, are common to the open sea, and he observed fir trees swimming in the water, although they were unknown on the Asiatic coast. Relations of inhabitants, in harmony with these indications, pointed to "a country at no great distance toward the east." His work was still incomplete, and the navigator before returning home put forth again for this discovery, but without success. By another dreary land journey he made his way back to St. Petersburg in March, 1730, after an absence of five years. Something was accomplished for Russian discovery, and his own fame was engraved on the maps of the world. The straits through which he sailed now bear his name, as also does the expanse of sea which he traversed on his way to the straits.

The spirit of discovery continued at St. Petersburg. A Cossack chief undertaking to conquer the obstinate natives on the northeastern coast, proposed also "to discover the pretended country on the Frozen sea." He was killed by an arrow before his enterprise was completed. Little is known of the result; but it is stated that the navigator whom he had selected, by name Gwosde, in 1730 succeeded in reaching a "strange coast" between sixty-five and sixty-six degrees of north latitude, where he saw people, but could not speak with them for want of an interpreter. This must have been the coast of North America, and not far from the group of islands in Behring straits, through which the present boundary passes, separating the United States from Russia, and America from Asia.

The desire of the Russian Government to get behind the curtain increased. Behring volunteered to undertake the discoveries that remained to be made. He was created a commodore, and his old lieutenants were created captains. The Senate, the Admiralty, and the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg all united in the enterprise. Several academicians were appointed to report on the natural history of the coasts visited, among whom was Steller, the naturalist, said to be "immortal" from this association. All of these, with a numerous body of officers, journeyed across Siberia, northern Asia, and the sea of Okhotsk, to Kamtschatka, as Behring had journeyed before. Though ordered in 1732, the expedition was not able to leave the western coast until 4th June, 1741, when two well-appointed ships

set sail in company "to discover the continent of America." One of these, called the *St. Paul*, was under Commodore Behring; the other, called the *St. Peter*, was under Captain Tschirikow. For some time the two kept together; but in a violent storm and fog they were separated, when each continued the expedition alone.

Behring first saw the continent of North America on 18th July, 1741, in latitude $58^{\circ}28'$. Looking at it from a distance "the country had terrible high mountains that were covered with snow." Two days later he anchored in a sheltered bay near a point which he called from the saint day on which he saw it, Cape St. Elias. He was in the shadow of Mount St. Elias. On landing he found deserted huts, fire-places, hewn wood, household furniture, an arrow, edge-tools of copper with "store of red salmon." Here also several birds unknown in Siberia were noticed by the faithful Steller, among which was the blue jay, of a peculiar species, now called by his name. Steering northward, Behring found himself constrained by the elbow in the coast to turn westward, and then in a southerly direction. Hugging the shore, his voyage was constantly arrested by islands without number, among which he zigzagged to find his way. Several times he landed. On one of these occasions he saw natives, who wore "upper garments of whale's guts, breeches of seal-skins, caps of the skins of sea lions, adorned with various feathers, especially those of hawks." These "Americans," as they are called were fishermen, without bows and arrows. They regaled the Russians with "whale's flesh," but declined strong drink. One of them, on receiving a cup of brandy, "spit it out again as soon as he tasted it and cried aloud, as if complaining to his countrymen how ill he had been used."

This was on one of the Shumagin islands, near the southern coast of the peninsula of Alaska. Meanwhile, the other solitary ship, proceeding on its way, had sighted the same coast 15th July, 1741, in the latitude of 56° . Anchoring at some distance from the steep and rocky cliffs before him, Tschirikow sent his mate with the long boat and ten of his best men, provided with small-arms and a brass cannon, to inquire into the nature of the country and to obtain fresh water. The long boat disappeared in a small wooded bay, and was never seen again. Thinking it might have been damaged in landing the captain sent his boatswain with the small boat and carpenters well armed to furnish necessary assistance. The small boat disappeared also, and was never seen again. At the same time great smoke was observed continually ascending from the shore. Shortly afterwards two boats filled with natives sallied forth and lay at some distance from the vessel, when, crying "*Agai, Agai*," they put back to the shore. Sorrowfully the Russian navigator turned away, not knowing the fate of his comrades and unable to help them. This was not far from Sitka.

Such was the first discovery of these north-western coasts; and such are the first recorded glimpses of the aboriginal inhabitants. The two navigators had different fortunes. Tschirikow, deprived of his boats, and therefore unable to land, hurried home. Adverse winds and storms interfered. He supplied himself with fresh water only by distilling the ocean or pressing rain from the sails. But at last on the 9th October he reached Kamtschatka, with his ship's company of seventy diminished to forty-nine. During this time Behring was driven, like Ulysses, on the uncertain waves. A single tempest raged for seventeen days, so that Andrew Hosselberg, the ancient pilot, who had known the sea for fifty years, declared that he had seen nothing like it in his life. Scurvy came with its disheartening horrors. The commodore himself was a sufferer. Rigging broke. Cables snapped. Anchors were lost. At last the tempest-tossed vessel was cast upon a desert island, then without a name, where the commodore, sheltered in a ditch and half-covered with sand as a protection against cold, died 8th December, 1741. His body after his decease was "scraped out of the ground" and buried on this island, which is called by his name, and constitutes an out-post of the Asiatic continent. Thus the Russian navigator, after the discovery of America, died in Asia. Russia, by the recent demarcation, does not fail to retain his last resting-place among her possessions.

TITLE OF RUSSIA.

For some time after these expeditions, by which Russia achieved the palm of discovery, imperial enterprise slumbered in those seas. The knowledge already acquired was continued and confirmed only by private individuals, who were led there in quest of furs. In 1745 the Aleutian islands were discovered by an adventurer in search of sea otters. In successive voyages all these islands were visited for similar purposes. Among these was Ounalaska, the principal of the group of Fox islands, constituting a continuation of the Aleutian islands, whose inhabitants and productions were minutely described. In 1768 private enterprise was superseded by an expedition ordered by the Empress Catharine, which, leaving Kamtschatka, explored this whole archipelago and the peninsula of Alaska, which to the islanders stood for the whole continent. Shortly afterwards all these discoveries, beginning with those of Behring and Tschirikow, were verified by the great English navigator, Captain Cook. In 1778 he sailed along the northwestern coast, "near where Tschirikow anchored in 1741;" then again in sight of mountains "wholly covered with snow from the highest summit down to the sea-coast," "with the summit of an elevated mountain above the horizon," which he supposed to be the Mount St. Elias of Behring; then by the very anchorage of Behring; then among the islands through which Behring zigzagged, and along the coast by the island

of St. Lawrence until arrested by ice. If any doubt existed with regard to Russian discoveries it was removed by the authentic report of this navigator, who shed such a flood of light upon the geography of this region.

Such from the beginning is the title of Russia, dating at least from 1741. The coast of British Columbia, next below, was discovered by Vancouver in 1790, and that of Oregon, still further down, by Gray, who, sailing from Boston in 1789, entered the Columbia river in 1790; so that the title of Russia is the earliest on the northwestern coast. I have not stopped to quote volume and page, but I beg to be understood as following approved authorities, and I refer especially to the Russian work of Müller, already cited, on the *Voyages from Asia to America*; the volume of Coxe on *Russian Discoveries* with its supplement on the *Comparative View of Russian Discoveries*; the volume of Sir John Barrow, on *Arctic Voyages*; Burney's *Russian and Northeastern Voyages*; and the third voyage of Captain Cook, unhappily interrupted by his tragical death from the natives of the Sandwich islands, but not until after his exploration of this coast.

There were at least four other Russian expeditions by which this title was confirmed, if it needed any confirmation. The first was ordered by the Empress Catharine in 1785. It was under the command of Commodore Billings, an Englishman in the service of Russia, and was narrated from the original papers by Martin Sauer, secretary of the expedition. In the instructions from the Admiralty at St. Petersburg the Commodore was directed to take possession of "such coasts and islands as he shall first discover, whether inhabited or not, that cannot be disputed, and are not yet subject to any European Power, with consent of the inhabitants, if any," and this was to be accomplished by setting up "posts marked with the arms of Russia, with letters indicating the time of sovereignty, a short account of the people, their voluntary submission to the Russian sovereignty, and that this was done under the glorious reign of the great Catharine the Second." (Billings's *Northern Russia*, Appendix.) The next was in 1803, in the interest of the Russian American Company. There were two ships, one under the command of Captain Lisiansky, and the other of Captain Krusenstern, of the Russian navy. It was the first voyage round the world by the Russian Government, and lasted three years. During its progress these ships visited separately the northwest coast of America, and especially Sitka and the island of Kodiak. Still another enterprise organized by the celebrated minister Count Romanzoff, and at his expense, left Russia in 1815, under the command of Lieutenant Kotzebue, an officer of the Russian navy, and son of the German dramatist, whose assassination darkened the return of the son from his long voyage. It is enough for the present to say of this expedition that it has left its honorable traces on the coast even as

far as the Frozen ocean. There remains the enterprise of Lütke, at the time captain, and afterward admiral in the Russian navy, which was a voyage round the world, embracing especially the Russian possessions, commenced in 1826, and described in French with instructive fullness. With him sailed the German naturalist Kittlitz, who has done so much to illustrate the natural history of this region.

A FRENCH ASPIRATION ON THIS COAST.

So little was the Russian title recognized for some time, that when the unfortunate expedition of La Pérouse, with the frigates *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, stopped on this coast in 1787, he did not hesitate to consider the friendly harbor, in latitude $58^{\circ} 36'$, where he was moored as open to permanent occupation. Describing this harbor, which he named *Port des Français*, as sheltered behind a breakwater of rocks, with a calm sea and with a mouth sufficiently large, he says that nature seemed to have created at this extremity of the world a port like that of Toulon but vaster in plan and accommodation; and then considering that it had never been discovered before, that it was situated thirty-three leagues northwest of Remedios, the limit of Spanish navigation, about two hundred and eighty-four leagues from Nootka and a hundred leagues from Prince William sound, the mariner records his judgment that "if the French Government had any project of a factory on this coast no nation could have the slightest right to oppose it." (La Pérouse, *Voyage*, Tom. 2, p. 147.) Thus quietly was Russia dislodged. The frigates sailed further on their voyage and never returned to France. Their fate was unknown, until after fruitless search and the lapse of a generation their shipwrecked hulls were accidentally found on a desert island of the southern Pacific. The unfinished journal of La Pérouse recording his visit to this coast had been sent overland, by way of Kamtschatka and Siberia, to France, where it was published by a decree of the National Assembly, thus making known his supposed discovery and his aspiration.

EARLY SPANISH CLAIM.

Spain also has been a claimant. In 1775 Bodega, a Spanish navigator, seeking new opportunities to plant the Spanish flag, reached the parallel of 58° on this coast, not far from Sitka; but this supposed discovery was not followed by any immediate assertion of dominion. The universal aspiration of Spain had embraced this whole region even at an early day, and shortly after the return of Bodega another enterprise was equipped to verify the larger claim, being nothing less than the original title as discoverer of the straits between America and Asia and of the continuous continent under the name of Anian. This curious episode is not out of place in this brief history. It has two branches: one concerning early maps on which straits are represented between America and Asia under the name of

Anian; the other concerning a pretended attempt by a Spanish navigator at an early day to find these straits.

There can be no doubt that early maps exist with northwestern straits marked Anian. There are two in the Congressional Library in atlases of the years 1717 and 1680; but these are of a date comparatively modern. Engel, in his *Mémoires Géographiques*, mentions several earlier, which he believes to be genuine. There is one purporting to be by Zaltieri, and bearing date, 1566, an authentic pen-and-ink copy of which is now before me from the collection of our own Coast Survey. On this very interesting map, which is without latitude or longitude, the western coast of the continent is delineated with straits separating it from Asia not unlike Behring straits in outline, and with the name in Italian *Stretto di Anian*. Southward the coast has a certain conformity with what is now known to exist. Below the straits is an indentation corresponding to Bristol bay; then a peninsula somewhat broader than that of Alaska; then comes the elbow of the coast; then lower down three islands, not unlike Sitka, Queen Charlotte, and Vancouver; and then, further south, is the peninsula of Lower California. Sometimes the story of Anian is explained by the voyage of the Portuguese navigator Caspar de Cortereal in 1500-1505, when, on reaching Hudson bay in quest of a passage round America, he imagined that he had found it, and proceeded to name his discovery "in honor of two brothers who accompanied him." Very soon maps began to record the straits of Anian; but this does not explain the substantial conformity of the early delineation with the reality, which seems truly remarkable.

The other branch of inquiry is more easily disposed of. This turns on a Spanish document entitled "Relation of the Discovery of the Strait of Anian, made by me Captain Lorenzo Ferren Maldonado," purporting to be written at the time, although it did not see the light till 1781, when it was published in Spain, and shortly afterward became the subject of a memoir before the French Academy. If this early account of a northwest passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific were authentic the whole question would be settled, but recent geographers indignantly discard it as a barefaced imposture. Clearly Spain once regarded it otherwise; for her Government in 1789 sent out an expedition "to discover the strait by which Maldonado was supposed to have passed in 1588 from the coast of Labrador to the Great Ocean." The expedition was not successful, and nothing more has been heard of any claim from this pretended discovery. The story of Maldonado has taken its place in the same category with that of Mun-chausen.

REASONS FOR THIS CESSION BY RUSSIA.

Turning from this question of title, which time and testimony have already settled, I meet

the inquiry, why does Russia part with possessions thus associated with the reign of her greatest emperor and filling an important chapter of geographical history? On this head I have no information which is not open to others. But I do not forget that the first Napoleon in parting with Louisiana was controlled by three several considerations: first, he needed the purchase-money for his treasury; secondly, he was unwilling to leave this distant unguarded territory a prey to Great Britain in the event of hostilities which seemed at hand; and thirdly, he was glad, according to his own remarkable language, "to establish forever the power of the United States and give to England a maritime rival destined to humble her pride." Such is the record of history. Perhaps a similar record may be made hereafter with regard to the present cession. It is sometimes imagined that Russia, with all her great empire, is financially poor, so that these few millions may not be unimportant to her. It is by foreign loans that her railroads have been built and her wars have been aided. All, too, must see that in those "coming events," which now more than ever "cast their shadows before," it will be for her advantage not to hold outlying possessions from which thus far she has obtained no income commensurate with the possible expense for their protection. Perhaps, like a wrestler, she now strips for the contest, which I trust sincerely may be averted. Besides I cannot doubt that her enlightened emperor, who has given pledges to civilization by an unsurpassed act of Emancipation, would join the first Napoleon in a desire to enhance the maritime power of the United States.

These general considerations are reinforced when we call to mind the little influence which Russia has thus far been able to exercise in this region. Though possessing dominion over it for more than a century this gigantic Power has not been more genial or productive there than the soil itself. Her government there is little more than a name or a shadow. It is not even a skeleton. It is hardly visible. Its only representative is a fur company, to which has been added latterly an ice company. The immense country is without form and without light; without activity and without progress. Distant from the imperial capital, and separated from the huge bulk of Russian empire, it does not share the vitality of a common country. Its life is solitary and feeble. Its settlements are only encampments or lodges. Its fisheries are only a petty perquisite, belonging to local or personal adventurers rather than to the commerce of nations.

In these statements I follow the record. So little were these possessions regarded during the last century that they were scarcely recognized as a component part of the empire. I have now before me an authentic map, published by the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg in 1776, and reproduced at London in 1787, entitled "General Map of the Russian

Empire," where you will look in vain for Russian America, unless we except that link of the Aleutian chain nearest to Asia, which appears to have been incorporated under the Empress Anna at the same time with Siberia. (See Cox's Russian Discoveries.) Alexander Humboldt, whose insight into geography was unerring, in his great work on New Spain, published in 1811, after stating that he is able from official documents to give the position of the Russian factories on the American continent, says that they are "nothing but sheds and cabins employed as magazines of furs." He remarks further that "the larger part of these small Russian colonies do not communicate with each other except by sea," and then, putting us on our guard not to expect too much from a name, he proceeds to say that "the new denomination of *Russian America* or *Russian possessions* on the new continent must not make us think that the coasts of Behring's Basin, the peninsula of Alaska, or the country of Tchuktchi have become *Russian provinces* in the sense given to this word, when we speak of the Spanish provinces of Sonora or New Biscay." (Humboldt, *Essai Politique sur La Nouvelle Espagne*, Tom. I, pp. 344, 345.) Here is a distinction between the foothold of Spain in California and the foothold of Russia in North America, which will at least illustrate the slender power of the latter in this region.

In ceding possessions so little within the sphere of her empire, embracing more than one hundred nations or tribes, Russia gives up no part of herself, and even if she did the considerable price paid, the alarm of war which begins to fill our ears, and the sentiments of friendship declared for the United States would explain the transaction.

THE NEGOTIATION, IN ITS ORIGIN AND COMPLETION.

I am not able to say when the idea of this cession first took shape. I have heard that it was as long ago as the administration of Mr. Polk. It is within my knowledge that the Russian Government was sounded on the subject during the administration of Mr. Buchanan. This was done through Mr. Gwin, at the time Senator of California, and Mr. Appleton, Assistant Secretary of State. For this purpose the former had more than one interview with the Russian minister at Washington some time in December, 1859, in which, while professing to speak for the President unofficially, he represented "that Russia was too far off to make the most of these possessions; and that, as we are near, we can derive more from them." In reply to an inquiry of the Russian minister Mr. Gwin said that "the United States could go as high as \$5,000,000 for the purchase," on which the former made no comment. Mr. Appleton, on another occasion, said to the minister that "the President thought that the acquisition would be very profitable to the States on the Pacific; that he was ready to follow it up, but wished to know in advance if

Russia was ready to cede; that if she were, he would confer with his Cabinet and influential members of Congress." All this was unofficial; but it was promptly communicated to the Russian Government, who seem to have taken it into careful consideration. Prince Gortschakow, in a dispatch which reached here early in the summer of 1860, said that "the offer was not what might have been expected; but that it merited mature reflection; that the Minister of Finance was about to inquire into the condition of these possessions, after which Russia would be in a condition to treat." The prince added for himself that "he was by no means satisfied personally that it would be for the interest of Russia politically to alienate these possessions; that the only consideration which could make the scales incline that way would be the prospect of great financial advantages; but that the sum of \$5,000,000 does not seem in any way to represent the real value of these possessions," and he concluded by asking the minister to tell Mr. Appleton and Senator Gwin that the sum offered was not considered "an equitable equivalent." The subject was submerged by the presidential election which was approaching, and then by the Rebellion. It will be observed that this attempt was at a time when politicians who believed in the perpetuity of slavery still had power. Mr. Buchanan was President, and he employed as his intermediary a known sympathizer with slavery, who shortly afterward became a rebel. Had Russia been willing, it is doubtful if this controlling interest would have sanctioned any acquisition too far north for slavery.

Meanwhile the Rebellion was brought to an end, and peaceful enterprise was renewed, which on the Pacific coast was directed toward the Russian possessions. Our people there wishing new facilities to obtain fish, fur, and ice, sought the intervention of the national Government. The Legislature of Washington Territory, in the winter of 1866, adopted a memorial to the President of the United States, entitled "in reference to the cod and other fisheries," as follows:

To his Excellency ANDREW JOHNSON,
President of the United States:

Your memorialists, the Legislative Assembly of Washington Territory, beg leave to show that abundance of codfish, halibut, and salmon of excellent quality have been found along the shores of the Russian possessions. Your memorialists respectfully request your Excellency to obtain such rights and privileges of the Government of Russia as will enable our fishing vessels to visit the ports and harbors of its possessions to the end that fuel, water, and provisions may be easily obtained, that our sick and disabled fishermen may obtain sanitary assistance, together with the privilege of curing fish and repairing vessels in need of repairs. Your memorialists further request that the Treasury Department be instructed to forward to the collector of customs of this Puget sound district such fishing licenses, abstract journals, and log-books as will enable our hardy fishermen to obtain the bounties now provided and paid to the fishermen in the Atlantic States. Your memorialists finally pray your Excellency to employ such ships as may be spared from the Pacific naval fleet in exploring and surveying the fishing

banks known to navigators to exist along the Pacific coast from the Cortes bank to Behring straits, and as in duty bound your memorialists will ever pray.
Passed the House of Representatives January 10, 1866.
EDWARD ELDREDGE,
Speaker House of Representatives.

Passed the Council January 15, 1866.
HARVEY K. HINES,
President of the Council.

This memorial on its presentation to the President in February, 1866, was referred to the Secretary of State, by whom it was communicated to Mr. de Stoeckl, the Russian minister, with remarks on the importance of some early and comprehensive arrangement between the two Powers in order to prevent the growth of difficulties, especially from the fisheries in that region.

Shortly afterwards another influence was felt. Mr. Cole, who had been recently elected to the Senate from California, acting in behalf of certain persons in that State, sought to obtain from the Russian Government a license or franchise to gather furs in a portion of its American possessions. The charter of the Russian American Company was about to expire. This company had already underlet to the Hudson Bay Company all its franchise on the main land between 54° 40' and Mount St. Elias; and now it was proposed that an American company, holding direct from the Russian Government, should be substituted for the latter. The mighty Hudson Bay Company, with its headquarters in London, was to give way to an American Company with its headquarters in California. Among the letters on this subject addressed to Mr. Cole and now before me is one dated at San Francisco, April 10, 1866, in which this scheme is developed as follows:

"There is at the present time a good chance to organize a fur trading company to trade between the United States and the Russian possessions in America, and as the charter formerly granted to the Hudson Bay Company has expired this would be the opportune moment to start in." * * * "I should think that by a little management this charter could be obtained from the Russian Government for ourselves, as I do not think they are very willing to renew the charter of the Hudson Bay Company, and I think they would give the preference to an American company, especially if the company should pay to the Russian Government five per cent. on the gross proceeds of their transactions, and also aid in civilizing and ameliorating the condition of the Indians by employing missionaries; if required by the Russian Government. For the faithful performance of the above we ask a charter for the term of twenty-five years, to be renewed for the same length of time, if the Russian Government finds the company deserving. The charter to invest us with the right of trading in all the country between the British American line and the Russian archipelago." * *

"Remember, we wish for the same charter as was formerly granted to the Hudson Bay Company, and we offer in return more than they did."

Another correspondent of Mr. Cole, under date of San Francisco, 17th September, 1866, wrote as follows:

"I have talked with a man who has been on the coast and in the trade for ten years past, and he says it is much more valuable than I have supposed, and I think it very important to obtain it if possible."

The Russian minister at Washington, whom Mr. Cole saw repeatedly upon this subject,

was not authorized to act, and the latter, after conference with the Department of State, was induced to address Mr. Clay, minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, who laid the application before the Russian Government. This was an important step. A letter from Mr. Clay, dated at St. Petersburg as late as 1st February, 1867, makes the following revelation:

"The Russian Government has already ceded away its rights in Russian America for a term of years, and the Russo-American Company has also ceded the same to the Hudson Bay Company. This lease expires in June next, and the president of the Russo-American Company tells me that they have been in correspondence with the Hudson Bay Company about a renewal of the lease for another term of twenty-five or thirty years. Until he receives a definite answer he cannot enter into negotiations with us or your California company. My opinion is that if he can get on with the Hudson Bay Company he will do so, when we can make some arrangements with the Russo-American Company."

Some time had elapsed since the original attempt of Mr. Gwin, also a Senator from California, and it is probable that the Russian Government had obtained information which enabled it to see its way more clearly. It will be remembered that Prince Gortschakow had promised an inquiry, and it is known that in 1861 Captain Lieutenant Golowin, of the Russian navy, made a detailed report on these possessions. Mr. Cole had the advantage of his predecessor. There is reason to believe, also, that the administration of the fur company had not been entirely satisfactory, so that there were well-founded hesitations with regard to the renewal of its franchise. Meanwhile, in October, 1866, Mr. de Stoeckl, who had long been the Russian minister at Washington, and enjoyed in a high degree the confidence of our Government, returned home on a leave of absence, promising his best exertions to promote good relations between the two countries. While he was at St. Petersburg the applications from the United States were under consideration; but the Russian Government was disinclined to any minor arrangement of the character proposed. Obviously something like a crisis was at hand with regard to these possessions. The existing government was not adequate. The franchises granted there were about to terminate. Something must be done. As Mr. de Stoeckl was leaving in February to return to his post the Archduke Constantine, the brother and chief adviser of the emperor, handed him a map with the lines in our Treaty marked upon it, and told him he might treat for this cession. The minister arrived in Washington early in March. A negotiation was opened at once with our Government. Final instructions were received by the Atlantic cable from St. Petersburg on the 29th March, and at four o'clock on the morning of the 30th March this important Treaty was signed by Mr. Seward on the part of the United States and by Mr. de Stoeckl on the part of Russia.

Few treaties have been conceived, initiated, prosecuted, and completed in so simple a manner without protocols or dispatches. The

whole negotiation will be seen in its result, unless we accept two brief notes, which constitute all that passed between the negotiators. These have an interest general and special, and I conclude the history of this transaction by reading them:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 23, 1867.

SIR: With reference to the proposed convention between our respective Governments for a cession by Russia of her American territory to the United States, I have the honor to acquaint you that I must insist upon that clause in the sixth article of the draft which declares the cession to be free and unincumbered by any reservations, privileges, franchises, grants, or possessions by any associated companies, whether corporate or incorporate, Russian or any other, &c., and must regard it as an ultimatum. With the President's approval, however, I will add \$200,000 to the consideration money on that account. I avail myself of this occasion to offer to you a renewed assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Mr. EDWARD DE STOECKL, &c., &c., &c.

[Translation.]

WASHINGTON, March 17 | 29, 1867.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have the honor to inform you that by a telegram dated 16 | 23th of this month from St. Petersburg, Prince Gortchakow informs me that his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias gives his consent to the cession of the Russian possessions on the American continent to the United States for the stipulated sum of \$7,200,000 in gold, and that his Majesty the Emperor invests me with full power to negotiate and sign the treaty.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the assurance of my very high consideration.

STOECKL.

To Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

Secretary of State of the United States.

THE TREATY.

The Treaty begins with the declaration that "the United States of America and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being desirous of strengthening, if possible, the good understanding which exists between them," have appointed plenipotentiaries, who have proceeded to sign articles, wherein it is stipulated on behalf of Russia that "his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agrees to cede to the United States by this convention, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications thereof, all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth;" and it is stipulated on behalf of the United States that "in consideration of the cession aforesaid the United States agree to pay at the Treasury in Washington, within ten months after the ratification of this convention, to the diplomatic representative or other agent of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias duly authorized to receive the same, \$7,200,000 in gold." The ratifications are to be exchanged within three months from the date of the Treaty, or sooner, if possible.

Beyond the consideration founded on the desire of "strengthening the good understanding" between the two countries, there is the pecuniary consideration already mentioned, which underwent a change in the progress of the negotiation. The sum of seven millions

was originally agreed upon; but when it was understood that there was a fur company and also an ice company enjoying monopolies under the existing government, it was thought best that these should be extinguished, in consideration of which our Government added \$200,000 to the purchase money, and the Russian Government in formal terms declared "the cession of territory and dominion to be free and unincumbered by any reservations, privileges, franchises, grants, or possessions, by any associated companies, whether corporate or incorporate, or by any parties, except merely private individual property-holders." Thus the United States receive this cession free of all incumbrances, so far at least as Russia is in a condition to make it. The Treaty proceeds to say, that "the cession hereby made conveys all the rights, franchises, and privileges now belonging to Russia in the said territory or dominion and appurtenances thereto." In other words, Russia conveys all that she has to convey.

QUESTIONS ARISING UNDER THE TREATY.

There are questions not unworthy of attention, which arise under the treaty between Russia and Great Britain, fixing the eastern limits of these possessions, and conceding certain privileges to the latter Power. By this treaty, signed at St. Petersburg 28th February, 1825, after fixing the boundaries between the Russian and British possessions, it is provided that "for the space of *ten years* the vessels of the two Powers, or those belonging to their respective subjects, shall mutually be at liberty to frequent, without any hinderance whatever, all the inland seas, gulfs, havens, and creeks on the coast for the purpose of fishing and of trading with the natives;" and also that "for the space of *ten years* the port of Sitka or Novo Archangelsk shall be open to the commerce and vessels of British subjects." (Hertslet's Commercial Treaties, vol. 2, p. 365.) In the same Treaty it is also provided that "the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean or from the interior of the continent, shall *forever* enjoy the right of navigating freely and without any hinderance whatever all the rivers and streams which in their course toward the Pacific ocean may cross the line of demarcation." (*Ibid.*) Afterwards a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Russia and Great Britain was signed at St. Petersburg 11th January, 1843, subject to be terminated on notice from either party at the expiration of ten years, in which it is provided that "in regard to commerce and navigation in the Russian possessions on the northwest coast of America the convention of 28th February, 1825, continues in force." (*Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 767.) Then ensued the Crimean war between Russia and Great Britain, effacing or suspending treaties. Afterwards another Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed at St. Petersburg 12th January, 1859, subject to be terminated on notice from either party at the

expiration of ten years, which repeats the last provision. (*Ibid.*, vol. 10, p 1063.)

Thus we have three different stipulations on the part of Russia: one opening seas, gulfs, and havens on the Russian coast to British subjects for fishing and trading with the natives; the second making Sitka a free port to British subjects; and the third making British rivers which flow through the Russian possessions forever free to British navigation. Do the United States succeed to these stipulations?

Among these I make a distinction in favor of the last, which by its language is declared to be "forever," and may have been in the nature of an equivalent at the settlement of the boundaries between the two Powers. But whatever may be its terms or its origin it is obvious that it is nothing but a declaration of public law as it has always been expounded by the United States and is now recognized on the continent of Europe. While pleading with Great Britain in 1826 for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence Mr. Clay, who was at the time Secretary of State, said that "the American Government did not mean to contend for any principle the benefit of which, in analogous circumstances, it would deny to Great Britain." (Wheaton's Elements of International Law, part 2, cap. 4.) During the same year Mr. Gallatin, our minister in London, when negotiating with Great Britain for the adjustment of our boundaries on the Pacific, proposed that "if the line should cross any of the branches of the Columbia at points from which they are navigable by boats to the main stream the navigation of both branches and of the main stream should be perpetually free and common to the people of both nations." At an earlier day the United States made the same claim with regard to the Mississippi, and asserted as a general principle that "if the right of the upper inhabitants to descend the stream was in any case obstructed it was an act by a stronger society against a weaker, condemned by the judgment of mankind." (*Ibid.*) By these admissions our country is estopped, even if the public law of the European continent, first declared at Vienna with regard to the Rhine, did not offer an example which we cannot afford to reject. I rejoice to believe that on this occasion we shall apply to Great Britain the generous rule which from the beginning we have claimed for ourselves.

The two other stipulations are different in character. They are not declared to be "forever," and do not stand on any principle of public law. Even if subsisting now they cannot be onerous. I doubt much if they are subsisting now. In succeeding to the Russian possessions it does not follow that the United States succeed to ancient obligations assumed by Russia, as if, according to a phrase of the common law, they are "covenants running with the land." If these stipulations are in the nature of *servitudes* they depend for their duration on the sovereignty of Russia, and are

personal or national rather than territorial. So at least I am inclined to believe. But it is hardly profitable to speculate on a point of so little practical value. Even if "running with the land" these *servitudes* can be terminated at the expiration of ten years from the last treaty by a notice, which equitably the United States may give, so as to take effect on the 12th January, 1869. Meanwhile, during this brief period, it will be easy by act of Congress in advance to limit importations at Sitka, so that this "free port" shall not be made the channel or doorway by which British goods may be introduced into the United States free of duty.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE TREATY.

From this survey of the Treaty, as seen in its origin and the questions under it, I might pass at once to a survey of the possessions which have been conveyed; but there are other matters of a more general character which present themselves at this stage and challenge the judgment. These concern nothing less than the unity, power, and grandeur of the Republic, with the extension of its dominion and its institutions. Such considerations, where not entirely inapplicable, are apt to be controlling. I do not doubt that they will in a great measure determine the fate of this treaty with the American people. They are patent, and do not depend on research or statistics. To state them is enough.

Advantages to the Pacific Coast.

(1.) Foremost in order, if not in importance, I put the desire of our fellow-citizens on the Pacific coast, and the special advantages which they will derive from this enlargement of boundary. They were the first to ask for it, and will be the first to profit by it. While others knew the Russian possessions only on the map they knew them practically in their resources. While others were still indifferent they were planning how to appropriate Russian peltries and fisheries. This is attested by the resolutions of the Legislature of Washington Territory; also by the exertions at different times of two Senators from California, who, differing in political sentiments and in party relations, took the initial steps which ended in this Treaty.

These well-known desires were founded, of course, on supposed advantages; and here experience and neighborhood were prompters. Since 1854 the people of California have received their ice from the fresh-water lakes in the island of Kodiak, not far westward from Mount St. Elias. Later still their fishermen have searched the waters about the Aleutians and the Shumagins, commencing a promising fishery. Others have proposed to substitute themselves to the Hudson Bay Company in their franchise on the coast. But all are looking to the Orient, as in the time of Columbus, although like him they sail to the West. To them China and Japan, those ancient realms

of fabulous wealth, are the Indies. To draw this commerce to the Pacific coast is no new idea. It haunted the early navigators. Meares, the Englishman, whose voyage in the intervening seas was in 1789, closes his volumes with an essay, entitled "The trade between the northwest coast of America and China," in the course of which he dwells on the "great and very valuable source of commerce" afforded by China as "forming a chain of trade between Hudson bay, Canada, and the northwest coast," and then he exhibits on the American side the costly furs of the sea otter, which are still so much prized in China; "mines which are known to lie between the latitudes 40° and 60° north;" and also an "inexhaustible supply" of ginseng, for which there is still such a demand in China that even Minnesota, at the headwaters of the Mississippi, supplies her contribution. His catalogue might be extended now.

As a practical illustration of this idea, it may be mentioned that for a long time most if not all the sea otter skins of this coast found their way to China, excluding even Russia herself. China was the best customer, and therefore Englishmen and Americans followed the Russian company in carrying these furs to her market, so that Pennant, the English naturalist, impressed by the peculiar advantages of this coast, exclaimed, "What a profitable trade with China might not a colony carry on were it possible to penetrate to that part of the country by means of rivers and lakes!" But under the present Treaty this coast is ours.

The absence of harbors at present belonging to the United States on the Pacific limits the outlets of the country. On that whole extent, from Panama to Puget's sound, the only harbor of any considerable value is San Francisco. Further north the harbors are abundant, and they are all nearer to the great marts of Japan and China. But San Francisco itself will be nearer by the way of the Aleutians than by Honolulu. The projection of maps is not always calculated to present an accurate idea of distances. From measurement on a globe it appears that a voyage from San Francisco to Hong Kong by the common way of the Sandwich islands is 7,140 miles, but by way of the Aleutian islands it is only 6,060 miles, being a saving of more than one thousand miles, with the enormous additional advantage of being obliged to carry much less coal. Of course a voyage from Sitka, or from Puget sound, the terminus of the Northern Pacific railroad, would be shorter still.

The advantages to the Pacific coast have two aspects, one domestic and the other foreign. Not only does the Treaty extend the coasting trade of California, Oregon, and Washington Territory northward, but it also extends the base of commerce with China and Japan.

To unite the east of Asia with the west of America is the aspiration of commerce now as

when the English navigator recorded his voyage. Of course whatever helps this result is an advantage. The Pacific railroad is such an advantage, for, though running westward, it will be, when completed, a new highway to the East. This Treaty is another advantage, for nothing can be clearer than that the western coast must exercise an attraction which will be felt in China and Japan just in proportion as it is occupied by a commercial people communicating readily with the Atlantic and with Europe. This cannot be done without consequences not less important politically than commercially. Owing so much to the Union, the people there will be bound to it anew, and the national unity will receive another confirmation. Thus the whole country will be a gainer. So are we knit together that the advantages to the Pacific coast will contribute to the general welfare.

Extension of Dominion.

(2.) The extension of dominion is another consideration, calculated to captivate the public mind. Few are so cold or philosophical as to regard with insensibility a widening of the bounds of country. Wars have been regarded as successful when they have given a new territory. The discoverer who had planted the flag of his sovereign on a distant coast has been received as a conqueror. The ingratitude which was shown to Columbus during his later days was compensated by the epitaph that he had given a new world to Castile and Leon. His discoveries were continued by other navigators, and Spain girdled the earth with her possessions. Portugal, France, Holland, England, each followed the example of Spain and rejoiced in extended empire.

Our territorial acquisitions are among the landmarks of our history. In 1803 Louisiana, embracing the valley of the Mississippi, was acquired from France for fifteen million dollars. In 1819 Florida was acquired from Spain for three million dollars. In 1845 Texas was annexed without any purchase, but subsequently her debt was assumed to the amount of seven and a half million dollars. In 1848 California, New Mexico, and Utah were acquired from Mexico after war, and on payment of fifteen million dollars. In 1854 Arizona was acquired from Mexico for ten million dollars. And now it is proposed to acquire Russian America.

The passion for acquisition, which is so strong in the individual, is not less strong in the community. A nation seeks an outlying territory, as an individual seeks an outlying farm. The passion shows itself constantly. France, passing into Africa, has annexed Algeria. Spain set her face in the same direction, but without the same success. There are two great Powers with which annexation has become a habit. One is Russia, which from the time of Peter the Great has been moving her flag forward in every direction, so that on every

side her limits have been extended. Even now the report comes that she is lifting her southern landmarks in Asia, so as to carry her boundary to India. The other annexationist is Great Britain, which from time to time adds another province to her Indian dominion. If the United States have from time to time added to their dominion they have only yielded to the universal passion, although I do not forget that the late Theodore Parker was accustomed to say that among all people the Anglo-Saxons were remarkable for "a greed of land." It was land, not gold, that aroused the Anglo-Saxon phlegm. I doubt, however, if this passion be stronger with us than with others, except, perhaps, that in a community where all participate in government the national sentiments are more active. It is common to the human family. There are few anywhere who could hear of a considerable accession of territory, obtained peacefully and honestly, without a pride of country, even if at certain moments the judgment hesitated. With an increased size on the map there is an increased consciousness of strength, and the citizen throbs anew as he traces the extending line.

Extension of Republican Institutions.

(3.) More than the extension of dominion is the extension of republican institutions, which is a traditional aspiration. It was in this spirit that Independence was achieved. In the name of Human Rights our fathers overthrew the kingly power, whose representative was George the Third. They set themselves openly against this form of government. They were against it for themselves, and offered their example to mankind. They were Roman in character, and turned to Roman lessons. With a cynical austerity the early Cato said that kings were "carnivorous animals," and at his instance the Roman Senate decreed that no king should be allowed within the gates of the city. A kindred sentiment, with less austerity of form, has been received from our fathers; but our city can be nothing less than the North American continent with its gates on all the surrounding seas.

John Adams, in the preface to his *Defense of the American Constitution*, written in London, where he resided at the time as minister, and dated January 1, 1787, at Grosvenor Square, the central seat of aristocratic fashion, after exposing the fabulous origin of the kingly power in contrast with the simple origin of our republican constitutions, thus for a moment lifts the curtain of the future: "Thirteen governments," he says plainly, "thus founded on the natural authority of the people alone, and without any pretense of miracle or mystery, and which are destined to spread over the northern part of that whole quarter of the globe, is a great point gained in favor of the rights of mankind." (John Adams's Works, vol. 4, p. 293.) Thus, according to this prophetic minister, even at that early day was the

destiny of the Republic manifest. It was to spread over the northern part of the American quarter of the globe; and it was to be a support to the rights of mankind.

By the text of our Constitution the United States are bound to guaranty a "republican form of government" to every State in this Union; but this obligation, which is only applicable at home, is an unquestionable indication of the national aspiration everywhere. The Republic is something more than a local policy; it is a general principle, not to be forgotten at any time, especially when the opportunity is presented of bringing an immense region within its influence. Elsewhere it has for the present failed; but on this account our example is more important. Who can forget the generous lament of Lord Byron, whose passion for freedom was not mitigated by his rank as an hereditary legislator of England, when he exclaims in memorable verse:

"The name of commonwealth is past and gone
O'er the three fractions of the groaning globe!"

Who can forget the salutation which the poet sends to the "one great clime," which, nursed in freedom, enjoys what he calls "the proud distinction" of not being confounded with other lands,

"Whose sons must bow them at a monarch's motion,
As if his senseless scepter were a wand!"

The present Treaty is a visible step in the occupation of the whole North American continent. As such it will be recognized by the world and accepted by the American people. But the Treaty involves something more. By it we dismiss one more monarch from this continent. One by one they have retired; first France; then Spain; then France again; and now Russia; all giving way to that absorbing Unity which is declared in the national motto, *E pluribus unum*.

Anticipation of Great Britain.

(4.) Another motive to this acquisition may be found in a desire to anticipate the imagined schemes or necessities of Great Britain. With regard to all these I confess my doubts, and yet, if we may credit report, it would seem as if there was already a British movement in this direction. Sometimes it is said that Great Britain desires to buy if Russia will sell. Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson Bay Company, declared that without the strip on the coast underlet to the former by the Russian Company the interior would be "comparatively useless to England." Here, then, is a provocation to buy. Sometimes report assumes a graver character. A German scientific journal, in an elaborate paper entitled "The Russian Colonies on the Northwest Coast of America," after referring to the constant "pressure" upon Russia, proceeds to say that there are already crowds of adventurers from British Columbia and California now at the gold mines on the Stikine, which flows from British territory

through the Russian possessions, who openly declare their purpose of driving the Russians out of this region. I refer to the *Archiv für Wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, edited at Berlin as late as 1863, by A. Erman, vol. 22, pp. 47-70, and unquestionably the leading authority on Russian questions. At the same time it presents a curious passage bearing directly on British policy from the *British Colonist*, a newspaper of Victoria, on Vancouver's island. As this was regarded of sufficient importance to be translated into German for the instruction of the readers of a scientific journal, I shall be justified in laying it before you restored from the German to English. It is as follows:

"The information which we daily publish from the Stikine river very naturally excites public attention to a great extent. Whether the territory through which the river flows be considered in a political, commercial, or industrial light there is a probability that in a short time there will be a still more general interest in the claim. Not only will the intervention of the royal jurisdiction be demanded in order to give to it a complete form of government, but if the land proves to be as rich as there is now reason to believe it to be it is not improbable that it will result in negotiations between England and Russia for the transfer of the sea-coast to the British Crown. It certainly is not acceptable that a stream like the Stikine, which for one hundred and seventy to one hundred and ninety miles is navigable for steamers, which waters a territory so rich in gold that it will allure thousands of men—certainly it is not desirable that the business of such a highway should reach the interior through a Russian door of thirty miles of coast. The English population which occupies the interior cannot be so easily managed by the Russians as the Stikine Indians of the coast manage the Indians of the interior. Our business must be in British hands. Our resources, our energies, our undertakings cannot be fully developed in building up a Russian emporium at the mouth of the Stikine. We must have for our productions a depot over which the British flag waves. By the treaty of 1825 the navigation of the river is secured to us. The navigation of the Mississippi was also open to the United States before the Louisiana purchase, but the growing strength of the North made the attainment of that territory either by purchase or by might an evident necessity. We look upon the sea-coast of Stikine land in the same light. The strip of land which stretches along from Portland canal to Mount St. Elias with a breadth of thirty miles, and which according to the treaty of 1825 forms a part of Russian America, must eventually become the property of Great Britain, either as the direct result of the development of gold, or for reasons which are now yet in the beginning, but whose results are certain. For it is clearly undesirable that the strip three hundred miles long and thirty miles wide which is only used by the Russians for the collection of furs and walrus teeth shall forever control the entrance to our very extensive northern territory. It is a principle of England to acquire territory only as a point of defense. Canada, Nova Scotia, Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and the great part of our Indian possessions were all acquired as defensive points. In Africa, India, and China the same rule is to-day followed by the Government. With a Power like Russia it would perhaps be more difficult to get ready, but if we need the sea-coast to help us in our business in the precious metals with the interior and for defense then we must have it. The United States needed Florida and Louisiana, and they took them. We need the shore of New Norfolk and New Cornwall.

"It is just as much the destiny of our Anglo-Norman race to possess the whole of Russian America, however wild and inhospitable it may be, as it has been the destiny of the Russian Northmen to prevail over northern Europe and Asia. As the wandering Jew and his phantom in the tale of Eugene Sue, so will the

Anglo-Norman and the Russian yet look upon each other from the opposite side of Behring straits. Between the two races the northern half of the Old and New World must be divided. America must be ours.

"The present development of the precious metals in our hyperborean Eldorado will most probably hasten the annexation of the territory in question. It can hardly be doubted that the gold region of the Stikine extends away to the western source of the Mackenzie. In this case the increase of the business and of the population will exceed our most sanguine expectations. Who shall reap the profit of this? The mouths of rivers have as well before as since the time of railroads controlled the business of the interior. For our national pride the thought, however, is unbearable that the Russian eagle should possess a point which owes its importance to the British lion. The mouth of the Stikine must be ours, or at least an outer harbor must be established on British soil from which our steamers can pass the Russian girdle. Fort Simpson, Dundas Land, Portland canal, or some other convenient point, must be selected for this purpose. The necessity of speedy action in order to secure the control of the Stikine is apparent. If we let slip the opportunity, so shall we permit a Russian State to arrive at the door of a British colony."

Thus if we may credit this colonial ejaculation, caught up and preserved by German science, the Russian possessions were destined to round and complete the domain of Great Britain on this continent. The Russian "eagle" was to give way to the British "lion." The Anglo-Norman was to be master as far as Behring straits, across which he might survey his Russian neighbor. How this was to be accomplished is not precisely explained. The promises of gold on the Stikine failed, and it is not improbable that this colonial plan was as unsubstantial. Colonists become excited easily. This is not the first time in which Russian America has been menaced in a similar way. During the Crimean war there seemed to be in Canada a spirit not unlike that of the Vancouver journalist, unless we are misled by the able pamphlet of Mr. A. K. Roche, of Quebec, where, after describing Russian America as "richer in resources and capabilities than it has hitherto been allowed to be either by the English who shamefully gave it up, or by the Russians who cunningly obtained it," the author urges an expedition for its conquest and annexation. His proposition fell on the happy termination of the war, but it exists as a warning, with a notice also of a former English title, "shamefully" abandoned.

This region is distant enough from Great Britain; but there is an incident of past history which shows that distance from the metropolitan Government has not excluded the idea of war. Great Britain could hardly be more jealous of Russia on these coasts than was Spain in a former day, if we may credit the report of Humboldt. I quote again his authoritative work, *Essai Politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne*, (Tom. 1, page 345,) where it is recorded that as early as 1788, even while peace was still unbroken, the Spaniards could not bear the idea of Russians in this region, and when in 1790 the Emperor Paul declared war on Spain the hardy project was formed of an expedition from the Mexican ports of Monterey and San

Blas against the Russian colonies, on which the philosophic traveler remarks, in words which are recalled by the Vancouver manifesto, that "if this project had been executed the world would have witnessed two nations in conflict, which, occupying the opposite extremities of Europe, found themselves neighbors in another hemisphere on the eastern and western boundaries of their vast empires." Thus notwithstanding an intervening circuit of half the globe two great Powers were about to encounter each other on these coasts. But I hesitate to believe that the British of our day in any considerable numbers have adopted the early Spanish disquietude at the presence of Russia on this continent.

The Amity of Russia.

(6.) There is still another consideration concerning this Treaty which must not be disregarded. It attests and assures the amity of Russia. Even if you doubt the value of these possessions, the Treaty is a sign of friendship. It is a new expression of that *entente cordiale* between the two Powers which is a phenomenon of history. Though unlike in institutions, they are not unlike in recent experience. Sharers of a common glory in a great act of Emancipation, they also share together the opposition or antipathy of other nations. Perhaps this experience has not been without its effect in bringing them together. At all events, no coldness or unkindness has interfered at any time with their good relations.

The archives of the State Department show an uninterrupted cordiality between the two Governments dating far back in our history. More than once Russia has offered her good offices between the United States and Great Britain; once also she was a recognized arbitrator. She offered her mediation to prevent war in 1812, and again by her mediation in 1815 brought about peace. Afterwards it was under her arbitration that questions with Great Britain arising under the treaty of Ghent were amicably settled in 1822. But it was during our recent troubles that we felt more than ever her friendly sentiments, although it is not improbable that the accident of position and of distance had its influence in preserving these undisturbed. The Rebellion, which tempted so many other Powers into its embrace, could not draw Russia from her habitual good will. Her solicitude for the Union was early declared. She made no unjustifiable concession of *ocean belligerency*, with all its immunities and powers, to rebels in arms against the Union. She furnished no hospitality to rebel cruisers; nor was any rebel agent ever received, entertained, or encouraged at St. Petersburg; while, on the other hand, there was an understanding that the United States should be at liberty to carry prizes into Russian ports. So natural and easy were the relations between the two Governments that such complaints as incidentally arose on either side were

amicably adjusted by verbal explanations without any written controversy.

Positive acts occurred to strengthen these relations. As early as 1861 the two Governments came to an agreement to act together for the establishment of a connection between San Francisco and St. Petersburg by an inter-oceanic telegraph across Behring straits; and this agreement was subsequently sanctioned by Congress. Meanwhile occurred the visit of the Russian fleet in the winter of 1863, which was intended by the Emperor and accepted by the United States as a friendly demonstration. This was followed by a communication of the Secretary of State, dated 26th December, 1864, in the name of the President, inviting the Archduke Constantine to visit the United States, in which it was suggested that such a visit would be "beneficial to us and by no means unprofitable to Russia," but forbearing "to specify reasons," and assuring him that coming as a national guest he would receive a cordial and most demonstrative welcome. Affairs in Russia prevented the acceptance of this invitation. Afterwards, in the spring of 1866, Congress by solemn resolution declared the sympathies of the people of the United States with the Emperor on his escape from the madness of an assassin, and Mr. Fox, at the time Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was appointed to take the resolution of Congress to the Emperor, and, in discharge of this trust, to declare the friendly sentiments of our country for Russia. He was conveyed to Cronstadt in the monitor *Miantonomah*, the most formidable ship of our Navy; and thus this agent of war became a messenger of peace. The monitor and the minister were received in Russia with unbounded hospitality.

In relations such as I have described the cession of territory seems a natural transaction entirely in harmony with the past. It remains to hope that it may be a new link in an amity which, without effort, has overcome differences of institutions and intervening space on the globe.

SHALL THE TREATY BE RATIFIED?

Such are some of the obvious considerations of a general character bearing on the Treaty. The interests of the Pacific States; the extension of the national domain; the extension of republican institutions; the foreclosure of adverse British possessions and the amity of Russia; these are the points which we have passed in review. Most of these, if not all, are calculated to impress the public mind; but I can readily understand a difference of opinion with regard to the urgency of negotiation at this hour. Some may think that the purchase-money and the annual outlay which must follow might have been postponed for another decade, while Russia continued in possession as a trustee for our benefit. And yet some of the reasons for the Treaty do not seem to allow delay.

At all events, now that the Treaty has been

signed by plenipotentiaries on each side duly empowered, it is difficult to see how we can refuse to complete the purchase without putting to hazard the friendly relations which happily subsist between the United States and Russia. The overtures originally proceeded from us. After a delay of years, and other intervening propositions, the bargain was at length concluded. It is with nations as with individuals. A bargain once made, must be kept. Even if still open to consideration it must not be lightly abandoned. I am satisfied that the dishonor of this Treaty, after what has passed, would be a serious responsibility for our country. As an international question, it would be tried by the public opinion of the world, and there are many, who, not appreciating the requirement of our Constitution by which a Treaty must have "the advice and consent of the Senate," would regard its rejection as bad faith. There would be jeers at us and jeers at Russia also; at us for levity in making overtures, and at Russia for levity in yielding to them. Had the Senate been consulted in advance, before the Treaty was signed or either Power publicly committed, as is often done on important occasions, it would now be under less constraint. On such a consultation there would have been an opportunity for all possible objections, and a large latitude to a reasonable discretion. Let me add that, while forbearing objection now, I hope that this Treaty may not be drawn into a precedent at least in the independent manner of its negotiation. I would save to the Senate an important power that justly belongs to it.

A CAVEAT.

But there is one other point on which I file my caveat. This Treaty must not be a precedent for a system of indiscriminate and costly annexation. Sincerely believing that republican institutions under the primacy of the United States must embrace this whole continent, I cannot adopt the sentiment of Jefferson, who while confessing satisfaction in settlements on the Pacific coast saw there in the future nothing but "free and independent Americans," bound to the United States only by "ties of blood and interest" without political unity. Nor am I willing to restrain myself to the principle so tersely expressed by Andrew Jackson in his letter to President Monroe, "Concentrate our population, confine our frontier to proper limits, until our country, to those limits, is filled with a dense population." But I cannot disguise my anxiety that every stage in our predestined future shall be by natural processes without war, and I would add even without purchase. There is no territorial aggrandizement which is worth the price of blood. Only under peculiar circumstances can it become the subject of pecuniary contract. Our triumph should be by growth and organic expansion in obedience to "preëstablished harmony," recognizing always the will of those who are to become our fellow-citizens. All this must be

easy if we are only true to ourselves. Our motto may be that of Goethe, "Without haste, without rest." Let the Republic be assured in tranquil liberty with all equal before the law and it will conquer by its sublime example. More happy than Austria, who acquired possessions by marriage, we shall acquire them by the attraction of republican institutions;

"Bella gerant alii; tu, felix Austria, nube;
Nam quæ Mars alii, dat tibi regna Venus."

The famous epigram will be just as applicable to us, inasmuch as our acquisitions will be under the sanction of wedlock to the Republic. There may be wedlock of a people as well as of a prince. Meanwhile our first care should be to improve and elevate the Republic, whose sway will be so comprehensive. Plant it with schools; cover it with churches; fill it with libraries; make it abundant with comfort so that poverty shall disappear; keep it constant in the assertion of Human Rights. And here we may fitly recall those words of antiquity, which Cicero quoted from the Greek, and which Webster in our day quoted from Cicero, "You have a Sparta; adorn it."

SOURCES OF INFORMATION UPON RUSSIAN AMERICA.

I am now brought to consider the character of these possessions and their probable value. Here I am obliged to confess a dearth of authentic information easily accessible. There are few among us who read Russian, so that works in this language are locked up from the world. One of these, in two large and showy volumes, is now before me, entitled "A Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company, and its progress to the present time, by P. Teshmenew, St. Petersburg." The first volume appeared in 1860, and the second in 1863. Here, among other things, is a tempting engraving of Sitka, wrapped in mists, with the sea before and the snow-capped mountains darkened with forest behind. Judging from the table of contents, which has been translated for me by a Russian, the book ought to be instructive. There is also another Russian work of an official character, which appeared in 1861 at St. Petersburg in the *Morskoi Sbornik*, or Naval Review, and is entitled "Materials for the History of the Russian Colonies on the Coasts of the Pacific." The report of Captain Lieutenant Golowin made to the Grand Duke Constantine in 1861, with which we have become acquainted through a scientific German journal, appeared originally in the same review. These are recent productions. After the early voyages of Behring, first ordered by Peter the Great and supervised by the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg, the spirit of geographical research seems to have subsided at St. Petersburg. Other enterprises absorbed the attention. And yet I would not do injustice to the voyages of Billings, recounted by Sauer, or of Lisiansky, Krusenstern, and Langsdorf, or of Kotzebue, all under the auspices of Russia, the last of which may com-

pare with any as a contribution to science. I may add Lütke also; but Kotzebue was a worthy successor to Behring and Cook.

Beside these official contributions, most of which are by no means fresh, there are materials derived from casual navigators, who, scudding these seas, rested in the harbors there as the water-fowl on its flight; from whalers, who were there merely as Nimrods of the ocean; or from adventurers in quest of the rich furs which it furnished. There are also the gazetteers and geographies; but they are less instructive on this head than usual, being founded on information now many years old.

Perhaps no region of equal extent on the globe, unless we except the interior of Africa or possibly Greenland, is as little known. Here I do not speak for myself alone. A learned German, whom I have already quoted, after saying that the explorations have been limited to the coast, testifies that "the interior, not only of the continent, but even of the island of Sitka, is to-day unexplored, and is in every respect *terra incognita*." The same has been repeated of the islands also. Admiral Lütke, whose circumnavigation of the globe began in 1825, and whose work bears date in 1835, says of the Aleutian archipelago, that "although frequented for more than a century by Russian vessels and those of other nations it is to-day almost as little known as in the time of Cook." Another writer of authority, the compiler of the official work on the People of Russia, published as late as 1862, speaks of the interior as "a mystery." And yet another says that our ignorance with regard to this region would make it a proper scene for a chapter of Gulliver's Travels.

Where so little was known there was scope for invention. Imagination was made to supply the place of knowledge, and poetry pictured the savage desolation in much-admired verse. Campbell, in the Pleasures of Hope, while exploring "earth's loneliest bounds and ocean's wildest shore," reaches this region, which he portrays:

"Lo! to the wintry winds the pilot yields,
His bark careering o'er unfathomed fields.
Now far he sweeps, where summer smiles,
On Behring's rocks, or Greenland's naked isles;
Cold on his midnight watch the breezes blow,
From wastes that slumber in eternal snow,
And waft across the wave's tumultuous roar
The wolf's long howl from Ounalaska's shore."

All of which, so far at least as it describes this region, is inconsistent with the truth. The poet ignores the isothermal line, which plays such a conspicuous part on the Pacific coast. Here the evidence is positive. Portlock, the navigator, who was there toward the close of the last century, after describing Cook's inlet, which is several degrees north of Ounalaska, records his belief "that the climate here is not so severe as has been generally supposed; for in the course of traffic with the natives they frequently brought berries of several sorts, and in particular black-

berries equally fine with those met with in England." (Voyage, p. 118.) Kotzebue, who was here later, records that he found the weather "pretty warm at Ounalaska." (Voyage, vol. 1, p. 275.) South of the Aleutians the climate is warmer still. "The poet ignores natural history also as regards the distribution of animals. Curiously enough, it does not appear that there are "wolves" on any of the Aleutians. Cox, in his work on Russian Discoveries, (p. 171,) records that "reindeer, bears, *minks*, and ice-foxes are not to be found on these islands." But he was never there. Meares, who was in those seas, says "the *only animals* on these islands are foxes, some of which are black." (Voyage, vol. 1, p. 16.) Cook, who was at Ounalaska twice, and once made a prolonged stay, expressly says, "Foxes and weasels were the *only quadrupeds* we saw; they told us that they had hares also." (Voyage, vol. 2, p. 518.) But quadrupeds like these hardly sustain the exciting picture. The same experienced navigator furnishes a glimpse of the inhabitants as they appeared to him, which would make us tremble if the "wolves" of the poet were numerous. He says that "to all appearance they are the most peaceable, inoffensive people he ever met with;" and Cook had been at Otaheite. "No such thing as an offensive or defensive weapon was seen amongst the natives of Ounalaska." (*Ibid.*, pp. 509, 515.) Then at least the inhabitants did not share the ferocity of the "wolves" and of the climate. Another navigator fascinates us by a description of the boats of Ounalaska, which struck him "with amazement beyond expression;" and he goes on to say, "If perfect symmetry, smoothness, and proportion constitute beauty, they are beautiful beyond anything that I ever beheld. I have seen some of them as transparent as oiled paper." (Billings's Voyages, p. 15.) But these are the very boats that buffet "the wave's tumultuous roar," while "the breezes" waft the "wolf's long howl." This same navigator introduces another feature. According to him the Russians sojourning there "seem to have no desire to leave this place, where they enjoy that indolence so pleasing to their minds." (P. 161.) The lotus eaters of Homer were no better off. The picture is completed by another touch from Lütke. Admitting the want of trees on the island, the admiral suggests that their place is supplied not only by luxuriant grass, but by wood thrown upon the coast, including trunks of camphor from Chinese and Japanese waters, and "a tree which gives forth the odor of the rose." (Voyage, Tom. 1, p. 132.) Such is a small portion of the testimony, most of which was in print before the poet wrote.

Nothing has been written about this region, whether the coast or the islands, more authentic or interesting than the narrative of Captain Cook on his third and last voyage. He saw with intelligence, and described with clearness almost elegant. The record of Captain Port-

lock's voyage from London to the northwest coast in 1786, 1787, and 1788 seems to be honest, and is instructive. Captain Mearns, whose voyage was contemporaneous, saw and exposed the importance of trade between the northwest coast and China. Vancouver, who came a little later, has described some parts of this coast. La Pérouse, the unfortunate French navigator, has afforded another picture of the coast painted with French colors. Before him was La Maurelle, a Frenchman sailing in the service of Spain, who was on the coast in 1775, a portion of whose journal is preserved in the appendix to the volumes of La Pérouse. After him was Marchand, also a Frenchman, who, during a voyage round the world, stopped here in 1791. The voyage of the latter, published in three quartos, is accompanied by an Historical Introduction, which is a mine of information on all the voyages to this coast. Then came the several successive Russian voyages already mentioned. Later came the *Voyage round the world* by Captain Belcher, with a familiar sketch of life at Sitka, where he stopped in 1837, and an engraving representing the arsenal and light-house there. Then came the *Journey round the world* in 1841 and 1842 by Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson Bay Company, containing an account of a visit to Sitka and the hospitality of its governor. To these I may add *The Nautical Magazine* for 1849, volume 18, which contains a few excellent pages about Sitka; the *Journal of the London Geographical Society* for 1841, volume 11, and for 1852, volume 12, where this region is treated under the head of Arctic languages and animal life; Burney's *Russian and Northeastern Voyages*; the magnificent work entitled *Les Peuples de la Russie*, which appeared at St. Petersburg in 1862, on the tenth centennial anniversary of the foundation of the Russian empire, a copy of which is in the Astor Library; the very recent work of Murray on the *Geographical Distribution of Mammals*; the work of Sir John Richardson, *Fauna Borali-Americana*; Latham on *Nationalities* in the chapters which treat of the population of Russian America; the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; and the admirable *Atlas of Physical Geography* by Keith Johnston. I mention also an elaborate article by Holmberg, in the *Transactions of the Finland Society of Sciences at Helsingfors*, said to be replete with information on the Ethnography of the Northwest Coast.

Perhaps the most precise and valuable information has been contributed by Germany. The Germans are the best of geographers; besides many Russian contributions are in German. Müller, who recorded the discoveries of Behring, was a German. Nothing more important on this subject has ever appeared than the German work of the Russian Admiral Von Wrangel, *Statistische und Ethnographische Nachrichten über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwestküste von Amerika*,

first published by Baer in his Russian *Beiträge* in 1839. There is also the *Verhandlungen der Russisch-Kaiserlichen Mineralogischen Gesellschaft zu St. Petersburg*, 1848 and 1849, which contains an elaborate article, in itself a volume, on the orography and geology of the northwest coast and the adjoining islands, at the end of which is a bibliographical list of the works and materials illustrating the discovery and history of the west half of North America and the neighboring seas. I may also refer generally to the *Archiv für Wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, edited by Erman, but especially the volume for 1863, containing the abstract of Golowin's report on the Russian Colonies in North America as it appeared originally in the *Morskoi Sbornik*. Besides these there are Wappius' *Handbuch von Geographie und Statistik von Nord Amerika*, published at Leipsic in 1855; Peterman in his *Mittheilungen über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem gesammten Gebiete der Geographie* for 1856, vol. 2, p. 486; for 1859, vol. 5, p. 41; and for 1863, vol. 9, pp. 236, 277, 278; Kittlitz' *Denkwürdigkeiten einer Reise nach dem Russischen Amerika durch Kamtschatka*, published at Gotha in 1858; also by the same author *The Vegetation of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific* translated from the German and published at London in 1861.

Much recent information has been derived from the great companies possessing the monopoly of trade here. Latterly there has been an unexpected purveyor in the Russian American Telegraph Company, under the direction of Colonel Charles L. Bulkley, and here our own countrymen come to help us. To this expedition we are indebted for authentic evidence with regard to the character of the country and the great rivers which traverse it. The Smithsonian Institution and the Chicago Academy of Sciences cooperated with the Telegraph Company in the investigation of the Natural History of the region. Major Kennicott, a young naturalist, originally in the service of the Institution, and Director of the Museum of the Chicago Academy, was the enterprising chief of the Yukon division of the expedition. While in the midst of his valuable labors he died suddenly in the month of May last at Nulato, on the banks of the great river, the Kwichpak, which may be called the Mississippi of the North, far away in the interior and on the confines of the Arctic Circle, where the sun was visible all night. Even after death he was still an explorer. From this remote outpost his remains, after descending the unknown river in an Esquimaux boat of seal skins, steered by the faithful companion of his labors, were transported by way of Panama to his home at Chicago, where he now lies buried. Such an incident cannot be forgotten, and his name will always remind us of courageous enterprise, before which distance and difficulty disappeared. He was not a beginner when he entered into the service of the Telegraph Company. Already he had vis-

ited the Youkon country by the way of the Mackenzie river, and contributed to the Smithsonian Institution important information with regard to its geography and natural history, some of which will be found in their reports. Nature in novel forms was open to him. The birds here maintained their kingdom. All about him was the mysterious breeding-place of the canvas-back duck, whose eggs, never before seen by a naturalist, covered acres.

If we look to maps for information, here again we find ourselves disappointed. Latterly the coast is outlined and described with reasonable completeness; so also are the islands. This is the contribution of navigators and of recent Russian charts. But the interior is little more than a blank, calling to mind "the pathless downs," where, according to Prior, the old geographers "place elephants instead of towns." I have already referred to what purports to be a "General Map of the Russian Empire," published by the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg in 1776, and republished at London in 1787, where Russian America does not appear. I might mention also that Captain Cook complained in his day of the Russian maps as "wonderfully erroneous." On his return English maps recorded his explorations and the names he assigned to different parts of the coast. These were reproduced in St. Petersburg, and the Russian copy was then reproduced in London, so that geographical knowledge was very little advanced. Some of the best maps of this region are by Germans, who always excel in maps. Here, for instance, is an excellent map of the Aleutian islands and the neighboring coasts, especially to illustrate their orography and geography, which will be found at the end of the volume of *Transactions of the Imperial Mineralogical Society* at St. Petersburg, to which I have already referred.

Late maps attest the tardiness of information. Here, for instance, is an excellent map of North America, purporting to be published by the Geographical Institute of Weimar as late as 1859, on which we have the Youkon pictured, very much like the Niger in Africa, as a large river meandering in the interior without any outlet to the sea. Here also is a Russian map of this very region, as late as 1861, in which the course of the Youkon is left in doubt. On other maps, as in the Atlas of Keith Johnston, it is pictured under another name as entering into the Frozen ocean. But the secret is penetrated at last. Recent discovery by the enterprise of our citizens in the service of the Telegraph Company fixes that this river is an affluent of the Kwichpak, as the Missouri is an affluent of the Mississippi, and enters into Behring sea, by many mouths, between the parallels of 64° and 65°. After the death of Major Kennicott a division of his party, with nothing but a skin boat, ascended the river to Fort Youkon, where it bifurcates, and descended it again to Nulato, thus estab-

lishing the entire course from its sources in the Rocky mountains for a distance exceeding a thousand miles. I have before me now an outline map just prepared by our *Coast Survey*, where this correction is made. But this is only the harbinger of the maturer labors of our accomplished bureau when the coasts of this region are under the jurisdiction of the United States.

In closing this abstract of authorities, being the chief sources of original information on this subject, I cannot forbear expressing my satisfaction that, with the exception of a single work, all these may be found in the Congressional Library, now so happily enriched by the rare collection of the Smithsonian Institution. Sometimes individuals are like libraries; and this seems to be illustrated in the case of Professor Baird, of the Smithsonian Institution, who is thoroughly informed on all questions connected with the Natural History of Russian America, and also of George Gibbs, Esq., now of Washington, who is the depositary of valuable knowledge, the result of his own personal studies and observations, with regard to the native races.

CHARACTER AND VALUE OF RUSSIAN AMERICA.

I pass now to a consideration of the character and value of these possessions, as seen under these different heads: *first*, government; *secondly*, population; *thirdly*, climate; *fourthly*, vegetable products; *fifthly*, mineral products; *sixthly*, furs; and *seventhly*, fisheries. Of these I shall speak briefly in their order. There are certain words of a general character, which I introduce by way of preface. I quote from Blodgett on the *Climatology of the United States and of the temperate Latitudes of the North American continent*:

"It is most surprising that so little is known of the great islands and the long line of coast from Puget's sound to Sitka, ample as its resources must be ever for recruiting the transient commerce of the Pacific, independent of its immense intrinsic value. To the region bordering the northern Pacific the line of maritime positions belong throughout its entire extent, and no part of the west of Europe exceeds it in the advantages of equable climate, fertile soil, and commercial accessibility of the coast. The western slope of the Rocky mountain system may be included as a part of this maritime region, embracing an immense area from the forty-fifth to the sixtieth parallel and five degrees of longitude in width. The cultivable surface of this district cannot be much less than three hundred thousand square miles."

From this sketch, which is in the nature of a picture, I pass to the different heads.

Government.

I. The Russian settlements were for a long time without any regular *Government*. They were little more than temporary lodgments for purposes of trade, where the will of the stronger prevailed. The natives, who had enslaved each other, became in turn the slaves of these mercenary adventurers. Captain Cook records "the great subjection" of the natives at Ounalaska when he was there in

1778, and a Russian navigator, twenty years later, describes the islands generally as "under the sway of roving hunters more savage than any tribes he had hitherto met with." (Billings's Voyage, p. 274.) At Ounalaska the Russians for a long time employed all the men in the chase, "taking the fruits of their labor to themselves."

The first trace of government which I find was in 1790, at the important island of Kodiak, or the Great Island, as it was called, where a Russian company was established under the direction of a Greek by the name of Delareff, who, according to the partial report of a Russian navigator, "governed with the strictest justice, as well natives as Russians, and established a school, where the young natives were taught the Russian language, reading, and writing." (Billings, p. 171.) Here were about fifty Russians, including officers of the company, and another person described as there "on the part of Government to collect tribute." The establishment consisted of five houses after the Russian fashion; barracks laid out on either side somewhat like the boxes at a coffee-house, with different offices, which are represented as follows: "An office of appeal to settle disputes, levy fines, and punish offenders by a regular trial; here Delareff presides; and I believe that few courts of justice pass a sentence with more impartiality; an office of receipt and delivery, both for the company and for tribute; the commissary's department; counting-house; all in this building, at one end of which is Delareff's habitation." (*Ibid.*, p. 173.) If this picture is not overdrawn, and it surely is, affairs here did not improve with time.

It seems that there were various small companies, of which that at Kodiak was the most considerable, all of which were finally fused into one large Trading Company, known as the Russian American Company, which was organized in 1799, under a charter from the Emperor Paul, with the power of administration throughout the whole region, including the coasts and the islands. In this respect it was not unlike the East India Company, which has played such a part in English history; but it may be more properly compared to the Hudson Bay Company, of which it was a Russian counterpart. The charter was for a term of years, but it has been from time to time extended, and, as I understand, is now on the point of expiring. The powers of the company are sentimentally described by the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1867, where, under the head of Russia, it says that "to the present time Russian America has been the property of a company."

I know no limitation upon the company, except that latterly it has been bound to appoint its chief functionary, called "Administrator General," from the higher officers of the Imperial navy, when he becomes invested with what are declared the prerogatives of a gov-

ernor in Siberia. This requirement has doubtless secured the superior order of magistrates which the country has latterly enjoyed. Among these have been Baron Wrangel, an admiral, who was there at the time of the treaty with Great Britain in 1825; Captain Koupreanoff, who had commanded the Azof, a ship of the line, in the Black sea, and spoke English well; Captain Etholine; Admiral Fajurelm, who, after being there five years, was made governor of the province of the Amoor; Admiral Wodski and Prince Macksoutoff, an admiral also, who is the present Administrator General. The term of service is ordinarily five years.

The seat of government is the town of New Archangel, better known by its aboriginal name of Sitka, with a harbor as smooth and safe as a pond. Its present population cannot be far from one thousand souls, although even this is changeable. In the spring, when sailors leave for the sea and trappers for the chase, it has been reduced to as few as one hundred and eighty. It was not without a question that Sitka at last prevailed as the metropolis. Lütke sets forth reasons elaborately urged in favor of St. Paul on the island of Kodiak. (Voyage, Tom. 1, p. 153.)

The first settlement there was in 1800 by Baranow, the superintendent of the company, whose life was passed in this country, and whose name has been given to the island. But the settlement made slow progress. Lisiansky, who was there in 1804, records that "from his entrance into Sitka sound there was not to be seen on the shore the least vestige of habitation." (P. 145.) The natives had set themselves against a settlement there. Meanwhile the seat of government was at Kodiak, of which we have an early and friendly glimpse. I quote what Lisiansky says, as exhibiting in a favorable light the beginning of that government which has been transferred to the United States:

"The island of Kodiak, with the rest of the Russian settlements along the northwest coast of America, are superintended by a kind of governor general or commander-in-chief, who has agents under him, appointed, like himself, by the company at Petersburg. The smaller settlements have each a Russian overseer. These overseers are chosen by the governor, and are selected for the office in consequence of their long services and orderly conduct. They have the power of punishing, to a certain extent, those whom they superintend; but are themselves amenable to the governor if they abuse their power by acts of injustice. The seat of government is on the harbor of St. Paul, which has a barrack, different storehouses, several respectable wooden habitations, and a church, the only one to be found on the coast."—*Ibid.*, p. 214.

From this time the company seems to have established itself on the coast. Lisiansky speaks of "a single hunting party of nine hundred men, gathered from different places, as Alaska, Kodiak, Kenay, Cook's inlet, and commanded by thirty-six *toyons*, who are subordinate to the Russians in the service of the American company, and receive from them

their orders." (*Ibid.*, 153.) From another source I learn that the inhabitants of Kodiak and of the Aleutian islands were regarded as "immediate subjects of the company;" the males from eighteen to fifty being bound to serve it for the term of three years each. They were employed in the chase. The population of Alaska and of the two great bays, Cook's inlet and Prince William sound, were also subject to the company; but they were held to a yearly tax in furs without any regular service, and they could trade only with the company. Otherwise they were independent. This seems to have been before the division of the whole into districts, all under the company, which, though primarily for the business of the company, may be regarded as so many distinct jurisdictions, each with local powers of government.

Among these were two districts which I mention only to put aside, as not included in the present session: (1.) The *Kurile Islands*, being the group nesting near the coast of Japan, on the Asiatic side of the dividing line between the two continents. (2.) The *Ross* settlement in California, now abandoned.

There remain five other districts: (1.) The *District of Ucha*, with the bureau at this island, embracing the two western groups of the Aleutians known as the Andreanowsky islands and the Rat islands; and also the group about Behring's island, which is not embraced in the present session. (2.) The *District of Ouna-taska*, with the bureau at this island, embracing the Fox islands, the peninsula of Alaska to the meridian of the Shumagin islands, including these and also the Pribylov islands to the north of the peninsula. (3.) The *District of Kodiak*, embracing the peninsula of Alaska east of the meridian of the Shumagin islands, and the coast westward to Mount St. Elias, with the adjacent islands, including Kodiak, Cook's inlet, and Prince William sound; then northward along the coast of Bristol bay, and the country watered by the Nushagak and Kuskokwim rivers; all of which is governed from Kodiak with redoubts or palisaded stations at Nushagak, Cook's inlet, and Prince William sound. (4.) The *Northern District*, embracing the country of the Kwichpak and of Norton's sound, under the direction of the commander of the redoubt at St. Michaels; leaving the country northward, with the islands St. Lawrence and St. Mathews, not embraced in this district, but visited direct from Sitka. (5.) The *District of Sitka*, embracing the coast from Mount St. Elias, where the Kodiak district ends, southward to the latitude of 54° 40', with the adjacent islands. But this district has been curtailed by a lease of the Russian American Company in 1839, for the space of ten years, and subsequently renewed, in which this company, in consideration of the annual payment of two thousand other skins of Columbia river, undertakes to the Hudson Bay Company all its franchise for the strip of continent between Cape

Spencer at the north and the latitude of 54° 40', excluding the adjacent islands.

The central government of all these districts is at Sitka, from which emanates all orders and instructions. Here also is the chief factory, from which supplies are forwarded to different places, and where the proceeds of the trade are collected.

The operations of the Government may be seen in its receipts and expenditures, including its salaries and allowances. In the absence of a complete series of such statistics to the present time, I mass together what I have been able to glean in different fields, relating to particular years, knowing well its unsatisfactory character. But each item has its instruction for us.

The capital of the company, in buildings, wares, and vessels, in 1833, was said to be 3,658,577 rubles. In 1833 the company possessed twelve vessels, amounting together to fifteen hundred and fifty-six tons, most of which were built at Sitka. According to Wappatus, who follows Wrangel, the salaries of the officers and workmen of the company in 1832 amounted to 442,877 rubles. At that time the persons in its service numbered 1,925, of whom 556 were Russians, 152 Creoles, and 317 Aleutians. In 1851 there were in the service of the company 1 staff officer, 3 officers of the Imperial navy, 1 officer of engineers, 4 civil officers, 30 religious officers, and 686 servants. The expenses of the company from 1823 to 1833, a period of seven years, were 6,608,077 rubles. These become interesting to us when it is considered that, besides what was paid on account of furs, and the support of the persons in the service of the company, were other items incident to government, such as ship-building, navigation, fortifications, hospitals, schools, and churches. From a later authority it appears that the receipts of the company, reported at St. Petersburg for the year 1855, was 832,749 rubles, against expenses, 683,892 rubles, incurred for "administration in Russia and the colonies," insurance, transportation, and duties. The relative proportion of these different expenses does not appear. I have another report for 1857, where the revenue was 832,749 rubles, with expenditures of 683,892 rubles, leaving the difference for dividends, which were fixed at 18 rubles a share.

These are explained by other statistics, which I am able to give from the report of Golowin, who furnishes the receipts and expenditures of the company from 1850 to 1859, inclusive. The silver ruble, which is the money employed in the table, is taken at our Mint for seventy-five cents.

Receipts from 1850 to 1859, inclusive.

	<i>Silver rubles,</i>
Tea traffic.....	1,115,892.79
Sale of furs.....	1,700.19
Commercial licenses.....	2,602,561
Other traffics.....	170,257.6
Total.....	8,528,551.13

Expenditures from 1850 to 1859, inclusive.

	<i>Silver roubles.</i>
Sustenance of the colony.....	2,288,207.20
Colonies churches.....	71,723.18
Benevolent institutions.....	144,366.23
Principal administrative officers.....	1,756,436.49
Tea duty.....	1,761,559.85
Transportation and packing of tea.....	589,901.72
Purchase and transportation of merchandise.....	213,606.29
Insurance of tea and merchandise.....	217,055.53
Loss during war and by shipwreck.....	132,820.24
Reconstruction of the company's house in St. Petersburg.....	78,976
Capital for the use of the poor.....	6,773.02
Revenue fund capital.....	135,460.40
Dividends.....	1,354,604
Total.....	8,528,551.13

Analyzing this table we shall arrive at a clearer insight into the affairs of the company. If its receipts have been considerable they have been subject to serious deductions. From the expenditures we may also learn something of the obligations which we are about to assume.

From another table I learn that during this same period 122,006 roubles were received for ice, mostly sent to California; 26,399 roubles for timber, and 6,250 roubles for coal. I think it not improbable that these items are included in the list of "receipts" under the term "other traffics."

In Russia the churches belong to the Government, and this rule prevails in these districts, where there are four Greek churches and five Greek chapels. There is also a Protestant church at Sitka. I am glad to add that at the latter place there is a public library, which some years ago contained seventeen hundred volumes, together with journals, maps, atlases, and mathematical instruments. In Atcha, Ounalaska, Kodiak, and Sitka schools are said to have been maintained at the expense of the company, though not on a very comprehensive scale; for Admiral Wrangel mentions only ninety boys as enjoying these advantages in 1839. In Ounalaska and Kodiak there were at the same time orphan asylums for girls, where there were in all about thirty. But the admiral adds that "these useful institutions will, without doubt, be improved to the utmost." Besides these, which are confined to particular localities, there is said to be a hospital near every factory in all the districts.

I have no means of knowing if these territorial subdivisions have undergone any recent modifications. They will be found in the *Russischen Besitzungen* of Wrangel, published in 1839; in the *Geographie* of Wappäus in 1856, and in the *Archiv von Russland* of 1863, containing the article on the report of Golowin. I am thus particular with regard to them from a double motive. Besides helping to an understanding of the existing government they may afford suggestions of practical importance in any future organization.

The company has not been without criticism. Some of the pictures of it are by no means

rose color. These, too, may furnish instruction for the future. Early in the century its administration was the occasion of open and repeated complaint. It was pronounced harsh and despotic. Langsdorf is indignant that "a free-trading company should exist independent of the Government, not confined within any definite regulations, but who can exercise their authority free and uncontrolled, nay, even unpunished, over so vast an extent of country." In stating the case he adds that "the Russian subject here enjoys no protection of his property, lives in no security, and if oppressed has no one to whom he can apply for justice. The agents of the factories and their subordinates, influenced by humor or interest, decide everything arbitrarily." (Voyages, vol. 2, p. 70.) And this arbitrary power seemed to prevail wherever a factory was established: "the stewardship in each single establishment is entirely despotic; though nominally depending upon the principal factory these stewards do just what they please, without the possibility of being called to account." (*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 69.) If such was the condition of Russians, what must have been that of the natives? Here the witness answers: "I have seen the Russian fur-hunters dispose of the lives of the natives solely according to their own arbitrary will, and put these defenseless creatures to death in the most horrible manner." (P. 70.) Krusenstern concurs in this testimony, and, if possible, darkens the colors. According to him "every one must obey the iron rule of the agent of the American company; nor can there be either personal property or individual security where there are no laws. The chief agent of the American company is the boundless despot over an extent of country which, comprising the Aleutian islands, stretches from 57° to 60° of latitude and from 130° to 190° of east longitude;" and he adds, in a note, "there are no courts of justice in Kodiak, nor any of the company's possessions." (Voyages, vol. 2, p. 107.) Kotzebue, who came later, while confessing his incompetency to speak on the treatment of the natives by the company, declares his "wounded feelings and commiseration." (Voyage, vol. 3, p. 314.) It is too probable that the melancholy story of our own aborigines has been repeated here. As these criticisms were by Russian officers they must have had a certain effect. I cannot believe that the recent government, administered by the enlightened magistrates of whom we have heard, has been obnoxious to such terrible accusations; nor must it be forgotten that the report of Lisiansky, the other Russian officer, who was there at the same time, is much less painful.

Baranow, who had been so long superintendent, retired in 1818. He is praised much by Langsdorf, who saw him in 1806, and by Lütke, who was at Sitka in 1823. Both attribute to him a genius for his place and a disinterested devotion to the interests of the com-

pany, whose confidence he enjoyed to the end. Although administering affairs here for more than a generation without rendering any accounts, he died poor. He was succeeded by Captain Haguemeister. Since then, according to Lütke, an infinity of reforms has taken place by which order and system have been introduced into the government.

The Russian officer, Captain Golowin, who visited these possessions in 1860, has recommended certain institutional reforms, which are not without interest to us at this time. His recommendations concern the governor and the people. According to him the governor should be appointed by the Crown with the concurrence of the company, removable only when his continuance is plainly injurious to the colony; he should be subject only to the Crown, and his powers should be limited, especially in regard to the natives; he should provide protection for the colonists by means of cruisers, and should personally visit every district annually; the colonists, creoles, and subject natives, such as the Aleutians, should be governed by magistrates of their own selection; the name of "free creole" should cease; all disputes should be settled by the local magistrates unless the parties desire an appeal to the governor; schools should be encouraged, and, if necessary, provided at the public expense. Surely these suggestions, which are in the nature of a Reform Bill, foreshadow a condition of self-government in harmony with republican institutions.

It is evident that these Russian settlements, distributed through an immense region and far from any civilized neighborhood, have little in common with those of European nations elsewhere, unless we except those of Denmark on the west coast of Greenland. Nearly all are on the coast or the islands. They are nothing but "villages" or "factories," under the protection of palisades. Sitka is an exception, due unquestionably to its selection as the headquarters of the government, and also to the eminent character of the governors who have made it their home. The Executive Mansion and the social life there have been described by recent visitors, who acknowledged the charms of politeness on this distant northwestern coast. Lütke describes life among its logs, and especially the attractions of the governor's house. This was in the time of Admiral Wrangel, whose wife, possessing a high education, embellished this wilderness by her presence, and exhibited the example of a refined and happy household. His account of Sitkan hospitality differs in some respects from that of the English writers who succeeded. He records that fish was the staple dish at the tables of functionaries as well as of the poor, and that the chief functionary himself was rarely able to have meat for dinner. During the winter a species of wild sheep, the Musimon or Argalis, also known in Siberia and hunted in the forests, furnished an occasional supply. But a fish diet did not prevent his house from being delightful.

Sir Edward Belcher, the English circumnavigator, while on his voyage round the world, stopped there. From him we have an account of the Executive Mansion and fortifications, which will not be out of place in this attempt to portray the existing government. The house is of wood, described as "solid," one hundred and forty feet in length by seventy feet wide, of two stories, with lofts, capped by a light-house in the center of the roof which is covered with sheet iron. It is about sixty feet above the sea level, and completely commands all the anchorages in the neighborhood. Behind is a line of picketed logs twenty-five feet in height, flanked at the angles by block-houses, loop-holed and furnished with small guns and swivels. The fortifications when complete "will comprise five sides, upon which forty pieces of cannon will be mounted, principally old ship guns, varying from twelve to twenty-four pounders." The arsenal is praised for the best of cordage in ample stores and for the best of artificers in every department. The interior of the Greek church was found to be "splendid, quite beyond conception in such a place as this." The school and hospital had "a comparative cleanliness and much to admire, although a man-of-war's man's ideas of cleanliness are occasionally acute." But it is the social life which seems to have most surprised the gallant captain. After telling us that "on Sunday all the officers, civil and military, dine at the governor's," he introduces us to an evening party and dance, which the latter gave to show his English guest "the female society of Sitka," and records that everything "passed delightfully," especially that "the ladies, although self-taught, acquitted themselves with all the ease and elegance communicated by European instruction." Sir Edward adds that "the society is indebted principally to the governor's elegant and accomplished lady, who is of one of the first Russian families, for much of this polish." And he describes sympathetically her long journey through Siberia with her husband, "on horseback or mules, enduring great hardships in a most critical moment, in order to share with him the privations of this barbarous region." But according to him barbarism is disappearing; and he concludes by declaring that "the whole establishment appears to be rapidly on the advance, and at no distant period we may hear of a trip to Norfolk sound through America as little more than a summer excursion." (Belcher's Voyage, vol. 1, p. 107.) Is not this time near at hand?

Shortly afterwards, Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson Bay Company, on his overland journey round the world, stopped at Sitka. He had just crossed the continent by way of the Red river settlements to Vancouver. He, too, seems to have been pleased. He shows us in the harbor "five sailing vessels, ranging between two hundred and three hundred and fifty tons, besides a large

bark in the offing in tow of a steamer," and he carries us to the Executive Mansion, already described, which reappears as "a suite of apartments, communicating, according to the Russian fashion, with each other, all of the public rooms being handsomely decorated and richly furnished; commanding a view of the whole establishment, which was in fact a little village, while about half way down the rock two batteries on terraces frowned respectively over land and water." There was another Administrator General since the visit of Sir Edward Belcher; but again the wife plays her charming part. After portraying her as a native of Helsingfors, in Finland, the visitor adds, "So this pretty and lady-like woman had come to this secluded home from the farthest extremity of the empire." Evidently in a mood beyond contentment, he says, "We sat down to a good dinner in the French style, the party, in addition to our host and hostess and ourselves, comprising twelve of the company's officers;" and his final judgment seems to be given when he says, "The good folks appear to live well. The surrounding country abounds in the chevreuil, [roebuck,] the finest meat that I ever ate, with the single exception of moose, while in a little stream within a mile of the fort salmon are so plentiful that, when ascending the river, they have been known literally to embarrass the movements of a canoe." (Simpson's Journey, vol. 1, page 227.) Such is the testimony.

With these concluding pictures I turn from the government.

Population.

II. I come now to the *Population*, which may be considered in its numbers and in its character. In neither respect, perhaps, can it add much to the value of the country, except so far as native hunters and trappers are needed for the supply of furs. Professor Agassiz touches this point in a letter which I have just received from him, where he says: "To me the fact that there is as yet hardly any population would have great weight, as this secures the settlement to our race." But we ought to know something at least of the people about to become the subjects of our jurisdiction, if not our fellow-citizens.

First. In trying to arrive at an idea of their numbers, I begin with Lippincott's Gazetteer, as it is the most accessible, according to which the whole population in 1855, aboriginal, Russian, and Creole, was 61,000. The same estimate appears also in the London Imperial Gazetteer and in the *Géographie* of Wappäus. Keith Johnston, in his Atlas, calls the population in 1852, 66,000. McCulloch, in the last edition of his *Geographical Dictionary*, puts it as high as 72,375. On the other hand, the *Almanach de Gotha* for the present year, received only a few weeks ago, calls it in round numbers 50,000. This estimate seems to have been adopted substantially from the great work entitled *Les Peuples de la Russie*, which from

its character I am disposed to consider as the best authority.

Exaggerations are common with regard to the inhabitants of newly-acquired possessions, and this distant region has been no exception. An enthusiastic estimate once placed its population as high as four hundred thousand. Long ago Schelekoﬀ, an early Russian adventurer, reported that he had subjected to the Crown of Russia fifty thousand "men" in the island of Kodiak alone. But Lisiansky, who followed him there in 1805, says "the population of this island, when compared with its size, is very small." (*Voyage*, p. 193.) After the "minutest research" at that time he found that it amounted only to four thousand souls. It is much less now; probably not more than fifteen hundred.

Of course it is easy to know the number of those within the immediate jurisdiction of the company. This is determined by a census from time to time. Even here the aborigines are the most numerous. Then come the Creoles, and last the Russians. But here you must bear in mind a distinction with regard to the former persons. In Spanish America all born there of European parentage are "Creoles;" in Russian America this term is applicable only to those whose parents are European and native, in other words "half-breeds." According to Wrangel, in 1839, the census of dependents of the company in all its districts was 246 Russians, 684 Creoles, and 8,882 Aleutians and Kodiaks, being in all 9,812. Of these 4,918 were men and 4,894 were women. Here the number of Russians is small. There is another report a little later preserved by Wappäus, which is not materially different. In 1851, according to the report of the company, there was an increase of Russians and Creoles, with a corresponding diminution of aborigines; being 505 Russians, 1,703 Creoles, and 7,055 aborigines, in all 9,263. In 1857 there were 644 Russians, 1,903 Creoles, and 7,245 aborigines, in all 9,792, of whom 5,733 were men and 4,659 were women. The increase from 1851 to 1857 was only 500, or about one per cent. annually. In 1860 there were "some hundred" Russians, 2,000 Creoles, and 8,000 aborigines, amounting in all to 10,540, of whom 5,382 were men and 5,158 were women. I am thus particular with these details that you may see how stationary population has been even within the sphere of the company.

The number of Russians and Creoles in the whole colony at the present time cannot be more than 2,500. The number of aborigines under the direct government of the company may be 8,000. There remain also the mass of aborigines outside the jurisdiction of the company, and having only a temporary or casual contact with it for purposes of trade. In this respect they are not unlike the aborigines of the United States while in their tribal condition, described so often as "Indians not taxed." For the number of these outside aborigines I prefer to follow the authority of the recent work

already quoted. *Les Peuples de la Russie*, according to which they are estimated at between forty and fifty thousand.

Secondly. In speaking of *character* I turn to a different class of materials. The early Russians here were not Pilgrims. They were mostly runaways, fleeing from justice. Langesdorf says that "the greater part of the inferior officers of the different settlements were Siberian criminals, malefactors, and adventurers of various kinds." (*Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 67.) Their single and exclusive business was the collection of furs, from which they obtained the name of Promischleniks, or fur collectors. But the name very early acquired a bad odor. Here again we have the same Russian authority, who, after saying that the inhabitants of the distant islands are under the superintendence of a Promischlenik, adds, "which is, in other words, under that of a rascal, by whom they are oppressed, tormented, and plundered in every possible way." (*Ibid.*, p. 70.) It must not be forgotten that this authentic portrait is not of our day.

The aborigines are all in common language called Esquimaux; but they differ essentially from the Esquimaux of Greenland, and they also differ among themselves. Though popularly known by this family name, they have as many divisions and subdivisions, with as many languages and idioms, as France once had. There are large groups, each with its own nationality and language, and there are smaller groups, each with its tribal idiom. In short, the great problem of language is repeated here. Its forms seem to be infinite. Scientific inquiry traces many to a single root, but practically they are different. Here is that confusion of tongues which yields only to the presence of civilization, and it becomes more remarkable, as the idiom is often confined to so small a circle.

If we look at them ethnographically we shall find two principal groups or races, the first scientifically known as Esquimaux, and the second as Indians. By another nomenclature, which has the sanction of authority and of usage, they are divided into Esquimaux, Aleutians, Kenaian, and Koloschians, being four distinct groups. The Esquimaux and Aleutians are said to be Mongolian in origin. According to a doubtful theory they passed from Asia to America by the succession of islands beginning on the coast of Japan and extending to Alaska, which for this purpose became a bridge between the two continents. The Kenaian and Koloschians are Indians, belonging to known American races; so that these four groups are ethnographically resolved into two, and the two are resolved popularly into one.

There are general influences more or less applicable to all these races. The climate is peculiar, and the natural features of the country are commanding. Cool summers and mild winters are favorable to the huntsman

and fisherman. Lofty mountains, volcanic forms, large rivers, numerous islands, and an extensive sea-coast constitute the great book of nature for all to read. None are dull. Generally they are quick, intelligent, and ingenious, excelling in the chase and in navigation, managing a boat as the rider his horse, until the man and the boat seem to be one. Some are very skillful with tools and exhibit remarkable taste. The sea is bountiful and the land has its supplies. From these they are satisfied. Better still, there is something in their nature which does not altogether reject the improvements of civilization. Unlike our Indians, they are willing to learn. By a strange superstition, which still continues, these races derive their descent from different animals. Some are gentle and pacific; others are warlike. All, I fear, are slaveholders; some are cruel task-masters, others in the interior are reputed to be cannibals. But the country back from the sea-coast is still an undiscovered secret.

(1.) Looking at them in their ethnographical groups I begin with the *Esquimaux*, who popularly give their name to the whole. They number about seventeen thousand, and stretch along the indented coast from its eastern limit on the Frozen ocean to the mouth of the Copper river in 60° north latitude, excluding the peninsula of Alaska, occupied by the Aleutians, and the peninsula of Kenay, occupied by the Kenaian. More powerful races of Indian origin, following the courses of the great rivers northward and westward, have gradually crowded the Esquimaux from the interior, until they constitute a belt on the salt water, including the islands of the coast, and especially Kodiak. Their various dialects are traced to a common root, while the prevailing language betrays an affinity with the Esquimaux of Greenland, and the intervening country watered by the Mackenzie. They share the characteristics of that extensive family, which, besides spreading across the continent, occupies an extent of sea-coast greater than any other people of the globe, from which their simple navigation has sallied forth so as to give them the name of Phenicians of the North. Words exclusively belonging to the Esquimaux are found in the dialects of other races completely strangers to them, as Phœnician sounds are observed in the Celtic speech of Ireland.

The most known of the Russian Esquimaux is the small tribe now remaining on the island of Kodiak, which from the beginning has been a center of trade. Although by various intermixture they already approach the Indians of the coast, losing the Asiatic type, their speech remains as a distinctive sign of their race. They are Esquimaux, and I describe them in order to give an idea of this people.

The men are tall, with copper skins, small black eyes, flat faces, and teeth of dazzling whiteness. Once the women pierced the nostrils, the lower lip, and the ears for ornaments; but now only the nostrils are pierced. The

aboriginal costume is still preserved, especially out of doors. Their food is mostly from the sea, without the roots or berries which the island supplies. The flesh and oil of the whale are a special luxury. The oil is drunk pure or to season other food. Accustomed to prolonged abstinence, they exhibit at times an appetite amounting to prodigy. In one night six men were able to devour the whole of a large bear. A strong drink made from the strawberry and myrtle, producing the effect of opium, has yielded to brandy. Sugar and tea are highly esteemed; but snuff is a delight. Lisiansky, records that they would go out of their way twenty miles merely for a pinch of snuff. They have tools of their own, which they use with skill. Their baidars, or canoes, are distinguished for completeness of finish and beauty of form. Unlike those of the Koloschians, lower down on the coast, which are hollowed from the trunks of trees, they are of seal skins stretched on frames, with a single aperture in the covering to receive the person of the master. The same skill appears in the carving of wood, whalebone, and walrus ivory. Their general mode of life is said to be like that of other tribes on the coast. To all else they add a knowledge of the healing art and a passion for gaming.

Opposite to Kodiak, on the main land to the east, are the Tshugatchi, a kindred tribe, speaking the same language, but a different dialect. To the north is a succession of kindred tribes, differing in speech, and each with local peculiarities, but all are represented as kind, courteous, hospitable, and merry. It is a good sign that merriment should prevail. Their tribal names are derived from a neighboring river or some climatic circumstance. Thus, for instance, those on the mighty Kwichpak have the name of Kwichpakmutes, or "inhabitants of the great river." Those on Bristol bay are called by their cousins of Norton sound Akhkonghmites, or "inhabitants of the warm country," and the same designation is applied to the Kodiaks. Warmth, like other things in this world, is comparative, and to an Esquimaux at 64° north latitude another five degrees further south is in a "warm country." These northern tribes have been visited lately by our Telegraphic Exploring Expedition, who report especially their geographical knowledge and good disposition. As the remains of Major Kennicott descended the Kwichpak they were not without sympathy from the natives. Curiosity also had its part. At a village where the boat rested for the night the chief announced that it was the first time white men had ever been seen there.

(2.) The *Alutians*, sometimes called Western Esquimaux, number about three thousand. By a plain exaggeration Knight, in his *Cyclopaedia of Geography*, puts them at twenty thousand. Their home is the archipelago of volcanic islands, whose name they bear, and also a portion of the contiguous peninsula of Alaska.

The well-defined type has already disappeared; but the national dress continues still. This is a long shirt with tight sleeves, made from the skins of birds, either the sea-parrot or the diver. This dress, which is called the parka, is indispensable as clothing, blanket, and even as habitation during a voyage, being a complete shelter against wind and cold. They, too, are fishermen and huntsmen; but they seem to excel as artificers. Their instruments and utensils have been noted for beauty, and their baidars were pronounced by Sauer "infinitely superior to those of any other island." Still another navigator declares them to be "the best means yet discovered to go from place to place, either upon the deepest or shallowest water, in the quickest, easiest, and safest manner possible." (Langsdorf's *Voyage*, vol. 1, p. 43.) These illustrate their nature, which is finer than that of their neighbors. They are at home on the water, and excite admiration by the skill with which they manage their elegant craft, so that Admiral Lütke recognized them as Cossacks of the sea.

Unalaska is the principal of these islands, and from the time they were first visited seems to have excited a peculiar interest. Captain Cook painted it kindly; so have succeeding navigators. And here have lived the islanders who seem to have given to navigators a new experience. Alluding especially to them, the reporter of Billings's voyage says: "The capacity of the natives of these islands infinitely surpasses every idea that I had formed of the abilities of savages." (P. 273.) There is another remark of this authority which shows how they had yielded, even in their favorite dress, to the demands of commerce. After saying that formerly they had worn garments of sea otter, he pathetically adds, "but not since the Russians have had any intercourse with them." (P. 155.) Poor islanders! Exchanging choice furs, once their daily wear, for meaner skins.

(3.) The *Kenaians*, numbering as many as twenty-five thousand, take their common name from the peninsula of Kenay, with Cook's inlet on the north and Prince William sound on the south. Numerous beyond any other family in Russian America, they belong to a widespread and teeming Indian race, which occupies all the northern interior of the continent, stretching from Hudson bay in the east to the Esquimaux in the west. This is the great nation called sometimes Athabascan, or from the native name of the Rocky mountains, on whose flanks they live, Chepewyan, but more properly designated as Tinné, with branches in southern Oregon and northern California, and then again with other offshoots, known as the Apaches and Navajoes, in Arizona, New Mexico, and Chihuahua, more than thirty parallels of latitude from the parent stem. Of this extended race, the northwestern branch, known to travelers as Loucheux, and in their own tongue as Kutchin, after occupying the

inner portion of Russian America on the Yukon and the Porcupine reached the sea-coast at Cook's inlet, where it appears under the name of Kenaiaans. The latter are said to bear about the same relation in language and intellectual development to the entire group as the islanders of Kodiak bear to the Esquimaux.

The Kenaiaans call themselves in their own dialect by yet another name, *Thuainas*, meaning men; thus by a somewhat boastful designation asserting manhood. Their features and complexion associate them with the red men of America, as does their speech. The first to visit them was Cook, and he was struck by the largeness of their heads, which seemed to him disproportioned to the rest of the body. They were strong-chested also, with thick short necks, spreading faces, eyes inclined to be small, white teeth, black hair, and thin beard. Their persons seemed to be clean and decent, without grease or dirt. In dress they were thought to resemble the people of Greenland. Their boats had a similar affinity. But in these particulars they were not unlike the other races I have already described. They were clothed in the skins of animals with the fur outward, or sometimes in the skins of birds, over which, as a protection against rain, was worn a frock made from the intestines of the whale and resembling the gold-beater leaf, as was observed by Behring in his early voyage. Their boats were of seal skin stretched on frames, and were of different sizes. In one of these Cook counted twenty women and one man, besides children. At that time, though thievish in propensity, they were not unamiable. Shortly afterwards they were reported by Russian traders, who had much to do with them, as "good people," who behaved "in a very friendly manner." (Billing's Voyage, p. 157.) I do not know that they have lost this character since.

Here, too, is the accustomed multiplicity of tribes, each with its idiom, and sometimes differing in religious superstition, especially on the grave question of descent from the dog or the crow. There is also a prevailing usage for the men of one tribe to choose their wives from another tribe, when the tribal character of the mother attaches to the offspring, which is another illustration of the law of slavery *partus sequitur ventrem*. The late departure from this usage is quoted by the old men as a sufficient reason for the mortality which has afflicted the Kenaiaans, although a better reason may be found in the ravages of the small-pox, unhappily introduced by the Russians. In 1838 ten thousand persons on the coast are reported to have fallen victims to this disease.

(4.) Last of the four races are the *Koloschians*, numbering about four thousand, who occupy the coast and islands from the mouth of the Copper river to the southern boundary of Russian America, making about sixteen settlements. They belong to an Indian group extending as far south as the Straits of Fuca, and estimated to contain twenty-five thousand

souls. La Pérouse, after considerable experience of the aborigines on the Atlantic coast, asserts that those whom he saw here are not Esquimaux. (Voyage, Tom. 2, p. 205.) The name seems to be of Russian origin, and is equivalent to Indian. Here again is another variety of languages and as many separate nations. Near Mount St. Elias are the Jacoutats, who are the least known; then came the Thlinkitts, who occupy the islands and coast near Sitka, and are known in Oregon under the name of Stikines; and then again we have the Kaigans, who, beginning on Russian territory, overlap Queen Charlotte's island, beneath the British flag. All these, with their subdivisions, are Koloschians; but every tribe or nation has four different divisions, derived from four different animals, the whale, the eagle, the crow, and the wolf, which are so many heraldic devices, marking distinct groups.

There are points already noticed in the more northern groups which are repeated here. As among the Kenaiaans husband and wife are of different animal devices. A crow cannot marry a crow. There is the same skill in the construction of canoes; but the stretched seal skin gives place here to the trunk of a tree shaped and hollowed so that it will sometimes hold forty persons. There are good qualities among the Aleutians which the Koloschians do not possess, but they have, perhaps, a stronger sense. They are of constant courage. As daring navigators they are unsurpassed, sailing six or seven hundred miles in their open canoes. Some are thrifty and show a sense of property. Some have developed an aptitude for trade unknown to their northern neighbors or to the Indians of the United States, and will work for wages, whether in tilling the ground or other employment. Their superior nature discards corporal punishment, even for boys, as an ignominy not to be endured. They believe in a Creator and in the immortality of the soul. But here a mystic fable is woven into their faith. The spirits of heroes dead in battle are placed in the sky and appear in the Aurora Borealis. Long ago a deluge occurred, when the human family was saved in a floating vessel, which, after the subsidence of the waters, struck on a rock and broke in halves. The Koloschians represent one half of the vessel, and the rest of the world the other half. Such is that pride of race which civilization does not always efface.

For generations they have been warriors, prompt to take offense and vindictive, as is the nature of the Indian race—always ready to exact an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. This character has not changed. As was the case once in Italy, the dagger is an inseparable companion. Private quarrels are common. The duel is an institution. So is slavery still, having a triple origin in war, purchase, or birth. The slave is only a dog, and must obey his master in all things, even to taking the life of another. He is without civil

rights; he cannot marry or possess anything; he can eat only the offal of another, and his body, when released by death, is thrown into the sea. A chief sometimes sacrifices his slaves, and then another chief seeks to outdo him in this inhumanity. All this is indignantly described by Sir Edward Belcher and Sir George Simpson. But a slave once a freed-man has all the rights of a Koloschian. Here, too, are the distinctions of wealth. The rich paint their faces daily; the poor renew the paint only when the colors begin to disappear.

These are the same people who for more than a century have been a terror on this coast. It was Koloschians who received the two boats' crews of the Russian discoverer in 1741, as they landed in one of its wooded coves, and no survivor returned to tell their fate. They were the actors in another tragedy at the beginning of the century, when the Russian fort at Sitka was stormed and its defenders put to death, some with excruciating torture. Lisiansky, whose visit was shortly afterward, found them "a shrewd, bold, though perfidious people," whose chiefs used "very sublime expressions," and swore oaths, like that of Demosthenes, by their ancestors living and dead, "calling heaven, earth, sun, moon, and stars to witness, particularly when they want to deceive." (Voyage, p. 16.) Since then the fort has been repeatedly threatened by these warriors, who multiply by reinforcements from the interior, so that the governor in 1837 said, "Although seven hundred only are now in the neighborhood seven thousand may arrive in a few hours." (Belcher's Voyage, vol. 1, p. 94.) A little later their constant character was recognized by Sir George Simpson, when he pronounced them "numerous, treacherous, and fierce," in contrast with Aleutians, whom he describes as "peaceful even to cowardice." And yet this fighting race is not entirely indolent, if we may credit recent report, that its warriors are changing to traders.

Climate.

III. From population I pass to *Climate*, which is more important, as it is a constant force. Climate is the key to this whole region. It is the governing power which rules production and life, for nature and man each must conform to its laws. Here at last the observations of science give to our inquiry a solid support.

Montesquieu has a famous chapter on the influence of climate over the customs and institutions of a people. Conclusions which in his day were regarded as visionary or far-fetched are now unquestioned truth. Climate is a universal master. But nowhere, perhaps, does it appear more eccentric than in the southern portion of Russian America. Without a knowledge of climatic laws the weather here would seem like a freak of nature. But a brief explanation shows how all its peculiarities are the result of natural causes, which operate with a force as unerring as gravitation. Heat

and cold, rain and fog, to say nothing of snow and ice, which play such a part in this region, are not abnormal, but according to law.

This law has been known only of late years. Even so ingenious an inquirer as Captain Cook notices the mildness of the climate without attempting to account for it. He records that in his opinion "cattle might exist in Ounalaska all the year round without being housed," (Voyages, vol. 2, p. 520;) and this was in latitude $53^{\circ} 52'$, on the same parallel with Labrador, and several degrees north of Quebec; but he stops with a simple statement of the suggestive fact. This, however, was inconsistent with the received idea at the time. A geographer, who wrote just before Cook sailed, has a chapter to show that the climate of Quebec continues across the continent, and by a natural consequence that America is colder than Asia. I refer to the *Mémoires Géographiques* of Engel, (page 196.) He would have been astonished had he seen the revelations of an isothermal map, showing that precisely the reverse is true: that the climate of Quebec does not continue across the continent; that the Pacific coast of our continent is warmer than the corresponding Atlantic coast, and that America is warmer than Asia, so far at least as can be determined by the two opposite coasts. Such is the unquestionable truth, of which there are plentiful signs. The Flora on the American side, even in Behring straits, is more vigorous than that on the Asiatic side; the American mountains have less snow than their Asiatic neighbors. Among many illustrations of the temperature I know none more direct than that furnished by the late Hon. William Sturgis, of Boston, who was familiar with the northwest coast at the beginning of the century, in a lecture on the Oregon question in 1845. After remarking that the climate there is "altogether milder and the winter less severe than in corresponding latitudes on this side of the continent," he proceeds to testify that, "as a proof of its mildness, he had passed seven winters between the latitudes of 51° and 57° , frequently lying so near the shore as to have a small cable fast to the trees, and only once was his ship surrounded by ice sufficiently firm to bear the weight of a man." But this intelligent navigator assigns no reason. To the common observer it seemed as if the temperature grew milder traveling with the sun until it dipped in the ocean.

Among the authorities open before me I quote two, which show that this difference of temperature between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts was imagined, if not actually recognized, during the last century. Portlock, the Englishman, who was on this coast in 1787, after saying that during stormy and unsettled weather the air had been mild and temperate, remarks that he is "inclined to think that the climate here is not so severe as has been generally supposed." (Voyage, p. 188.) La Pérouse, the Frenchman, who was here the same year,

and had been before in Hudson bay, on the other side of the continent, says still more explicitly that "the climate of this coast appeared to him infinitely milder than that of Hudson bay in the same latitude, and that the pines which he had measured here were much larger." (Voyage, vol. 2, p. 187.) Laugsdorf, when at Sitka in 1806, records that Mr. John D. Wolf, a citizen of the United States, who had passed the winter at the settlement, "was much surprised at finding the cold less severe than at Boston, Rhode Island, and other Provinces of the United States which lie more to the South." (Voyages, vol. 2, p. 101.)

All this is now explained by certain known forces in nature. Of these the most important is a thermal current in the Pacific, corresponding to the Gulf Stream in the Atlantic. The latter, having its origin in the heated waters of the Gulf of Mexico, flows as a river through the ocean northward, encircling England, bathing Norway, and warming all within its influence. A similar stream in the Pacific, sometimes called the Japanese current, having its origin under the equator near the Philippines and the Malaccas, amid no common heats, after washing the ancient empire of Japan sweeps northward until, forming two branches, one moves onward to Behring straits and the other bends eastward along the Aleutian islands, and then southward along the coast of Sitka, Oregon, and California. Geographers have described this "heater," which in the lower latitudes is as high as 81° of Fahrenheit, and even far to the north it is as high as 50°. A chart now before me in Findlay's *Pacific Ocean Directory* portrays its course as it warms so many islands and such an extent of coast. An officer of the United States Navy, Lieutenant Bent, in a paper before the Geographical Society of New York, while exhibiting the influence of this current in mitigating the climate of the northwest coast, mentions that vessels on the Asiatic side, becoming unwieldy with accumulations of ice on the hull and rigging, run over to the higher latitude on the American side and "thaw out." But the tepid waters which melt the ice on a vessel must change the atmosphere wherever they flow.

I hope you will not regard the illustration as too familiar if I remind you that in the economy of a household pipes of hot water are sometimes employed in tempering the atmosphere by heat carried from below to rooms above. In the economy of nature these thermal currents are only pipes of hot water, modifying the climate of continents by carrying heat from the warm eisterns of the South into the most distant places of the north. So also there are sometimes pipes of hot air, having a similar purpose; and these, too, are found in this region. Every ocean wind, from every quarter, as it traverses the stream of heat, takes up the warmth and carries it to the coast, so that the oceanic current is reinforced by an aerial current of constant influence.

But these forces are aided essentially by the configuration of the northwest coast, with a lofty and impenetrable barricade of mountains, by which its islands and harbors are protected from the cold of the north. Occupying the Aleutian islands, traversing the peninsula of Alaska, and running along the margin of the ocean to the latitude of 51° 40', this mountain ridge is a climatic division, or, according to a German geographer, a "climatic shed," such as perhaps exists nowhere else in the world. Here are Alps, some of them volcanic, with Mount St. Elias higher than Mont Blanc, standing on guard against the Arctic Circle. So it seems even without the aid of science. Here is a dike between the icy waters of Behring sea and the milder Southern ocean. Here is a partition between the treeless northern coast and the wooded coast of the Kenaians and Koloschians. Here is a fence which separates the animal kingdom of this region, leaving on one side the walrus and ice-fox from the Frozen ocean and on the other side the humming bird from the tropics. I simply repeat the statements of geography. And now you will not fail to observe how by this configuration the thermal currents of ocean and air are left to exercise all their climatic power.

There is one other climatic incident here, which is now easily explained. Early navigators record the prevailing moisture. All are enveloped in fog. Behring names an island Foggy. Another gives the same designation to a cape at the southern extremity of Russian America. Cook records fog. La Pérouse speaks of continued rain and fog in the month of August. And now visitors, whether for science or business, make the same report. The forests testify also. According to Physical Geography it could not be otherwise. The warm air from the ocean encountering the snow-capped mountains would naturally produce this result. Rain is nothing but atmosphere condensed and falling in drops to the earth. Fog is atmosphere still held in solution, but so far condensed as to become visible. This condensation occurs when the air is chilled by contact with a colder atmosphere. Now, these very conditions occur on the northwest coast. The ocean air, as it comes in contact with the elevated range, is chilled until its moisture is set free.

Add to these influences, especially as regards Sitka, the presence of mountain masses and of dense forests, all tending to make this coast warmer in winter and colder in summer than it would otherwise be.

Practical observation has verified these conclusions of science. Any isothermal map is enough for our purpose; but there are others which show the relative conditions generally of different portions of the globe. I ask attention to those of Keith Johnston, in his admirable atlas. But I am glad to present a climatic table of the Pacific coast in comparison with the Atlantic coast, which has been recently compiled, at my request, from the

archives of the Smithsonian Institution with permission of its learned secretary, by a collaborator of the Institution, who visited Russian America under the auspices of the Tele-

graph Company. In studying this table we shall be able to comprehend the relative position of this region in the physical geography of the world:

	Mean Temperature in Degrees Fahrenheit.					Precipitation in Rain or Snow. Depth in Inches.				
	Spring.	Summer.	Autumn.	Winter.	Year.	Spring.	Summer.	Autumn.	Winter.	Year.
St. Michaels, Russian America..... Lat. 65° 25' 45" North.	23.75	52.25	27.00	7.00	27.48	-	-	-	-	-
Fort Yukon, Russian America..... Lat. (near) 67°.	14.22	50.67	17.37	23.80	16.92	-	-	-	-	-
Ikoemut, Russian America..... Lat. 61° 17'.	19.62	49.32	36.05	0.95	24.37	-	-	-	-	-
Sitka, Russian America..... Lat. 57° 03'.	39.65	53.37	43.80	32.30	42.12	19.32	15.75	32.10	23.77	89.94
Puget sound, Washington Territory..... Lat. 47° 07'.	48.89	63.44	51.39	39.38	50.75	7.52	3.68	15.13	20.05	46.88
Astoria, Oregon..... Lat. 46° 11'.	51.16	61.36	53.55	42.43	52.13	16.43	4.85	21.77	44.15	87.20
San Francisco, California..... Lat. 37° 45'.	55.39	58.98	58.29	50.25	55.73	6.65	0.09	2.69	13.49	22.92
Nain, Labrador..... Lat. 57° 10'.	23.67	48.57	33.65	0.40	26.40	-	-	-	-	-
Montreal, Canada East..... Lat. 45° 30'.	41.20	63.53	44.93	16.40	42.77	7.66	11.20	7.42	.72	27.00
Portland, Maine..... Lat. 43° 29'.	49.12	63.75	45.75	21.52	42.78	-	-	-	-	-
Fort Hamilton, New York..... Lat. 40° 27'.	47.84	71.35	55.79	32.32	51.82	11.69	11.64	9.88	10.31	43.22
Washington, District of Columbia.....	54.19	73.07	52.91	33.57	53.69	10.48	10.53	10.16	10.06	41.24

It will be seen from this table that the winters of Sitka are relatively warm, not differing much from those of Washington, and several degrees warmer than those of New York; but the summers are colder. The mean temperature of winter is 32° 30', while that of summer is 53° 37'. The Washington winter is 38° 57'; the Washington summer is 73° 07'. These points exhibit the peculiarities of this coast—warm winters and cool summers.

The winter of Sitka is milder than that of many European capitals. It is much milder than that of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berne, or Berlin. It is milder even than that of Manheim, Stuttgart, Vienna, Sebastopol in the Crimea, or Turin. It is not much colder than that of Padua. According to observations at Sitka in 1831 it froze for only two days in December and seven days in January. In February the longest frost lasted five days; in March it did not freeze during the day at all, and rarely in the night. During the next winter the thermometer did not fall below 21° Fahrenheit; in January, 1834, it reached 11°. On the other hand a tempera-

ture of 50° has been noted in January. The roadstead is open throughout the year, and only a few land-locked bays are frozen.

The prevailing dampness at Sitka makes a residence there far from agreeable, although it does not appear to be injurious to health. England is also damp, but Englishmen boast that theirs is the best climate of the world. At Sitka the annual fall of rain is eighty-nine inches. The mean annual fall in all England is forty inches, although in mountainous districts of Cumberland and Westmoreland the fall amounts to ninety and even one hundred and forty inches. In Washington it is forty-one inches. The forests at Sitka are so wet that they will not burn, although frequent attempts have been made to set them on fire. The houses, which are of wood, suffer from the constant moisture. In 1828, there were twenty days when it rained or snowed continuously; one hundred and twenty when it rained or snowed part of the day, and only sixty-six days of clear weather. Some years only forty bright days have been counted. Hinds, the naturalist, records only thirty-seven "really clear and

fine days." A scientific observer who was there last year counted sixty. A visitor for fourteen days found only two when nautical observations could be made; but these were as fine as he had ever known in any country.

The whole coast from Sitka to the peninsula of Alaska seems to have the same continuous climate, whether as regards temperature or moisture. The island of Kodiak and the recess of Cook's inlet are outside of this climatic curve, so as to be comparatively dry. Langsdorf reports the winters "frequently so mild in the lower parts of Kodiak that the snow does not lie upon the ground for any length of time, nor is anything like severe cold felt." The Aleutian islands, further west, are somewhat colder than Sitka, although the difference is not great. The summer temperature is seldom above 66°; the winter temperature is more seldom as low as 2° below zero. The snow falls about the beginning of October, and is seen sometimes as late as the end of April; but it does not remain long on the surface. The mean temperature of Unalaska is about 40°. Chamisso found the temperature of spring water at the beginning of the year to be 38°-50°. There are some years when it rains on this island the whole winter. The fogs prevail from April till the middle of July, when they seem for the time to be driven further north. The islands northward toward Behring straits are proportionately colder, but you will not forget that the American coast is milder than the opposite coast of Asia.

From Mr. Bannister I have an authentic statement with regard to the temperature north of the Aleutians, as observed by himself in the autumn of 1865 and the months following. Even here the winter does not seem so terrible as is sometimes imagined. During most of the time work could be done with comfort in the open air. It was only when it stormed that the men were kept within doors. In transporting supplies from St. Michaels to Nulato, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, they found no hardship, even when obliged to bivouac in the open air.

On Norton sound and the Kwichpak river winter may be said to commence at the end of September, although the weather is not severe till the end of October. The first snow falls about the 20th or 25th September. All the small ponds and lakes were frozen early in October. The Kwichpak was frozen solid about the 20th or 25th of this month. On the 1st November the harbor at St. Michaels was still open, but on the morning of the 4th it was frozen solid enough for sledges to cross on the ice. In December there were two thaws, one of them accompanied by rain for a day. The snow was about two feet deep at the end of the month. January was uniformly cold, and it was said that at one place sixty-five miles northeast of St. Michaels the thermometer descended to 58° below zero. February was unusually mild all over the country. In the middle of the month there was an extensive thaw, with showers of

rain. About half of the snow disappeared, leaving much of the ground bare. March was pleasant, without very cold weather. Its mean temperature was 29°; its minimum was 3° below zero.

Spring commences on the Kwichpak the 1st May, or a few days later, when the birds return and vegetation begins to appear. The ice did not entirely disappear from the river till after the 20th May. The sea ice continued in the bay of St. Michaels as late as 1st June. The summer temperature is much higher in the interior of the country than on the coast. Parties traveling on the Kwichpak in June complained sometimes from the heat.

The river Youkon, which, flowing into the Kwichpak, helps to swell that stream, is navigable for at least four, if not five, months in the year. The thermometer at Fort Youkon is sometimes at 65° below zero of Fahrenheit, and for three months of a recent winter it stood at 50° below zero without variation. In summer it rises above 80° in the shade; but a hard frost occurs at times in August. The southwest wind brings warmth; the northeast wind brings cold. Some years there is no rain for months, and then again showers alternate with sunshine. The snow packs hard at an average of two and a half feet deep. The ice is four or five feet thick; in a severe winter it is six feet thick. Life at Fort Youkon under these rigors of nature, although not inviting, is not intolerable.

Such is the climate of this extensive region, so far as is known, along its coast, among its islands, and on its great rivers, from its southern limits to its most northern ice, with contrasts and varieties such as Milton describes:

"For hot, cold, moist and dry, four champions fierce
Strive here for mastery."

Vegetable Products.

IV. *Vegetable Products* depend upon climate. They are determined by its laws. Therefore what has been already said upon the one prepares the way for the consideration of the other; and here we have the reports of navigators and the suggestions of science.

From the time this coast was first visited navigators reported the aspects which nature assumed. But their opportunities were casual, and they were obliged to confine themselves to what was most obvious. As civilization did not exist, the only vegetable products were indigenous to the soil. These were trees, berries, and plants. At the first landing, on the discovery of the coast by Behring, Steller found among the provisions in one of the Indian cabins "a sweet herb dressed for food in the same manner as in Kamtschatka." That "sweet herb" is the first vegetable production of which we have any record on this coast. At the same time, although ashore only six hours, this naturalist "gathered herbs and brought such a quantity to the ship that the describing of them took him a considerable time." This descrip-

tion it is said was adopted afterwards in the *Flora Siberica*.

Trees were noticed even before landing. They enter into descriptions, and are often introduced to increase the savage wildness of the scene. La Pérouse doubts "if the deep valleys of the Alps and the Pyrenees present a picture so frightful and at the same time so picturesque, which would deserve to be visited by the curious if it were not at one of the extremities of the earth." (Tom. 2, page 191.) Lisiansky, as he approached the coast of Sitka, records that "nothing presented itself to the view but impenetrable woods reaching from the water side to the very tops of the highest mountains, so wild and gloomy that they appeared more adapted for the residence of wild beasts than of men." (Page 145.) Lütke portrays the "savage and picturesque aspect" of the whole northwest coast. (Tom. 1, page 101.)

As navigators landed they saw nature in detail; and here they were impressed by the size of the trees. Cook finds at Prince William sound "Canada and spruce pine, some of them tolerably large." La Pérouse alludes to trees more than once. He describes pines measuring six feet in diameter and one hundred and forty feet in height, and then again introduces us to "those superb pines fit for the masts of our largest vessels." Portlock notices in Cook's inlet "wood of different kinds in great abundance, such as pine, black birch, witch hazel, and poplar; many of them large enough for lower masts to a ship of four hundred tons burden;" and then again at Port Etches he noticed "trees of the pine kind, some very large, a good quantity of alder, a kind of hazel, but not larger than will do for making handspikes." Meares reports "woods thick," also "the black pine in great plenty, capable of making excellent spars." Vancouver reports in latitude 60° 1' "a woodland country." Smer, who was there a little later, in the expedition of Billings, saw trees six feet in diameter and one hundred and fifty feet in height, "excellent wood for ship-building." In Prince William sound the ship "took in a variety of fine spars," and he proceeds to say, "The timber comprised a variety of pines of immense thickness and height, some entirely tough and fibrous, and of these we made our best oars." Lisiansky says that at Kodiak "for want of fir he made a new bowsprit of one of the pine trees, which answered admirably." Lütke testifies to the "magnificent pine and fir" at Sitka, adding what seems an inconsistent judgment with regard to its durability. Belcher notices Garden island, in latitude 60° 21', as "covered with pine trees;" and then again at Sitka speaks of a "very fine-grained bright yellow cypress as the most valuable wood, which, besides being used in boats, was exported to the Sandwich islands in return especially for Chinese goods."

Turning westward from Cook's inlet the forests on the sea line are rarer until they

entirely disappear. The first settlement on the island of Kodiak was on the southwestern coast, but the want of timber there caused its transfer to the northeastern coast, where there are "considerable forests of fine tall trees." But where trees are wanting grass seems to abound. This is the case with Kodiak, the peninsula of Alaska, and the Aleutian islands generally. Of these Unalaska, libeled by the immortal verse of Campbell, has been the most described. This well-known island is without trees; but it seems singularly adapted to the growth of grass, which is often so high as to impede the traveler and to overtop even the willows. The mountains themselves are for a considerable distance clothed with rich turf. One of these scenes is represented in a print which you will find among the views of the vegetation of the Pacific in the London reproduction of the work of Kittlitz. This peculiarity was first noticed by Cook, who says, with a sailor sententiousness, that he did not see there "a single stick of wood of any size," but "plenty of grass very thick and to a great length." Lütke records that after leaving Brazil he met nothing so agreeable as the grass of this island.

North of Alaska, on Behring sea, the forests do not approach the coast, except at the heads of bays and sounds, although they abound in the interior, and extend even to within a short distance of the Frozen ocean. Such is the personal testimony of a scientific observer who has recently returned from this region. In Norton's sound Cook, who was the first to visit it, reports "a coast covered with wood, an agreeable sight," and, on walking in the country, "small spruce trees, none more than six or eight inches in diameter." The next day he sent men ashore "to cut brooms, which he needed, and the branches of spruce trees for brewing beer." On the Kwichpak and its affluent, the Youkon, trees are sometimes as high as a hundred feet. The supply of timber at St. Michaels is from the drift wood of the river. Near Fort Youkon, at the junction of the Porcupine and the Youkon, are forests of pine, poplar, willow, and birch. The pine is the most plentiful; but the small islands in the great river are covered with poplar and willow. Immense trunks rolling under the fort show that there must be large trees nearer the headwaters.

But even in northern latitudes the American coast is not without vegetation. Grass here takes the place of trees. At Fort Youkon, in latitude 67°, there is "a thin, wiry grass." Navigators notice the contrast between the opposite coasts of the two continents. Kotzebue, while in Behring straits, where the two approach each other, was struck by black, mossy rocks frowning with snow and icicles on the Asiatic side, while on the American side "even the summits of the highest mountains were free from snow, and the coast was covered with a green carpet." (Voyage, vol. 1, p. 249.) But the contrast with the Atlantic coast

of the continent is hardly less. The northern limit of trees is full seven degrees higher in Russian America than in Labrador. In point of fact, on the Atlantic coast, in latitude 67° 58', which is that of Sitka, there are no trees. All this is most suggestive.

Next after trees early navigators speak oftenest of *berries*, which they found in profusion. Not a sailor lands who does not find them. Cook reports "berries" on Norton sound, and "a great variety" at Ounalaska. Portlock finds at Port Etches "fruit bushes in great abundance, such as bilberry, raspberry, strawberry, and currant, red and black." At Prince William sound "any quantity might be gathered for a winter stock." Meares saw there "a few black currant bushes." Billings finds at Kodiak "several species of berries, with currants and raspberries in abundance, the latter white, but extremely large, being bigger than a mulberry." Langsdorf finds all these at Ounalaska, with whortleberries and cranberries besides. Belcher reports at Garden island "strawberries, pigeon berries, whortleberries, and a small cranberry in tolerable profusion, without going in search of them." All these I quote precisely, and in the order of time.

Next to berries were *plants* for food; and these were in constant abundance. Behring, on landing at the Shumagin islands, observed the natives "to eat roots which they dug out of the ground, and scarce shaken off the earth before they eat them." Cook reports at Ounalaska "a great variety of plants, such as are found in Europe and other parts of America, particularly Newfoundland, one of which was like parsley and eat very well, either in soups or salads." La Pérouse, who landed in latitude 58° 37', finds a French bill of fare, including celery, chicory, sorrel, and "almost all that exists in the meadows and mountains of France," besides several grains for forage. Every day and each meal the ship's kettle was filled with these supplies, and all eat them in soups, ragouts, and salads, much to the benefit of their health. Portlock reports at Port Etches, besides water-cresses, "just above the beach, between the bay and the lake, a piece of wild wheat, about two hundred yards long and five yards broad, growing at least two feet high, which with proper care might certainly be made a useful article of food;" at Cook's inlet he reports "ginseng and snakeroot." Meares reports at Prince William sound "snakeroot and ginseng, some of which the natives have always with them as a medicine." Billings finds at Kodiak "ginseng, wild onions, and the edible roots of Kamtschatka;" and then again in Prince William sound he finds "plenty of ginseng and some snakeroot." Vancouver finds at Cape Phipps "wild vegetables in great abundance." Langsdorf adds to the list at Ounalaska "Siberian parsnip, or sweet plant." These, too, I quote precisely, and in the order of time.

Since the establishment of Europeans on this

coast an attempt has been made to introduce the nutritious grains and vegetables known to the civilized world; but without very brilliant success. Against wheat and rye and against orchard fruits there are obstacles of climate, perhaps insuperable. All these require summer heat; but here the summer is comparatively cold. The northern limit of wheat is several degrees below the southern limit of these possessions, so that this friendly grain is out of the question. Rye flourishes further north, as do oats also. The supposed northern limit of these grains embraces Sitka and grazes the Aleutian islands. But there are other climatic conditions which are wanting at least for rye. One of these is dry weather, which is required at the time of its bloom. Possibly the clearing of the forest may produce some modification of the weather. For the present barley grows better, and there is reason to believe that it may be cultivated successfully very far to the north. It has ripened at Kodiak. There are many garden vegetables which have become domesticated. Lütke reports that at Sitka potatoes flourish; so that all have enough. Langsdorf reports the same of Kodiak. There are also radishes, cabbages, cauliflowers, peas, and carrots—making a very respectable list. The same, perhaps, may be found at Ounalaska. On Norton sound I hear of radishes, beets, and cabbages. Even as far north as Fort Youkon, on the parallel of 67°, potatoes, peas, turnips, and even barley have been grown; but the turnips were unfit for the table, being rotten at the heart. A recent resident reports that there are no fruit trees, and not even a raspberry bush, and that he lost all his potatoes during one season by a frost in the latter days of July; but do not forget that these potatoes were the wall-flowers of the Arctic Circle.

Thus it appears that the vegetable productions of the country are represented practically by trees. The forests which overshadow the coast from Sitka to Cook's inlet are all that we can show under this head out of which a revenue can be derived, unless we add ginseng, which is so much prized by the Chinese, and perhaps also snakeroot. Other things may contribute to the scanty support of a household; but timber will in all probability be an article of commerce. It has been so already. Ships from the Sandwich islands have come for it, and there is reason to believe that this trade may be extended indefinitely, so that Russian America may be on the Pacific like Maine on the Atlantic, and the lumbermen of Sitka may vie with their hardy brethren of the East.

Here a question occurs. These forests as described seem to afford all that can be desired. The trees are abundant, and they are perfect in size, not unlike

"The tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills to be the mast
Of some great admiral."

But a doubt arises as to their commercial value. Here we have the inconsistent testimony of

Lütke. According to him the pines and firs which he calls "magnificent" constitute an untried source of commercial wealth. Not only California, but other countries poor in trees, like Mexico, the Sandwich islands, and even Chili will need them. And yet he does not conceal an unfavorable judgment of the timber, which as seen in the houses of Sitka, suffering from constant moisture, did not seem to be durable. (Voyage, Tom. I, pp. 105, 151.) Sir Edward Belcher differs from the Russian admiral, for he praises especially the timber of "the higher latitudes, either for spars or plank." (Voyage, vol. I, p. 300.) Perhaps its durability may depend upon the climate where it is used, so that the timber of this region may be lasting enough when transported to another climate. In the rarity of trees on the islands and mainland of the Pacific the natural supply is in Russian America. One of the early navigators even imagined that China must look this way, and he expected that "the woods would yield a handsome revenue when the Russian commerce with China should be established." American commerce with China is established. Perhaps timber may become one of its staples.

A profitable commerce in timber has already begun at Puget sound. By the official returns of 1866 it appears that it was exported to a long list of foreign countries and places, in which I find Victoria, Honolulu, Callao, Tahiti, Canton, Valparaiso, Adelaide, Hong Kong, Sydney, Montevideo, London, Melbourne, Shanghai, Pina, Copimbo, Calcutta, Hilo, Cape Town, Cork, Guaymas, and Siam; and that in this commerce were employed no less than eighteen ships, thirty barks, four brigs, twenty-eight schooners, and ten steamers. The value of the lumber and spars exported abroad was over half a million dollars, while more than four times that amount was shipped coastwise. But the coasts of Russian America are darker with trees than those further south. The pines in which they abound do not flourish as low down as Puget sound. Northward, they are numerous and easily accessible.

In our day the Flora of the coast has been explored with care. Kittlitz, who saw it as a naturalist, portrays it with the enthusiasm of an early navigator; but he speaks with knowledge. He, too, dwells on the "surprising power and luxuriance" of the pine forests, describing them with critical skill. The trees which he identifies are the *Pinus Canadensis*, distinguished for its delicate foliage; the *Pinus Moresiana*, a new species, rival of the other in height; and *Pinus Palustris*, growing in swampy declivities, and not attaining height. In the clearings or on the outskirts of thickets are shrubs, being chiefly a species of *Rubus*, with flowers of carmine and aromatic fruit. About and over all are mosses and lichens invigorated by the constant moisture, while colossal trees, undermined or uprooted, crowd the surface, reminding the scientific observer of the accumulations of the coal measures. Two different prints in the London reproduc-

tion of the work of Kittlitz present pictures of these vegetable productions grouped for beauty and instruction. I refer to these and also to the Essay of Hinds on the *Regions of Vegetation*, the latter to be found at the end of the volumes containing Belcher's Voyage.

In turning from the vegetable products of this region, it will not be out of place if I refer for one moment to its domestic animals, for these are necessarily associated with such products. Some time ago it was stated that cattle had not flourished at Sitka owing to the want of proper pasturage and the difficulty of making hay in a climate of such moisture. Hogs are more easily sustained, but feeding on fish, instead of vegetable products, their flesh acquires a fishy taste, which does not recommend it. Nor has there been greater success with poultry, for this becomes the prey of the crow, whose voracity here is absolutely fabulous. A Koloschian tribe traces its origin to this bird, which in this neighborhood might be a fit progenitor. Not content with swooping upon hens and chickens it descends upon hogs to nibble at their tails, and so successfully "that the hogs here are without tails," and then it scours the streets so well that it is called the scavenger of Sitka. But there are other places more favored. The grass at Kodiak is well suited to cattle, and it is supposed that sheep would thrive there. The grass at Ounalaska is famous, and Cook thought the climate good for cattle, of which we have at least one illustration. Langsdorf reports that "a cow grazed there luxuriously for several years, and then was lost in the mountains." That grazing animal is a good witness. Perhaps also it is typical of the peaceful inhabitants.

Mineral Products.

V. In considering the *Mineral Products* I shall first ask attention to such indications as are afforded by the early navigators. They were not geologists. Indeed, geology was at that time unknown. They saw only what was exposed. And yet during the long interval that has elapsed not very much has been added to their conclusions. The existence of iron is hardly less uncertain now than then. The existence of copper is hardly more certain now than then. Gold, which is so often a dangerous *ignis fatuus*, did not appear to deceive them. But coal, which is much more desirable than gold, was reported by several, and once at least with reasonable certainty.

The boat that landed from Behring, when he discovered the coast, found among other things "a whetstone on which it appeared that copper knives had been sharpened." This was the first sign of that mineral wealth which already excites such an interest. At another point where Behring landed "one of the Americans had a knife hanging by his side, of which his people took notice on account of its unusual make." It has been supposed that this knife was of iron. Next came Cook, who, when in Prince William sound, saw "copper

and iron." In his judgment the iron came through the intervention of Indian tribes from Hudson bay or the settlements on the Canadian lakes, and his editor refers in a note to the knife seen by Behring as coming from the same quarter; but Cook thought that the copper was obtained near at home, as the natives, when engaged in barter, gave the idea "that having so much of this metal of their own they wanted no more." Naturally enough, for they were not far from the Copper river. Maurelle, the French officer in the service of Spain, landed in sight of Mount St. Elias in 1779, and he reports Indians with arrow-heads of copper, "which made the Spaniards suspect mines of this metal there." La Pérouse, who was also in this neighborhood, after mentioning that the naturalists of the expedition allowed no rock or stone to escape observation, reports ochre, schist, mica, very pure quartz, granite, pyrites of copper, plumbago, and coal, and then adds that some things announce that the mountains contain mines of iron and copper. He reports further that the natives had daggers of iron and sometimes of red copper; that the latter metal was common enough with them, serving for ornaments and for the points of their arrows; and he then states the very question of Cook with regard to the way in which they acquired these metals. He insists that "the natives know how to forge iron and work copper." Spears and arrows "pointed with bone or iron," and also "an iron dagger" for each man, appear in Vancouver's account of the natives on the parallel of 54° 59', just within the southern limits of Russian America. Lisiansky also saw at Sitka "a thin plate of virgin copper," found on Copper river, three feet in length and at one end twenty inches in breadth, with figures painted on its sides, which had come from the possession of the natives. Meares reports "pure malleable lumps of copper in the possession of the natives," sometimes weighing as much as a pound, also necklaces, all obtained in barter with other natives farther north. Portlock, while in Cook's inlet, in latitude 59° 26', at a place called Graham's harbor, makes another discovery. Walking round the bay he saw "two veins of Kennel coal just above the beach, and with very little trouble several pieces were got out of the bank nearly as large as a man's hand." If the good captain did not report more than he saw this would be most important, for from the time when the amusing biographer of Lord Keeper North described that clean flaky coal which he calls "candle," because often used for its light, but which is generally called Kennel, no coal has been more of a household favorite. He reports further that "returning on board in the evening he tried some of the coal, and found it to burn clear and well." Add to these different reports the general testimony of Meares, who, when dwelling on the resources of this country, boldly includes "mines which are known to be between the latitudes of 40° and 60° north, and which may

hereafter prove a most valuable source of commerce between America and China."

It is especially when we seek to estimate the mineral products that we feel the want of careful explorations. We know more of the roving aborigines than of these stationary citizens of the soil. We know more of the trees. A tree is conspicuous. A mineral is hidden in the earth, to be found by chance or science. Thus far it seems as if chance only had ruled. The Russian Government handed over the country to a trading company, whose exclusive interest was furs. The company only followed its business when it looked to wild beasts with rich skins rather than to the soil. Its mines were above ground, and not below. There were also essential difficulties in the way of any explorations. The interior was practically inaccessible. The thick forest, saturated with rain and overgrown with wet mosses, presented obstacles which nothing but enlightened enterprise could overcome. Even at a short distance from the port of Sitka all effort had failed, and the inner recesses of the island, only thirty miles broad, were never penetrated.

The late Professor Henry D. Rogers, in his admirable paper on the Physical Features of America, being a part of his contribution to Keith Johnston's Atlas, full of knowledge and of fine generalization, says of this northwest belt of country that it is "little known in its topography to any but the roving Indians and the thinly-scattered fur-trappers." But there are certain general features which he proceeds to designate. According to him it belongs to what is known as the tertiary period of geology, intervening between the cretaceous period and that now in progress, but including also granite, gneiss, and ancient metamorphic rocks. It is not known if the true coal measures prevail in any part, although there is reason to believe that they may exist on the coast of the Arctic ocean between Cape Lisburne and Point Barrow.

Beginning at the south we have Sitka and its associate islands, composed chiefly of volcanic rocks, with limestone near. Little is known even of the coast between Sitka and Mount St. Elias, which, itself a volcano, is the beginning of a volcanic region occupying the peninsula of Alaska and the Aleutian islands, and having no less than thirty volcanoes, some extinct, but others still active. Most of the rocks here are volcanic, and the only fossiliferous beds are of the tertiary period. North of Alaska, and near the mouth of the Kwichpak, the coast seems to be volcanic or metamorphic, and probably tertiary, with a vein of lignite near the head of Norton's sound. At the head of Kotzebue's sound the cliffs abound in the bones of elephants and other extinct mammals, together with those of the musk ox and animals now living in the same latitude. From Kotzebue's sound northward the coast has a volcanic character. Then at Cape Thompson it is called sub-carboniferous, followed by rocks of the carboniferous age, being limestones, shales, and sandstones, which extend

from Cape Lisburne far round to Point Barrow. At Cape Beaufort, very near the seventieth parallel of latitude, and north of the Arctic Circle, on a high ridge a quarter of a mile from the beach is a seam of coal, which appears to be of the true coal measures.

From this general outline, which leaves much in uncertainty, I come now to what is more important.

It is not entirely certain that *Iron* has been found in this region, although frequently reported. The evidence points to the south, and also to the north. Near Sitka it was reported by the Russian engineer Doroschin, although it does not appear that anything has been done to verify his report. A visitor there as late as last year saw excellent iron, reported to be from a bed in the neighborhood, which was said to be inexhaustible, and with abundant wood for its reduction. Then again on Kotzebue's sound specimens have been collected. At 66° 35' Kotzebue found a false return in his calculations, which he attributes to the disturbing influence of "iron." A resident on the Youkon thinks that there is iron in that neighborhood.

Silver also has been reported at Sitka by the same Russian engineer who reported iron there; and, like the iron, in "sufficient quantity to pay for the working."

Lead was reported by the Russian explorer, Lieutenant Zagoysskin, on the lower part of the Kwichpak; but it is not known to what extent it exists.

Copper is found on the banks of the Copper river, called by the natives Mjednaja, meaning copper, and of its affluent, the Tshitachitna, in masses sometimes as large as forty pounds. Of this there can be little doubt. It is mentioned by Golowin in the *Archiv* of Erman as late as 1863. It was undoubtedly from this neighborhood that the copper was obtained which arrested the attention of the early navigators. Traces of copper are also found in other places on the coast; also in the mountains near the Youkon, where the Indians use it for arrow-heads.

Coal seems to exist all along the coast; according to Golowin "everywhere in greater or less abundance." Traces of it are reported on the islands of the Sitkan archipelago, and this is extremely probable, for it has been worked successfully on Vancouver's island below. It is also found on the Kenaian peninsula, Alaska, the island of Unga, belonging to the Shumagin group, Ounalaska, and far to the north at Beaufort. At the latter place it is "slaty, burning with a pure flame and rapid consumption," and it is supposed that there are extensive beds in the neighborhood better in quality. For an account of this coal I refer to the scientific illustrations of Beechey's Voyage. The natives also report coal in the interior on the Kwichpak. The coal of Ounalaska and probably of Alaska is tertiary and not adapted for steamers. With regard to that of Unga scientific authorities are divided. That

of the Kenaian peninsula is the best and the most extensive. It is found on the eastern side of Cook's inlet, half way between Cape Anchor and the Russian settlement of St. Nicholas, in veins three quarters of a yard or more in thickness, and ranging in quality from mere carboniferous wood to anthracite. According to one authority these coal veins extend and spread themselves far in the interior. It appears that this coal has been more than once sent to California for trial, and that it was there pronounced a good article. Since then it has been mined by the company, not only for their own uses, but also for export to California. In making these statements I rely particularly upon Golowin in the *Archiv* of Erman, and also upon the elaborate work of Grewingk, in the Transactions of the Mineralogical Society of Petersburg for 1848 and 1849, (p. 112,) where will be found a special map of the Kenaian peninsula.

Gold is less important than coal, but its discovery produces more excitement. The report of gold in any quarter stimulates the emigrant or the adventurer who hopes to obtain riches swiftly. Nor is this distant region without such experience. Only a few years ago the British colony of Victoria was aroused by a rumor of gold in the mountains of the Stikine river, not far in the interior from Sitka. At once there was a race that way, and the solitudes of this river were penetrated by hunters in quest of the glittering ore. Discomfiture ensued. Gold had been found, but not in any sufficient quantities reasonably accessible. Nature for the present set up obstacles. But failure in one place will be no discouragement in another, especially as there is reason to believe that the mountains here contain a continuation of those auriferous deposits which have become so famous further south. The Sierra Nevada chain of California reaches here.

Traces of gold have been observed at other points. One report places a deposit not far from Sitka. The same writer, who reports iron there, also reports that during the last year he saw a piece of gold as large as a marble, which was shown by an Indian. But the Russian engineer, Doroschin, furnishes testimony more precise. He reports gold in at least three different localities, each of considerable extent. The first is the mountain range on the north of Cook's inlet and extending into Alaska, consisting principally of clay slate with permeating veins of Diorite, the latter being known as a gold-bearing rock. He observed this in the summer of 1851. About the same time certain Indians from the Bay of Jakutat, not far from Mount St. Elias, brought him specimens of Diorite found in their neighborhood, making, therefore, a second deposit. In the summer of 1855 the same engineer found gold on the southern side of Cook's inlet, in the mountains of the Kenay peninsula. Satisfying himself, first, that the bank occupied by the redoubt of St. Nicholas, at the mouth of the Kaknu river, is gold-bearing, he was induced to

follow the development of Diorite in the upper valley of the river, and as he ascended found a gold-bearing alluvion gradually increasing, with scales of gold becoming coarser and coarser, instead of being scarcely visible as at first.

It does not appear that the discoveries on Cook's inlet were pursued; but it is reported that the Hudson Bay Company, holding the country about the Bay of Jakutat under a lease from the Russian company, have found the Diorite in that neighborhood valuable. This incident has given rise to a recent controversy. Russian journals attacked the engineer for remissness in not exploring the Jakutat country. He has defended himself by setting out what he actually did in the way of discovery, and the essential difficulty at the time in doing more; all which will be found in a number just received of the work to which I have so often referred, the *Archiv von Russland* by Erman for 1866, volume 25, page 229.

Thus much for the mineral resources of this new-found country as they have been recognized at a few points on the extensive coast, leaving the vast unknown interior without a word.

Furs.

VI. I pass now to *Furs*, which at times have vied with minerals in value, although the supply is more limited and less permanent. Trappers are "miners" of the forest, seeking furs as others seek gold. The parallel continues also in the greed and oppression unhappily incident to the pursuit. A Russian officer who was one of the early visitors to this coast remarks that to his mind the only prospect of relief for the suffering natives "consists in the total extirpation of the animals of the chase," which he thought from the daily havoc must take place in a very few years. This was at the close of the last century. The trade still continues, though essentially diminished, an important branch of commerce.

Early in this commerce desirable furs were obtained in barter for a trifle, and when something of value was exchanged it was much out of proportion to the furs. This has been the case generally in dealing with the natives, until their eyes have been slowly opened. In Kamtschatka, at the beginning of the last century, half a dozen sables were obtained in exchange for a knife, and a dozen for a hatchet; and the Kamtschatkades wondered that their Cossack conquerors were willing to pay so largely for what seemed worth so little. Similar incidents on the northwest coast are reported by the early navigators. Cook mentions that in exchange for "beads" the Indians at Prince William sound "gave whatever they had, even their fine sea otter skins," which they prized no more than other skins, until it appeared how much they were prized by their visitors. Where there was no competition prices rose slowly, and many years after Cook the Russians at Kodiak, "in return for trinkets and tobacco," received twelve sea otter skins and fox skins of different kinds to the number of

near six hundred. These instances will show in a general way the spirit of this trade even to our own day. On the coast, and especially in the neighborhood of the factories, the difference in the value of furs is recognized, and a proportionate price is obtained, which Sir Edward Belcher found in 1837 to be "for a moderately good sea otter skin from six to seven blankets, increasing to thirteen for the best, together with sundry knickknacks." But in the interior it is otherwise. A recent resident in the region of the Youkon assures me that he has seen skins worth several hundred dollars bartered for goods worth only fifty cents.

Beside whalers and casual ships with which the Esquimaux are in the habit of dealing, the commerce in furs on both sides of the continent north of the United States has for a long time been in the hands of two corporations, being the Hudson Bay Company, with its directors in London, and the Russian American Company, with its directors in St. Petersburg. The former is much the older of the two, and has been the most flourishing. Its original members were none other than Prince Rupert, the Duke of Albemarle, Earl Craven, Lord Ashley, and other eminent associates, who received a charter from Charles II in 1670 to prosecute a search after a new passage to the South sea and to establish a trade in furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities in all those seas and in the British possessions north and west of Canada, with powers of government, the whole constituting a colossal monopoly, which stretched from Labrador and Baffin bay to an undefined west. At present this great corporation is known only as a fur company, to which all its powers are tributary. For some time its profits have been so considerable that it has been deemed advisable to hide them by nominal additions to the stock. With the extinction of the St. Petersburg corporation under the present treaty the London corporation will remain the only existing fur company on the continent, but necessarily restrained in its operation to British territory. It remains to be seen into whose hands the commerce on the Pacific side will fall now that this whole region will be open to the unchecked enterprise of our citizens.

This remarkable commerce began before the organization of the company. Its profits may be inferred from a voyage in 1772, described by Coxe, between Kamtschatka and the Aleutians. The tenth part of the skins being handed to the custom-house, the remainder was distributed in fifty-five shares, containing each twenty sea otters, sixteen black and brown foxes, ten red foxes, three sea otter tails, and these shares were sold on the spot at from eight hundred to one thousand rubles each, so that the whole lading brought about fifty thousand rubles. The cost of these may be inferred from the articles given in exchange. A Russian outfit, of which I find a contemporary record, was, among other things, "seven hundred weight of tobacco; one hundred weight of glass

heads; perhaps a dozen spare hatchets and a few superfluous knives, of very bad quality; an immense number of traps for foxes; a few hams; a little rancid butter." With such imports against such exports the profits must have been considerable.

From Langsdorf we have a general inventory of the furs at the beginning of the century in the principal magazine of the Russian company on the island of Kodiak, collected on the islands, the peninsula of Alaska, Cook's inlet, Prince William sound, and the continent generally. Here were "a great variety of the rarest kinds of fox skins," black, blackish, reddish, silver gray, and stone fox, the latter probably a species of the Arctic; brown and red bears, "the skins of which are of great value," and also the valuable black bear; the zisel marmot and the common marmot; the glutton; the lynx, chiefly of whitish gray; the reindeer; the beaver; the hairy hedgehog; the wool of a wild American sheep, which is fine, and very long, but he could never obtain sight of the animal that produced this wool; also "sea otters, once the principal source of wealth to the company, now nearly exterminated, a few hundreds only being annually collected." The same furs were reported by Cook as found on this coast in his day, including even the wild sheep. They all continue to be found, except that I hear nothing of any wild sheep save at a Sitka dinner.

There has been much exaggeration with regard to the profits of the Russian corporation. An English writer of authority calls them "immense," and adds that formerly they were much greater. I refer to the paper of Mr. Petermann, read before the Geographical Society of London in 1852. (*Journal*, vol. 22, p. 129.) The number of skins reported at times is prodigious, although this fails to reveal precisely the profits. For instance, Pribilow collected within two years on the islands north of Alaska, which bear his name, the skins of 2,000 sea otters, 6,000 dark ice foxes, 40,000 sea bears or ursine seals, together with 1,000 pounds of walrus ivory. The pound is a Russian weight of thirty-six pounds. Lütke mentions that in 1803 no less than 800,000 skins of the ursine seal were accumulated in the factory at Omalaska, of which 700,000 were thrown into the sea, partly because they were badly prepared and partly in order to keep up the price, thus imitating the Dutch, who for the same reason burnt their spices. Another estimate masses the collection for a series of years. From 1787 to 1817, for only a part of which time the company existed, the Omalaska district yielded upwards of 2,500,000 seal skins; and from 1817 to 1838, during all which time the company was in power, the same district yielded 570,000 seal skins. Assuming what is improbable, that these skins were sold at twenty-five rubles each, some calculating genius has ciphered out the sum-total of proceeds at more than eighty-five million rubles; or, calling the ruble seventy-five cents, a sum-total of more than sixty-three

million dollars. Clearly the latter years can show no approximation to any such doubtful result.

Descending from these lofty figures, which if not exaggerations are at least generalities and relate partly to the earlier periods, before the time of the company, we shall have a better idea of the commerce if we look at authentic reports for special periods of time. Admiral Von Wrangel, who was for so long governor, must have been well informed. According to statements in his work, adopted also by Wapkins in his *Geographie*, the company from 1826 to 1833, a period of seven years, exported the skins of the following animals: 9,853 sea otters, with 8,751 sea otter tails, 40,000 river beavers, 6,242 river or land otters, 5,233 black foxes, 7,759 black bellied foxes, 1,633 red foxes, 24,000 polar foxes, 1,000 lynxes, 559 wolverines, 2,976 sables, 4,335 swamp otters, 69 wolves, 1,231 bears, 505 muskrats, 132,160 seals, 320 pounds of whalebone, 1,400 pounds of walrus ivory, and 7,122 sacks of castoreum. What was their value does not appear. Sir George Simpson, the governor-in-chief of the Hudson Bay Company, who was at Sitka in 1841, represents the returns of the company for that year as follows: 10,000 fur seals, 1,000 sea otters, 2,500 land otters, and 20,000 walrus teeth, without including foxes and martens. There is still one other report for the year 1852, as follows: 1,231 sea otters, 120 young sea otters, 2,948 common otters, 14,486 fur seals, 107 bears, 13,300 beavers, 2 wolves, 458 sables, 213 lynxes, 163 moleskins, 1,504 bags of castoreum, 654 black foxes, 1,500 cross foxes, 5,174 red foxes, 2,359 blue Arctic foxes, 355 white Arctic foxes, and also 31 foxes called white, perhaps Albinos.

Besides these reports for special years, I am enabled to present from the Russian tables of Captain Golovin another, covering the period from 1842 to 1860, including being as follows: 25,602 sea otters, 62,826 "otters," probably river otters, 161,642 beavers, 73,944 foxes, 55,540 Arctic foxes, 2,283 bears, 6,445 lynxes, 26,584 sables, 19,076 muskrats, 2,536 ursine seals, 338,601 marsh otters, 712 "pairs of hare," 451 martens, 104 wolves, 46,274 castoreums, 7,300 beavers' tails. Here is an inexplicable absence of seal skins. On the other hand, sables, which belong to Asia and not to America, are mentioned. The list is Russian, and perhaps embraces furs from the Asiatic islands of the company.

From a competent source I learn that the value of skins at Sitka during the last year was substantially as follows: sea otter, \$50; marten, \$4; beaver, \$2.50; bear, \$1.50; black fox, \$50; silver fox, \$40; cross fox, \$25; red fox, \$2. A recent Price Current in New York gives the prices there in currency, as follows: silver fox, \$10 to \$20; cross fox, \$3 to \$5; red fox \$1 to \$1.50; otter, \$3 to \$6; mink, \$3 to \$6; beaver, \$1 to \$4; muskrat, \$6 to fifty cents; lynx, \$2 to \$4; black bear, \$2 to \$12; dark marten, \$5 to \$20. These New York

prices vary from those of Sitka. The latter will be the better guide to a comprehension of the proceeds at Sitka, which of course must be subject to deduction for the expenses of the company. Of the latter I say nothing now as I have considered them in speaking of the existing government.

The skins, it appears, are obtained in three different ways: first, through the hunters employed by the company; secondly, in payment of taxes imposed by the company; and thirdly, by barter or purchase from independent natives. But with all these sources it is certain that the Russian company has enjoyed no success comparable to that of its British rival; and still more, there is reason to believe that latterly its profits have not been large.

Amid all the concealment or obscurity which prevail with regard to the revenues of the company, it is easy to see that for some time there must be a large amount of valuable fur on this coast. The bountiful solitudes of the forest and of the adjoining waters have not yet been exhausted; nor will they be until civilization has supplied substitutes. Such, indeed, is a part of that humane law of compensation which contributes so much to the general harmony. For the present there will be trappers on the land, who will turn aside only a little from its prizes there to obtain from the sea its otter, seal, and walrus. It cannot be irrelevant, and may not be without interest, if I call your attention briefly to these fur-bearing animals, which are about to be brought within the sphere of republican government. If we cannot find their exact census we may at least learn something of their character and value.

The comparative poverty of vegetation in the more northern parts of the continent contrasts with the abundance of animal life, especially if we embrace those tenants of the sea who seek the land for rest. These northern parallels are hardly less productive than the tropics. The lion, the elephant, and the hippopotamus find their counterpart in the bear, the walrus, and the seal, without including the sables and the foxes. Here again nature by an unerring law adapts the animal to the climate, and in providing him with needful protection creates also a needful supply for the protection of man; and this is the secret of rich furs. Under the sun of the tropics such provision is as little needed by man as by beast, and therefore nature, which does nothing inconsistent with a wise economy, reserves it for other places.

Among the furs most abundant in this commerce are those of the *Fox*, in its different species and under its different names. Its numbers were noticed very early, and gave the name to the eastern group of the Aleutians, which were called *Lyssie Ostrova*, or *Fox islands*. Some of its furs are among the very precious. The most plentiful is the *Red*, or as it is sometimes called *American*; but this fur is not highly prized. Then comes the *Arctic*, of little value, and of different colors, sometimes blue, and in full winter dress pure white, whose

circumpolar home is indicated by his name. The *Cross Fox* is less known, but much more sought from the fineness of its fur and its color. Its name is derived from dark cruciform stripes, extending from the head to the back and at right angles over the shoulders. It is now recognized to be a variety of the *red*, from which it differs more in commercial value than in general character. The *Black Fox*, which is sometimes entirely of shining black with silver white at the tip of the tail, is called also the *Silver Fox*, when the black hairs of the body are tipped with white. They are of the same name in science, sometimes called *Argentatus*, although there seem to be two different names, if not different values, in commerce. This variety is more rare than the *Cross Fox*. Not more than four or five are taken during a season at any one post in the fur countries, although the hunters use every art for this purpose. The temptation is great, as we are told that "its fur fetches six times the price of any other fur produced in North America." Sir John Richardson, who is the authority for this statement, forgot the *Sea Otter*, of which he seems to have known little. Without doubt the *Black Fox* is admired for its rarity and beauty. La Hontan, the French commander in Canada under Louis XIV, speaks of its fur in his time as worth its weight in gold.

Among the animals whose furs are less regarded are the *Wolverine*, known in science as *gulo* or *glutton*, and called by Buffon the quadruped vulture, with a dark-brown fur, which becomes black in winter, and resembles that of the bear, but is not so long nor of so much value. There is also the *Lynx*, belonging to the feline race, living north of the great lakes and eastward of the Rocky mountains, with a fur moderately prized in commerce. There is also the *Muskrat*, which is abundant in Russian America, as it is common on this continent, whose fur enters largely into the cheaper peltries of the United States in so many different ways, and with such various artificial colors, that the animal would not know his own skin.

Among inferior furs I may include that very respectable animal, the *Black Bear*, reported by Cook "in great numbers and of a shiny black color." The *Grizzly Bear* is less frequent and is inferior in quality of fur to all the varieties of the bear. The *Brown Bear* is supposed to be a variety of the *Black Bear*. The *Polar Bear*, which at times is a formidable animal, leaving a foot-print in the snow nine inches long, was once said not to make an appearance west of the Mackenzie river, but he has been latterly found on Behring straits, so that he, too, is included among our new population. The *Black Bear*, in himself a whole population, inhabits every wooded district from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Carolina to the ice of the Arctic, becoming more numerous inland than on the coast. Langsdorf early remarked that he did not appear on the Aleutians, but on the continent, near Cook's inlet

and Prince William sound, which are well wooded. He has been found even on the isthmus of Panama. Next to the dog he is the most cosmopolitan and perhaps the most intelligent of animals, and among those of the forest he is the most known, even to the nursery. His showy fur once enjoyed great vogue in hamercloths and muffs, and it is still used in military caps and pistol holsters; so that he is sometimes called the Army Bear. Latterly the fur has fallen in value. Once it brought in London from twenty to forty guineas. It will now hardly bring more than that same number of shillings.

The *Beaver*, amphibious and intelligent, has a considerable place in commerce, and also a notoriety of its own as the familiar synonym for the common covering of a man's head, and here the animal becomes historic. By royal proclamation in 1638 Charles I of England prohibited the use of any material in the manufacture of hats "except beaver stuff or beaver wool." This proclamation was the death warrant of beavers innumerable, sacrificed to the demands of the trade. Wherever they existed over a wide extent of country, in the shelter of forests or in lodges built by their extraordinary instinct, they were pursued and arrested in their busy work. The importation of their skins into Europe during the last century was enormous, and it continued until one year it is said to have reached the unaccountable number of six hundred thousand. I give these figures as I find them. Latterly other materials have been obtained for hats, so that this fur has become less valuable. But the animal is still hunted. A medicine supplied by him, and known as the *Castoreum*, has a fixed place in the *Materia Medica*.

The *Marten* is perhaps the most popular of all the fur-bearing animals that belong to our new possessions. An inhabitant of the whole wooded region of the continent, he finds a favorite home in the cold forests of the Youkon, where he needs his beautiful fur, which is not much inferior to that of his near relative, the far-famed Russian sable. In the trade of the Hudson Bay Company the Marten occupies the largest place, his skins for a single district amounting to more than fifty thousand annually, and being sometimes sold as sable. The *Ermine*, which is of the same Weasel family, is of little value except for its captivating name, although its fur finds its way to the English market in enormous quantities. The Mink, also of the same general family, was once little regarded, but now, by a freak of fashion in our country, this animal has ascended in value above the Beaver, and almost to the level of the Marten. His fur is plentiful on the Youkon and along the coast. Specimens in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution attest its occurrence at Sitka.

The *Seal*, amphibious, polygamous, and intelligent as the beaver, has always supplied the largest multitude of furs to the Russian Company. The early navigators describe its

appearance and numbers. Cook encountered them constantly. Excellent swimmers, ready divers, they seek rocks and recesses for repose, where, though watchful and never sleeping long without moving, they become the prey of the hunter. Early in the century there was a wasteful destruction of them. Young and old, male and female, were indiscriminately knocked on the head for the sake of their skins. Sir George Simpson, who saw this improvidence with an experienced eye, says that it was hurtful in two ways: first, the race was almost exterminated; and secondly, the market was glutted sometimes with as many as two hundred thousand a year, so that prices did not pay the expense of carriage. The Russians were led to adopt the plan of the Hudson Bay Company, killing only a limited number of males who have attained their full growth, which can be done easily, from the known and systematic habits of the animal. Under this economy seals have multiplied again, vastly increasing the supply.

Besides the common seal there are various species, differing in appearance, so as to justify different names, and yet all with a family character, including the sea leopard, so named from his spots; the elephant seal, from his tusks and proboscis; and the sea lion, with teeth, mane, and a thick cylindrical body. These are of little value, although their skins are occasionally employed. The skin of the elephant seal is strong, so as to justify its use in the harness of horses. There is also the sea bear, or *Ursine Seal*, very numerous in these waters, whose skin, especially if young, is prized for clothing. Steller speaks with grateful remembrance of a garment which he made from one while on the desert island after the shipwreck of Behring.

Associated with the seal, and belonging to the same family, is the *Walrus*, called by the British the sea-horse, the morse or the sea-cow, and by the French *Bête à la Grande Dent*. His two tusks, rather than his skin, are the prize of the hunter. Unlike the rest of the seal family, he is monogamous and not polygamous. Cook vividly describes an immense herd asleep on the ice, with one of their number on guard, and when aroused roaring and baying aloud, while they huddled and tumbled together like swine. At times their multitude is so great that before being aroused several hundreds are slaughtered, as game in a park. Their hide is excellent for carriage braces, and is useful about ship. But it is exclusively for their ivory that these hecatombs are sacrificed. A single tooth weighs sometimes several pounds. Twenty thousand teeth reported as an annual harvest of the Russian Company must cost the lives of ten thousand walruses. The ivory compares with that of the elephant, and is for some purposes superior. Long ago, in the days of Saxon history, a Norwegian at the court of Alfred exhibited to the king "teeth of price and excellency" from what he called a horse whale. Unquestionably these were teeth of walrus.

I mention the *Sea Otter* last; but in beauty and value it is the first. In these respects it far surpasses the river or land otter, which though beautiful and valuable must yield the palm. It has also more the manners of the seal, with its fondness for sea-washed rocks, and with a maternal affection almost human. The *Sea Otter* seems to belong exclusively to the north Pacific. Its haunts once extended as far as the bay of San Francisco; but long ago it ceased to appear in that southern region. Cook saw it at Nootka sound. Vancouver reports it at Chatham strait "in immense numbers, so that it was easily in the power of the natives to procure as many as they chose to be at the trouble of taking." But these navigators, could they revisit this coast, would not find it in these places now. Its present zone is between the parallels of 60° and 65° north latitude on the American and Asiatic coasts, so that its range is very limited. Evidently it was Cook who first revealed the *Sea Otter* to Englishmen. In the table of contents of his third voyage are the words, *Description of the Sea Otter*; and in the pages that follow there is a minute account of this animal, and especially of its incomparable fur, which is pronounced "certainly softer and finer than that of any other we know of." Not content with description the famous navigator adds in remarkable words, "therefore, the discovery of this part of North America, where so valuable an article of commerce may be met with, cannot be a matter of indifference." These words stimulated the commercial enterprise of that day. Other witnesses followed. Meares, describing his voyage to this coast, placed this fur high above all other furs; "the finest in the world, and of exceeding beauty," and La Pérouse made it known in France as "peltry the most precious and common in those seas." Shortly afterwards all existing information with regard to it was elaborately set forth in the *Historical Introduction to the Voyages of Marchand*, published at Paris under the auspices of the Institute.

The *Sea Otter* was known originally to the Russians in Kamtschatka, where it was called the sea beaver; but the discoveries of Behring constitute an epoch in the commerce. His shipwrecked crew, compelled to winter on the desert island which now bears his name, found this animal in flocks, ignorant of men and innocent as sheep, so that they were slaughtered without resistance to the number of more than eight hundred. Their value became known. Fabulous prices were paid by the Chinese, sometimes, according to Cox, as high as one hundred and forty rubles. At such a price a single *Sea Otter* was more than an ounce of gold, and a flock was a gold mine. The pursuit of gold was renewed. It was the *Sea Otter* that tempted the navigator, and subsequent discovery was under the incentive of obtaining the precious fur. Müller, calling him a beaver, says in his history of Russian Discovery, "the catching of beavers enticed many people to go to these parts, and they never returned with-

out great quantities, which always produced large prices." All that could be obtained were sent to China, which was the objective point commercially for this whole coast. The trade became a fury. Wherever the animal with exquisite purple-black fur appeared he was killed; not always without effort, for he had learned something of his huntsman and was now coy and watchful, so that his pursuit was often an effort, but his capture was always a triumph. The natives, who had been accustomed to his furs as clothing, surrendered them. Sometimes a few beads were their only pay. All the navigators speak of the unequal barter. "Any sort of beads" were enough, according to Cook. The story is best told by Meares who says "such as were dressed in furs instantly stripped themselves, and in return for a moderate quantity of spike nails we received sixty-five sea otter skins." Vancouver describes the "humble fashion" of the natives in poor skins as a substitute for the beautiful furs appropriated by their "Russian friends." The picture is completed by the Russian navigator when he confesses that "after the Russians had any intercourse with them" the natives ceased to wear *Sea Otter* skins. In the growing rage the *Sea Otter* nearly disappeared. Langsdorf reports them as "nearly extirpated, since the high prices for them induces the Russians for a momentary advantage to kill all they meet with, both old and young. Nor can they see that by such a procedure they must soon be deprived of the trade entirely." This was in 1804. Since then the indiscriminate massacre has been arrested.

Meanwhile our countrymen entered into this commerce, so that Russians, Englishmen, and Americans were all engaged in slaughtering *Sea Otters* and selling their furs to the Chinese until the market of Canton was glutted. Lisiansky, on his arrival there, found "immense quantities in American ships." By and by the commerce was engrossed by the Russians and English. And now it passes into the hands of the United States with all the other prerogatives belonging to this territory.

Fisheries.

VII. I come now to the *Fisheries*, the last head of this inquiry, and not inferior to any other in importance; perhaps the most important of all. What even are *Sea Otter* skins by the side of that product of the sea, incalculable in amount, which contributes to the sustenance of the human family?

Here, as elsewhere, in the endeavor to estimate the resources of this region, there is vagueness and uncertainty. Information at least is wanting; and yet we are not entirely ignorant. Nothing is clearer than that fish in great abundance are taken everywhere on the coast, around the islands, in the bays, and throughout the adjacent seas. On this head the evidence is constant and complete. Here are oysters, clams, crabs, and a dainty little fish of the herring tribe called the oolachan,

contributing to the luxury of the table, and so rich in its oily nature that the natives are said to use it sometimes as a "candle." Besides these, which I name now only to put aside, are three great staples of commerce and mainstays of daily subsistence, the Salmon, the Herring, the Halibut, the Cod, and behind all the Whale. This short list is enough, for it offers a constant feast, with the Whale at hand for light. Here is the best that the sea affords for the poor or the rich; for daily use or for the fast days of the church. Here also is a sure support at least to the inhabitants of the coast.

But in order to determine the value of this supply we must go further and ascertain if these various tribes of fish, reputed to be in such numbers, are found under such conditions and in such places as to constitute a permanent and profitable fishery. This is the practical question, which is still undecided. It will not be enough to show that the whole coast may be subsisted by its fish. It should be shown further that the fish of this coast can be made to subsist other places, so as to become a valuable article of commerce. And here uncertainty begins. The proper conditions of an extensive fishery are not yet understood. It is known that certain fisheries exist in certain waters and on certain soundings, but the spaces of ocean are obscure, even to the penetrating eye of science. Fishing banks known for ages are still in many respects a mystery, which is increased where the fishery is recent or only coastwise. There are other banks, which fail from local incidents. Thus very lately a Cod fishery was commenced on Rochdale bank, sixty-five miles northwest of the Hebrides; but the deep rolling of the Atlantic and the intolerable weather compelled its abandonment.

Before proceeding to consider the capacity of this region for an extensive fishery it is important to know such evidence as exists with regard to the supply, and here again we must resort to the early navigators and visitors. Their evidence, reinforced by modern reports, is an essential element, even if it does not entirely determine the question.

Down to the arrival of Europeans on this coast the natives lived on fish. This had been their constant food, with small additions from the wild vegetation of the country. In summer it was fish freshly caught; in winter it was fish dried or preserved. At the first landing on the discovery Steller found in the deserted cellar which he visited "store of red salmon," and the sailors brought away "smoked fishes that appeared like carp and tasted very well." This is the earliest notice of fish on this coast, which are thus directly associated with its discovery. The next of interest which appears is the account of a Russian navigator in 1765, who reports on the Fox islands, and especially Ounalaska, "Cod, perch, pilchards, smelts." Thus early Cod appears.

If we repair to Cook's Voyages we shall find the accustomed instruction, and here I shall quote with all possible brevity. At Nootka

sound, he reports fish "more plentiful than birds," of which the principal sorts in great numbers were "the common Herring, but scarcely exceeding seven inches in length, and a smaller sort, the same with the anchovy or sardine," and now and then "a small brownish Cod, spotted with white." Then again, he reports at the same place "Herrings and sardines and small Cod," the former "not only eaten fresh, but likewise dried and smoked." In Prince William sound he reports that "the only fish got were some torsk and Halibut, chiefly brought by the natives to sell." Near Kodiak he reports that "having three hours calm his people caught upward of a hundred Halibuts, some of which weighed a hundred pounds, and none less than twenty pounds," and he adds, naturally enough, "a very seasonable refreshment." In Bristol bay, on the northern side of Alaska, he reports "tolerable success in fishing, catching Cod, and now and then a few flat-fish." In Norton sound, still further north, he reports that in exchange for four knives made from an old iron hoop he obtained of the natives "near four hundred pounds weight of fish caught on this or the preceding day; some trout, and the rest in size and taste between the mullet and a Herring." On his return southward, stopping at Ounalaska, he reports "plenty of fish, at first mostly Salmon, both fresh and dried; some of the salmon in high perfection; also salmon, trout, and once a Halibut that weighed two hundred and fifty-four pounds," and in describing the habits of the islanders he reports that "they dry large quantities of fish in summer, which they lay up in small huts for winter's use." Such is the testimony of Captain Cook.

No experience on the coast is more instructive than that of Portlock, and from his report I compile a succinct diary. July 20, 1786, at Graham's harbor, Cook's inlet: "The Russian chief brought me as a present a quantity of fine Salmon, sufficient to serve both ships for one day." July 21: "In several hauls caught about thirty Salmon and a few flat-fish;" also further, "The Russian settlement had on one side a small lake of fresh water, on which plenty of fine Salmon were caught." July 22: "The boat returned deeply loaded with fine Salmon." July 28, latitude 60° 03': "Two small canoes came off; they had nothing to barter but a few dried Salmon." July 30: "Plenty of excellent fresh Salmon obtained for beads and buttons." August 3: "Plenty of fine Salmon." August 9, at Cook's inlet: "The greatest abundance of fine Salmon." August 13: "Hereabouts would be most desirable situation for carrying on a Whale fishery, the whales being on the coast and close in shore in vast numbers, and there being convenient and excellent harbors quite handy for the business." After these entries the English navigator left the coast for the Sandwich islands.

Returning during the next year, Portlock continued to record his observations, which I

abstract in brief. May 21, 1787. Port Etches, latitude 60° 21': "The harbor affords very fine crabs and muscles." June 4: "A few Indians came alongside, bringing some *Hollobut* and *Cod*." June 20: "Plenty of flounders, crabs also plenty and fine. Several fishing alongside for flounders caught *Cod* and *Hollobut*." June 22: "Sent the canoe out some distance in the bay, and it soon returned with a *fine load of Cod and Hollobut*. This induced me to send her out frequently with a fishing party, and they caught considerably more than was sufficient for daily consumption." June 30: "In hauling the seine caught a large quantity of *Herrings* and some *Salmon*; the *Herrings*, though small, were very good, and *two large heads of them were sold for sea store*." July 7: "We daily caught *large quantities of Salmon*, but, the unsettled state of the weather not permitting us to cure them on board, sent the boatswain with a party on shore to build a house to smoke them in." July 11: "The seine was frequently hauled, and *not less than two thousand fish were caught at each haul*. The weather, however, preventing us from curing them as well as could have been wished, we kept only a sufficient quantity for present use and let the rest escape. The *Salmon* were now in such numbers along the shores that any quantity whatever might be caught with the greatest ease." All this testimony of the English navigator is singularly explicit, while it is in complete harmony with that of the Russian visitors and of Cook, who preceded.

The report of Meares is similar, although less minute. Speaking of the natives generally he says "they live entirely upon fish, but of all others they prefer the Whale." Then again, going into more detail, he says "vast quantities of fish are to be found, both on the coast, and in the sounds or harbors. Among these are the *Hollobut*, *Herring*, sardine, silver-beam, salmon, trout, *Cod*, all of which we have seen in the possession of the natives, or have been caught by ourselves." The *Herrings* he describes as taken in such numbers "that a whole village has not been able to cleanse them." At Nootka the *Salmon* was of a very delicate flavor, and "the *Cod* taken by the natives of the best quality." French testimony is not wanting, although it is less precise. The early navigator, who was on the coast in 1779, remarks that "the fish most abundant is the *Salmon*." La Pérouse, who was there in 1787, mentions a large fish weighing sometimes more than a hundred pounds, and several other fish, but he preferred "the *Salmon and Trout*, which the Indians sold in large numbers than could be consumed." A similar report was made by Marchand, the other French navigator, who finds the sea and rivers abounding in "excellent fish," particularly *Salmon and Trout*.

Afterwards came the Russian navigator Billings in 1792: and here we have a similar report, only different in form. Describing the natives of Ounalaska the book in which this visit is recorded says "they dry *Salmon, Cod, and Hollobut* for a winter supply." At Kodiak

it says "Whales are in amazing numbers about the straits of the islands and in the vicinity of Kodiak." Then again the reporter, who was the naturalist Sauer, says "I observed the same species of *Salmon* here as at Okhotsk, and saw crabs." Then again, "the *Hollobuts* in these seas are extremely large, some weighing seventeen pounds, or six hundred and twelve pounds avoirdupois. The liver of this fish, as also of *Cod*, the natives deem unhealthy and never eat, but extract the oil from them." Then again, returning to Ounalaska, the reporter says "the other fish are *Hollobut, Cod, two or three species of Salmon*, and sometimes one very common in Kamtschatka between four and five feet long."

From Lisiansky, another Russian navigator, who was on the coast in 1804, I take two passages. The first relates to the fish of Sitka. "For some time," he says, "we had been able to catch no fish but the *Hollobut*. Those of the species which we caught were fine, some weighing eighteen stone, and were of an excellent flavor. This fish abounds here from March to November, when it retires from the coast till the winter is at an end." The other passage relates to the subsistence of the inhabitants during the winter. "They live," he says, "on *dried Salmon*, train oil, and the spawn of fish, especially that of *Herrings*, of which they always lay in a good stock."

Langsdorf, who was there at the same time, is more full and explicit. Of Ounalaska he says, "The principal food consists of fish, sea dogs, and the flesh of whales. Among the fish the most common and most abundant are *several sorts of Salmon, Cod, Herrings, and Hollobut*. The *hollobuts*, which are the sort held in the highest esteem, are sometimes of an enormous size, weighing even several hundred pounds." Then again of Kodiak he says, "the most common fish, those which *fish and dog* constitute a principal article of food, are *Herrings, Cod, Hollobut, and several sorts of Salmon*; the latter are taken in *prodigious numbers* by means of nets or dams." Of Sitka he says, "we have several sorts of *Salmon, Hollobut, whittings, Cod, and Herrings*." A goodly variety.

Lütke, also a Russian, tells us that he found fish the standing dish at Sitka from the humblest servant to the governor, and he mentions *Salmon, Herrings, Cod, and Turbot*. Of *Salmon* there are no less than four kinds, which were eaten fresh when possible, but after June they were sent to the fortress salted. The *Herrings* appeared in February and March. The *Cod* and *Turbot* were caught in the straits during winter. Lütke also reports "fresh *Cod*" at Kodiak.

I close this abstract of foreign testimony by two English authorities often quoted. Sir Edward Belcher, while on this coast in 1837, records that "fish, *Hollobut, and Salmon* of two kinds were abundant and moderate, of which the crews purchased and cured great quantities." Sir George Simpson, who was at Sitka in 1841, says "*Hollobut, Cod, Herrings, floun-*

ders, and many other sorts of fish are always to be had for the taking in unlimited quantities. Salmon have been known literally to embarrass the movements of a canoe. About one hundred thousand of this fish, equivalent to fifteen hundred barrels, are annually salted for the use of the establishment." Nothing could be stronger as statement, and when we consider the character of its author nothing could be stronger as authority.

Cumulative upon all this accumulation of testimony is that of recent visitors. Nobody visits this coast without testifying. The fish are so demonstrative in their abundance that all remark it. Officers of the United States Navy report the same fish substantially which Cook reported as far north as the Frozen ocean. Scientific explorers, prompted by the Smithsonian Institution, report Cod in Behring straits, on the limits of the Arctic Circle. One of these reports, that while anchored near Ounimak in 1865 the ship, with a couple of lines, caught "a great many fine Cod, most of them between two and three feet in length." He supposes that there is no place on the coast where they are not numerous. A citizen of Massachusetts, who has recently returned from a prolonged residence on this coast, writes me from Boston, under date of March 8, 1867, that "the Whale and Cod fisheries of the north Pacific are destined to form a very important element in the wealth of California and Washington Territory, and that already numbers of fishermen are engaged there and more are intending to leave." From all this testimony there can be but one conclusion with regard to least to certain kinds of fish.

Salmon exist in unequaled numbers, so that this fish, so aristocratic elsewhere, becomes common enough. Not merely the prize of epicures, it is the food of all. Not merely the pastime of gentle natures, like Isaac Walton or Humphrey Davy, who employ in its pursuit an elegant leisure, its capture is the daily reward of the humblest. On Vancouver's island it is the constant ration given out by the Hudson Bay Company to the men in their service. At Sitka ships are supplied with it gratuitously by the natives. By the side of the incalculable multitudes swarming out of the Arctic waters, haunting this extended coast, and peopling its rivers, so that at a single haul Portlock took not less than two thousand, how small an allowance are the two hundred thousand which the Salmon Fisheries of England annually supply.

Herring seem to be not less multitudinous than the Salmon. Their name, derived from the German *heer*, signifying an army, is amply verified. As on the coast of Norway they move in such hosts at times that a boat makes its way with difficulty through the compact mass. I do not speak at a venture; for I have received this incident from a scientific gentleman who witnessed it on the coast. This fish, less aristocratic than the Salmon, is a universal food; but here it would seem to be enough for all.

The *Halibut*, which is so often mentioned for its size and abundance, is less generally

known than the others. It is common in the Fisheries of Norway, Iceland, and Greenland. In our country its reputation is local. Even at the seaport of Norfolk, in Virginia, it does not appear to have been known before 1843, when its arrival was announced as that of a distinguished stranger: "Our market yesterday morning was enriched with a delicacy from the northern waters, the Halibut—a strange fish in these parts, known only to epicures and naturalists." The larger fish are sometimes coarse and far from delicate, but they furnish a substantial meal, while the smaller Halibut is much liked.

The *Cod* is perhaps the most generally diffused and abundant of all, for it swims in all the waters of this coast from the Frozen ocean to the southern limit, and in some places it is in immense numbers. It is a popular fish, and when cured or salted is an excellent food in all parts of the world. Palatable, digestible, and nutritious, the Cod, as compared with other fish, is as beef compared with other meats, so that its incalculable multitudes seem to be according to a wise economy of nature. A female Cod is estimated to contain 3,400,000 eggs. Talk of multiplication a hundredfold. Here it is to infinity. Imagine these million eggs grown into fish, and then the process of reproduction repeated, and you have numbers which, like astronomical distances, are beyond human conception. But here the ravenous powers of other fish are more destructive than any efforts of the fisherman.

Behind all these is the *Whale*, whose corporal dimensions fitly represent the space which he occupies in the Fisheries of the world, hardly diminished by petroleum or gas. On this extended coast and in all these seas he is at home. Here is his retreat and play-ground. This is especially the case with the Right Whale, or, according to whalers, the "right whale to catch," with his bountiful supply of oil and bone, who is everywhere throughout this region, appearing at all points and swarming its waters. At times they are very large. Kotzebue reports them at Ounalaska of fabulous proportions, called by the natives Aliamak, and so long "that people engaged at the opposite end of the fish must halloo very loud to be able to understand each other." There is another whale known as the Bow-Head, which is so much about Kodiak that it is sometimes called the Kodiak whale. The valuable Sperm Whale, whose head and hunch are so productive in spermaceti, belongs to a milder sea, but he sometimes strays to the Aleutians. The Nar-whal, with his two long tusks of ivory, out of which was made the famous throne of the early Danish kings, belongs to the Frozen ocean; but he, too, strays into the straits below. As no sea is now *mare clausum*, all these may be pursued by a ship under any flag, except directly on the coast and within its territorial limit. And yet it seems as if the possession of this coast as a commercial base must necessarily give to its people peculiar advantages in this pursuit. What is now done under difficulties

will be done then with facilities, such at least as neighborhood supplied to the natives even with their small craft.

In our country the Whale Fishery has been a great and prosperous commerce, counted by millions. It has yielded very considerable gains, and sometimes large fortunes. The town of New Bedford, one of the most beautiful in the world, has been enriched by this Fishery, and yet you cannot fail to remark the impediments which the business has been compelled to overcome. The ship has been fitted on the Atlantic coast for a voyage of two or three years, and all the crew have entered into a partnership with regard to the oil. Traversing two oceans, separated by a stormy cape, it reaches its distant destination at last in these northern seas, and commences its tardy work, interrupted by occasional rest and opportunity to refit at the Sandwich islands. This now will be changed, as the ship sallies forth from friendly harbors near the game which is its mighty chase.

From the Whale Fishery I turn to another branch of inquiry. Undoubtedly there are infinite numbers of fish on this coast: but in order to determine whether they can constitute a permanent and profitable Fishery there are at least three different considerations which must not be disregarded. (1.) The existence of banks or soundings. (2.) Proper climatic conditions for catching and curing the fish. (3.) A market.

(1.) The necessity of banks or soundings is according to reason. Fish are not caught in the deep ocean. It is their nature to seek the bottom, where they are found in some way by the fisherman, armed with trawl, seine, or hook. As among the ancient Romans private luxury provided tanks and ponds for the preservation of fish, so nature provides banks, which are only *immense fish-preserves*. Soundings attest their existence in a margin along the coast: but it becomes important to know if they actually exist to much extent away from the coast. On this point our information is already considerable, if not decisive.

The sea and straits of Behring as far as the Frozen ocean have been surveyed by a Naval Expedition of the United States under Commander John Rogers. From one of his charts now before me it appears that, beginning at the Frozen ocean and descending through Behring straits and Behring sea, embracing Kotzebue sound, Norton bay, and Bristol bay, to the peninsula of Alaska, a distance of more than twelve degrees, there are constant uninterrupted soundings from twenty to fifty fathoms, thus presenting an immense extent proper in this respect for fishery. The famous Dogger bank, between England and Holland, teeming with Cod and constituting an inexhaustible fishing ground, has ninety fathoms of water. South of Alaska another chart shows soundings along the coast, with a considerable extent of bank in the neighborhood of the Shumagins and Kodiak, being precisely where all the evidence shows the existence of Cod. These banks, north and south of Alaska, taken to-

gether, according to the indications of the two charts, have an extent unsurpassed by any other in the world.

There is another illustration full of instruction. It is a map of the world, in the new work of Murray on Mammals, "showing approximately the one hundred fathom line of soundings," prepared from information furnished by the Hydrographic Department of the British Admiralty. Here are all the soundings of the world. At a glance you discern the remarkable line on the Pacific coast, beginning at 40° of latitude and widening constantly in a northwesterly direction; then with a gentle concave to the coast, stretching from Sitka to the Aleutians, which it envelops with a wide margin; and then embracing and covering Behring straits to the Frozen ocean; the whole space, as indicated on the map, seeming like an immense unbroken sea meadow adjoining the land, and constituting plainly the largest extent of soundings in length and breadth known in the world, larger even than those of Newfoundland added to those of Great Britain. This map, which has been prepared by a scientific authority, simply in the interest of science, is an unimpeachable and disinterested witness.

Actual experience is better authority still. I learn that the people of California have already found Cod banks in these seas, and not deterred by distance have begun to gather a harvest. In 1866 no less than seventeen vessels left San Francisco for Cod Fishery on the Asiatic coast. This was a long voyage, requiring eighty days in going and returning. On the way better grounds were discovered among the Aleutians, with a better fish; and then again, other fishing grounds, better in every way, were discovered south of Alaska, in the neighborhood of the Shumagins, with an excellent harbor at hand. Here one vessel began its work on the 14th May, and notwithstanding stormy weather finished it on the 24th July, having taken fifty-two thousand fish. The largest catch in a single day was twenty-three hundred. The average weight of the fish dried was three pounds. Old fishermen compared the fish in taking and quality with that of Newfoundland. Large profits are anticipated. While fish from the Atlantic side bring at San Francisco not less than twelve cents a pound it is supposed that Shumagin fish at only eight cents a pound will yield a better return than the coasting trade. It remains to be seen if these flattering reports are confirmed by further experience.

From an opposite quarter is other confirmation. Here is a letter, which I have just received from Charles Bryant, Esq., at present a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, but for eighteen years acquainted with these seas, where he was engaged in the Whale Fishery. After mentioning the timber at certain places as a reason for the acquisition of these possessions, he says:

"But the chiefest value, and this alone is worth more than the pittance asked for it, consists in it-

extensive Cod and Halibut fish grounds. To the eastward of Kodiak or Aleutian islands are extensive banks or shoals nearly if not quite equal in extent to the coast of Newfoundland, and as well stocked with fish. Also west of the Aleutian islands, which extend from Alaska southwest half way to Kamtschatka, and inclosing that part of Land laid down as Bristol bay, and west of it, is an extensive area of sea varying from forty fathoms in depth to twenty, where I have found the supply of codfish and halibut untailing. These islands furnish good harbors for curing and preparing fish, as well as shelter in storm."

In another letter Mr. Bryant says that the shoals east of the entrance to Cook's inlet widen as they extend southward to latitude 50°; and that there are also large shoals south of Prince William sound, and again off Cross sound and Sitka. The retired ship-master adds that he never examined these shoals to ascertain their exact limits, but only incidentally, in the course of his regular business, that he might know when and where to obtain fish if he wished them. His report goes beyond any charts of soundings which I have seen, although the charts are coincident with it as far as they go. Cook particularly notices soundings in Bristol bay and in various places along the coast. Other navigators have done the same. Careful surveys have accomplished so much that at this time the bottom of Behring sea and of Behring straits as far as the Frozen ocean, constituting one immense bank, is completely known in its depth and character.

Add to all this the official report of Mr. Giddings, acting surveyor of Washington Territory, made to the Secretary of the Interior in 1866, where he says:

"Along the coast, between Cape Flattery and Sitka, in the Russian possessions, both Cod and Halibut are very plenty, and of a much larger size than those taken at the cape or further up the straits and sound. No one who knows these facts doubts that if vessels similar to those used by the bank fishermen from Massachusetts and Maine were fitted out here and were to fish on the various banks along this coast it would even now be a most lucrative business. The Cod and Halibut on this coast, up near Sitka, are fully equal to the largest taken in the eastern waters."

From all this evidence, including maps and personal experience, it is easy to see that the first condition of a considerable Fishery is not wanting.

(2.) *Proper climatic conditions* must exist also. The proverbial hardihood of fishermen has its limits. Elsewhere weather and storm have compelled the abandonment of banks which proved to be profitable. On a portion of this coast there can be no such rigors. South of Alaska and the Aleutians, and also in Bristol bay, immediately to the north of Alaska, the fishing grounds will compare in temperature with those of Newfoundland or Norway. It is more important to know if the fish when taken can be properly cured. This is one of the privileges of northern skies. Within the tropics fish may be taken in abundance, but the constant sun does not allow their preservation. The constant rains of Sitka, with only a few bright days in the year, must prevent the work of curing on any considerable scale. But the navigators make frequent mention of Jew or preserved fish on the coast, and it is understood that fish are now cured at

Kodiak. It had for a long time been customary on this island to dry seal flesh in the air, which could not be done on the main land. Thus the opportunity of curing the fish seems to exist near the very banks where they are taken. But the California fishermen carry their fish home to be cured, in which they imitate the fishermen of Gloucester. As the yearly fishing product of this port is larger than that of any other in North America, perhaps in the world, this example cannot be without weight.

(3.) The market also is of prime necessity. Fish are not caught and cured except for a market. Besides the extended coast, where an immediate demand must always prevail in proportion to an increasing population, there is an existing market in California, which is attested by long voyages to Kamtschatka for fish and by recent attempts to find fishing grounds. San Francisco at one time took from Okhotsk nine hundred tons of fish, being about one-eighth of the yearly fishing product of Gloucester. Her fishing vessels last year brought home from the Shumagin banks fifteen hundred tons of dried fish and ten thousand gallons of cod liver oil. There is also a growing market in Washington and Oregon, too, unless I am misinformed. But beyond the domestic market, spreading from the coast into the interior, there will be a foreign market of no limited amount. Mexico, Central America, and the States of South America, all Catholic in religion, will require this subsistence, and being southern in climate they must look northward for a supply. The two best customers of our Atlantic fisheries are Hayti and Cuba, two Catholic countries under a southern sun. The fishermen of Massachusetts began at an early day to send their Cod to Portugal, Spain, and Italy, all Catholic countries under a southern sun. Our "salt" fish became popular. The Portuguese minister at London in 1784, in a conference with Mr. Adams on a commercial treaty with the United States, mentioned "salt fish" among the objects most needed in his country, and added, "the consumption of this article in Portugal is immense, and he would avow, that the American salt fish was preferred to any other on account of its quality." (John Adams's Writings, vol. 8, p. 239.) Such facts are more than curious.

But more important than the Pacific States of the American continent are the great empires of Japan and China, with uncounted populations depending much on fish. In China one tenth subsist on fish. Notwithstanding the considerable supplies at home, it does not seem impossible for an energetic and commercial people to find a market here of inconceivable magnitude, which will dwarf that original fur trade with China that was once so tempting.

From this survey you can all judge this question of the Fisheries, which I only state without assuming to determine. You can judge if well-stocked fishing banks have been found under such conditions of climate and market as to supply a new and important fishery. Already the people of California have antici-

lated the answer, and their enterprise has arrested attention in Europe. The Journal of Peterman, *The Geographische Mittheilungen*, for the present year, which is the authentic German record of geographical science, borrows from a San Francisco paper to announce these successful voyages as the beginning of a new commerce. If this be so, as there is reason to believe, these coasts and seas will have a new value. The future only can disclose the form they may take. They may be a Newfoundland, a Norway, a Scotland, or perhaps a New England, with another Gloucester and another New Bedford.

Influence of Fisheries.

An eminent French writer, an enthusiast on fishes, Lacépède, has depicted the influence of Fisheries, which he illustrates by the herring, calling it "one of those natural products whose use has decided the destiny of nations." Without adopting these strong words it is easy to see that such Fisheries as seem about to be opened on the Pacific must exercise a wonderful influence over the population there, while they give a new spring to commerce and enlarge the national resources. In these aspects it is impossible to exaggerate. Fishermen are not as other men. They have a character of their own, taking its complexion from their life. In ancient Rome they had a peculiar holiday with games, known as *Piscarii Ludi*. The first among us in this pursuit were the Pilgrims, who even before they left Leyden looked to fishing for a support in their new home, on which King James remarked: "So God have my soul, 'tis an honest trade; 'twas the apostles' own calling." As soon as they reached Plymouth they began to fish, and not long afterwards appropriated the profits of the Fisheries at Cape Cod to found a free school. From this Puritan origin are derived those Fisheries which for a while were our chief commerce, and still continue an important element of national wealth. The Cod Fisheries of the United States are now valued at more than two million dollars annually. Even they are inferior to the French Fisheries, whose annual product is more than three million dollars; and these again are small by the side of the British Fisheries, whose annual product is not far from twenty-five million dollars. Such an interest must be felt far and near, commercially and financially, while it contributes to the comfort of all. How soon it may prevail on the Pacific who can say? But this Treaty is the beginning.

Of course it is difficult to estimate what is so uncertain, or at least is prospective only. Our own Fisheries, now so considerable, were small in the beginning; they were small even when they inspired the eloquence of Burke in that most splendid page never equalled even by himself. But the Continental Congress, in its original instructions to its commissioners for the negotiation of peace with Great Britain, required as a fundamental condition, next to Independence, that these Fisheries

should be preserved unimpaired. While this proposition was under discussion Ellbridge Gerry, who had grown up among the fishermen of Massachusetts, repelled the attacks upon their pursuit in words which are not out of place here. "It is not so much fishing," he said, "as enterprise, industry, employment. It is not so much fish; it is gold, the produce of that avocation. It is the employment of those who would otherwise be idle, the food of those who would otherwise be hungry, the wealth of those who would otherwise be poor." After debate it was resolved by Congress that "the common right of taking fish should in no case be given up." For this principle the eldest Adams contended with ability and constancy until it was fixed in the treaty, where it stands side by side with the acknowledgment of Independence.

In the discussions which ended thus triumphantly the argument for the Fisheries was stated most compactly by Ralph Lard, of South Carolina, in a letter to John Adams, dated at Paris, 24th September, 1778; and what he said then may be repeated now:

"Since the advantages of commerce have been well understood, the fisheries have been looked upon by the naval Powers of Europe as an object of the greatest importance. The French have been increasing their fishery ever since the treaty of Utrecht, which has enabled them to rival Great Britain at sea. The fisheries of Holland were not only the first rise of the Republic, but have been the constant support of all her commerce and navigation. This branch of trade is of such concern to the Dutch that in their public prayers they are said to request the Supreme Being that it would please Him to bless the Government, the herds, the States, and also the fisheries. The fishery of Newfoundland appears to me to be a mine of infinitely greater value than Mexico and Peru. It enriches the proprietors, is worked at less expense, and is the source of naval strength and protection."—*John Adams's Works*, vol. 7, p. 15.

I have grouped these allusions that you may see how the Fisheries of that day, though comparatively small, enlisted the energies of our fathers. Tradition confirms this record. The sculptured image of a Cod hanging from the ceiling in the hall of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, where it was placed during the last century, constantly recalls this industrial and commercial staple with the great part which it performed. And now it is my duty to remind you that these Fisheries, guarded so watchfully and vindicated with such conquering zeal, had a value prospective rather than present, or at least small compared with what it is now. Exact figures, covering the ten years between 1765 and 1775, show that during this period Massachusetts employed annually in the Fisheries 665 vessels amounting to 25,620 tons, and only 1,405 men. In contrast with this interest, which seems so small, although at the time considerable, are the present Fisheries of our country; and here again we have exact figures. The number of vessels in the Cod Fishery alone in 1861, just before the blight of the war reached this business, was 2,753 amounting to 137,665 tons, and with 19,271 men, being more than four times as many vessels and men, and more than five times as much tonnage, as for ten years preceding the Revo-

lution was employed annually by Massachusetts, representing at that time the fishing interest of the country.

Small beginnings, therefore, are no discouragement to me, and I turn with confidence to the future. Already the local Fisheries on this coast have developed among the generations of natives a singular gift in building and managing their small craft so as to excite the frequent admiration of voyagers. The larger Fisheries there will naturally exercise a corresponding influence on the population destined to build and manage the larger craft. The beautiful baidar will give way to the fishing-smack, the clipper, and the steamer. All things will be changed in form and proportion; but the original aptitude for the sea will remain. A practical race of intrepid navigators will swarm the coast, ready for any enterprise of business or patriotism. Commerce will find new arms; the country new defenders; the national flag new hands to bear it aloft.

SUMMARY.

Mr. President, I now conclude this examination. From a review of the origin of the Treaty, and the general considerations with regard to it we have passed to an examination of these possessions under different heads, in order to arrive at a knowledge of their character and value; and here we have noticed the existing Government, which was found to be nothing but a fur company, whose only object is trade; then the Population, where a very few Russians and Creoles are a scanty fringe to the aboriginal races; then the Climate, a ruling influence, with its thermal current of ocean and its eccentric isothermal line, by which the rigors of that coast are tempered to a mildness unknown in the same latitude on the Atlantic side; then, the Vegetable Products, so far as known, chief among which are forests of pine and fir waiting for the ax; then the Mineral Products, among which are coal and copper, if not iron, silver, lead, and gold, besides the two great products of New England, "granite and ice;" then the Furs, including precious skins of the Black Fox and Sea Otter, which originally tempted the settlement, and have remained to this day the exclusive object of pursuit; and lastly, the Fisheries, which, in waters superabundant with animal life beyond any of the globe, seem to promise a new commerce to the country. All these I have presented plainly and impartially, exhibiting my authorities as I proceeded. I have done little more than hold the scales. If these have inclined on either side it is because reason or testimony on that side was the weightier.

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE.

As these extensive possessions, constituting a corner of the continent, pass from the imperial Government of Russia they will naturally receive a new name. They will be no longer Russian America. How shall they be called? Clearly

any name borrowed from classical history or from individual invention will be little better than a misnomer or a nickname unworthy of such an occasion. Even if taken from our own history it will be of doubtful taste. The name should come from the country itself. It should be indigenous, aboriginal, one of the autochthons of the soil. Happily such a name exists, which is as proper in sound as in origin. It appears from the report of Cook, the illustrious navigator, to whom I have so often referred, that the euphonious name now applied to the peninsula which is the continental link of the Aleutian chain was the sole word used originally by the native islanders "when speaking of the American continent in general, which they knew perfectly well to be a great land." It only remains that, following these natives, whose places are now ours, we, too, should call this "great land" Alaska.

Another change must be made without delay. As the settlements of this coast came *Eastward* from Russia, bringing with the Russian flag Western time, the day is earlier by twenty-four hours with them than with us, so that their Sunday is our Saturday, and the other days of the week are in corresponding discord. This must be rectified according to the national meridian, so that there shall be the same Sunday for all, and the other days of the week shall be in corresponding harmony. Important changes must follow, of which this is typical. All else must be rectified according to the national meridian, so that within the sphere of our common country there shall be everywhere the same generous rule and one prevailing harmony. Of course, the unreformed Julian calendar, received from Russia, will give place to ours; Old Style yielding to New Style.

An object of immediate practical interest will be the survey of the extended and indented coast by our own officers, bringing it all within the domain of science and assuring to navigation much-needed assistance, while the Republic is honored by a continuation of national charts, where execution vies with science, and the art of engraving is the beautiful handmaid. Associated with this survey, and scarcely inferior in value, will be the examination of the country by scientific explorers, so that its geological structure may become known with its various products, vegetable and mineral. But your best work and most important endowment will be the Republican Government, which, looking to a long future, you will organize, with schools free to all and with equal laws, before which every citizen will stand erect in the consciousness of manhood. Here will be a motive power, without which Coal itself will be insufficient. Here will be a source of wealth more inexhaustible than any Fisheries. Bestow such a government, and you will bestow what is better than all you can receive, whether quintals of fish, sands of gold, choicest fur, or most beautiful ivory.

MEMOIR,
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,
ON THE
NORTHWEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,
AND THE
ADJACENT TERRITORIES;
ILLUSTRATED BY
A MAP AND A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

By **Robert Greenhow,**
TRANSLATOR AND LIBRARIAN TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FEBRUARY 10, 1840.

Submitted by Mr. LINN, from the Select Committee on the Oregon Territory; and ordered to be printed, and that 2,500 additional copies be sent to the Senate.

WASHINGTON:
BLAIR AND RIVES, PRINTERS.

1840.

PREFACE.

THE following correspondence, between the Chairman of the Committee of the Senate on the Oregon Territory and the Secretary of State, together with extracts from the Journal of the Senate, will serve to show the circumstances under which this Memoir has been written and published.

WASHINGTON, *January 25, 1840.*

SIR: I am informed that your department is in possession of much information relating to the territory of Oregon, its geography, resources, and the title of the United States to the same. If consistent with your duty, I would be pleased to be put in possession of such papers and documents as you may think proper to send me, requesting that you will mark such as you would rather not have printed or made public.

Your obedient servant,

L. F. LINN,

*Chairman of the Select Committee
on the Territory of Oregon.*

HON. JOHN FORSYTH, *Secretary of State.*

Answer.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, January 25, 1840.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your letter of this day's date, asking for information relative to the territory of Oregon, its geography and resources, and the title of the United States to the same. Mr. Greenhow, the translator and librarian of this department, has been for some time past, by my direction, employed in collecting and arranging historical information on the subject of the northwestern coasts of America; I send you the result of his labors, and submit it to the discretion of the committee to be printed or not, as they may think most advisable. Not having had the leisure to compare the statements in the Memoir with the various works and documents upon which they are founded, I can vouch only for the zeal, industry, and good faith of Mr. Greenhow, by whom they were prepared.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTH,

Secretary of State.

HON. LEWIS F. LINN,

Senator of the United States.

From the Journal of the Senate of the United States.

“MONDAY, *February* 10, 1840.—On motion by Mr. LINN,

“*Ordered*. That a history of the northwest coast of North America and the adjacent territories, communicated to the Select Committee on the Oregon Territory, be printed, with the accompanying map; and that two thousand five hundred copies, in addition to the usual number, be printed for the use of the Senate.”

“WEDNESDAY, *February* 12, 1840.—On motion by Mr. LINN,

“*Ordered*. That the history of the northwest coast of North America, ordered to be printed on the 10th instant, be printed under the direction of Mr. Greenhow.”

The Memoir relates principally to the southern and middle portions of the northwest coast of this continent and the adjoining territories, which have for many years formed the subjects of discussions between the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia; and it is designed to show the origin, nature, and extent of the several claims, in order to afford the means of correctly estimating the justice of each. In prosecuting these objects, it has been found necessary to trace the whole progress of discovery and settlement, not only in the territories above mentioned, but also in those farther north, in which the exclusive right of the Russians to form establishments has been recognised by the other Powers, and in the region called California, on the south, which constitutes a part of the Mexican republic. With this view, the original authorities have been carefully examined and compared, and the facts thus elicited are here related concisely or at length, as their general importance or their bearing upon the chief objects of the Memoir appeared to justify.

Expeditions for the purposes of discovery, trade, or settlement, and disputes between the Governments or the people of distant civilized nations, have afforded, as yet, the only materials for the history of this section of America; and those materials have remained scattered through the annals of other countries, the journals of voyages and travels, and official or private reports and letters, the correctness of which could not be ascertained without great labor and research. Accounts of all these expeditions and discussions are here presented, arranged in the form of a regular narrative, so as to embrace *a complete history of the western portion of our continent*—if it be allowable to speak of the *history* of a country which still remains almost entirely in a state of nature.

This work is, however, not strictly a history; nor is it merely an argument in support of the title of the United States to the possession of the territories in dispute. The writer has endeavored, agreeably to the directions of Mr. Forsyth, to afford a clear and distinct view of the

pretensions of each of the claimant Powers, and of the circumstances on which they are based. Although he has, for the sake of completeness, introduced some facts and reasonings not directly relevant to those objects, he has, on the other hand, suppressed none which, if given, might have led to conclusions more nearly just.

In illustration of the Memoir, a geographical account of the western section of North America has been prefixed to it, together with a map of those countries, drawn from the best authorities which could be procured. The geographical account has been necessarily much compressed, the limits of the work not permitting details; while the map is, on the whole, much fuller than any other of that part of the world which has yet been published. With regard to the correctness of the descriptions, the coast will, it is believed, be found represented with sufficient accuracy, both in the account, and on the map; but the interior of the continent, from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, and, indeed, to the vicinity of the Mississippi, has been as yet so imperfectly examined, that very little precise topographical information respecting it can be procured.

Great care has been taken to present the dates of the several occurrences, and the authorities on which they are recounted, so that the reader will have the means of satisfying himself as to the truth of each statement; with regard to the reasonings and deductions, he must rely upon his own powers of discrimination.

WASHINGTON, *May* 12, 1840.

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ERRATA.

Since the following pages were printed, the author has discovered two errors, which, though not bearing upon any important question, he regrets, and is anxious to correct; particularly as the misstatements are injurious to the memory of Captain Cook, one of the noblest men whom any age or country has produced.

In order to correct these errors,

1. Substitute for the two last sentences of the second paragraph, in page 46, the following: The Cape Blanco, mentioned as the northern limit of Aguilar's progress along the coast, is probably the same on which Vancouver, in 1792, bestowed the name of Cape Orford.

2. Expunge the last sentence but one of the third paragraph in page 79, containing the words—"In this part of his voyage he recognised the Cape Blanco of Aguilar, near the 43d parallel, but he thought proper to bestow on it the name of Cape Gregory."

GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE *northwest coast* is the expression usually employed in the United States, at the present time, to distinguish the vast portion of the American continent, which extends north of the 40th parallel of latitude from the Pacific to the great dividing ridge of the *Rocky Mountains*, together with the contiguous islands in that ocean. The southern part of this territory, which is drained almost entirely by the River Columbia, is commonly called *Oregon*, from the supposition (no doubt erroneous) that such was the name applied to its principal stream by the aborigines. To the more northern parts of the continent many appellations, which will hereafter be mentioned, have been assigned by navigators and fur-traders of various nations. The territory bordering upon the Pacific southward, from the 40th parallel to the extremity of the peninsula which stretches in that direction as far as the Tropic of Cancer, is called *California*; a name of uncertain derivation, formerly applied by the Spaniards to the whole western section of North America, as that of *Florida* was employed by them to designate the regions bordering upon the Atlantic. The northwest coast and the west coast of California, together, form the *west coast of North America*; as it has been found impossible to separate the history of these two portions, so it will be necessary to include them both in this geographical view.*

In order to show that the *fortieth parallel of latitude* is not assumed arbitrarily, and without adequate grounds, as the southern limit of the northwest coast, it would be sufficient to cite the fact, that this line crosses the American continent exactly midway between its most northern and its most southern points; but there are physical reasons for the assumption, no less strong than those based on such geometrical considerations. Almost immediately under the said parallel the coast makes an

* In the following pages, the term *coast* will be used, sometimes as signifying only the seashore, and sometimes as embracing the whole territory, extending therefrom to the sources of the river; care has been, however, taken to prevent misapprehension, where the context does not sufficiently indicate the true sense. In order to avoid repetitions, the *northwest coast* will be understood to be the *northwest coast of North America*; all *latitudes* will be taken as *north latitudes*, and all *longitudes* as *west from Greenwich*, unless otherwise expressed.

angle at a point called *Cape Mendocino*, from which one line runs due north for a great distance, while the other takes a southeast direction. Moreover, this cape is the western extremity of a ridge of lofty mountains, extending continuously from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, nearly in the course of the 40th parallel, and completely dividing the region of which the waters flow southward from that drained by streams entering the Pacific north of the cape. This transverse ridge, generally called the *Snowy Mountains*, appears, indeed, to be the boundary indicated by nature between California, on the south, and Oregon, or the country of the Columbia, on the north; not only does it serve as a barrier of separation almost impassable, but the differences in climate and productions between the territories on either side of it are much greater than could have been supposed, considering merely their respective distances from the equator. California is essentially a *southern* country, while Oregon exhibits the peculiarities of the *north*.

The coasts of this section of America have been carefully surveyed by distinguished scientific navigators, and they may be found accurately delineated on charts; with regard to the interior, however, little exact geographical information has been yet obtained. From all that can be learned respecting the continent north of the 58th parallel, it is a waste of rocky snow-clad mountains, incapable of sustaining a population, and, indeed, almost impenetrable. Of California, or the country south of the 40th parallel, no accounts are to be procured, except as to the portion immediately contiguous to the sea. It is only of the territory included between these two lines of latitude, which is drained principally by the great River Columbia, that we can speak with any confidence; even of this territory, all descriptions must be conveyed in general and qualified terms, and much remains to be done in it by the astronomer before our maps can present any other than very imperfect representations of its surface.

In the following geographical sketch, an attempt will be made to combine the results of information and inquiry, relative to the western section of North America, in such a manner as to produce distinct impressions of its most prominent and characteristic features, adding only those details which may be requisite or useful in order to illustrate the statements and views contained in the political and historical memoir. In so doing, it has been found convenient to adopt the territorial divisions indicated by nature, rather than those which have been agreed on between the Governments of various distant nations. The boundaries settled by these conventions will, however, be first described, and general ideas of the political questions at issue, with regard to this part of the world, will thus be easily communicated.

POLITICAL DIVISION OF THE WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.

II. By the Florida treaty, concluded in 1819 between the United States and Spain, a line drawn along the 42d parallel of latitude, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, was fixed as the northern limit of the Spanish territory and the southern limit of that of the United States in western America. By a subsequent treaty between the latter Power and Mexico, the same line was admitted to separate the possessions of the two republics, Mexico taking the place of Spain. The Mexicans, accord-

ingly, claim the country as far north as the 42d parallel; but the Russians effectually bar the exercise of any Mexican authority beyond the Bay of San Francisco, near the 38th degree, by means of their colonies and garrisons in that quarter, established in 1812, and ever since maintained in defiance alike of Spain and of her republican successors.

By the convention of 1824, between the United States and Russia, it was agreed that the Russians should make no settlements on the west coasts of North America, or the adjacent islands, south of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and the United States should establish none north of that parallel.

By the convention of 1825, between Russia and Great Britain, it was in like manner stipulated that the British should occupy no place on the coasts or islands north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, and that the Russians should make no settlement south of the same latitude; it was, moreover, agreed that a line drawn from that parallel northward, along the summits of the mountains, within 20 miles of the sea, to its intersection with the 141st meridian of longitude west from Greenwich, (passing through Mount Saint Elias,) and thence, along that meridian, to the Arctic Sea, should be the "limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the northwest."

Thus two lines of boundary appear on the map of Northwest America, running completely across it: one northward, from the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, to the Arctic sea, as settled between Great Britain and Russia; and the other following the course of the 42d parallel, from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, as agreed on between the United States and Mexico. Of the intermediate region, no part has been as yet definitively assigned by convention to any one nation; the Americans claim the portion north from the 42d parallel, and the British claim that south from the other line of boundary—each party to an extent undefined, but so far as to secure for itself the large and valuable country drained by the Columbia River. These nations have provisionally compromised their pretensions by an arrangement, made in 1818, and continued in 1827 for an unlimited period, to the effect, that any territory in that section of America, claimed by either, should be equally free and open for navigation, trade, and settlement, to the citizens or subjects of both; the Government of each being at liberty to abrogate the arrangement, after giving due notice of twelve months to that of the other.*

III. The political questions at issue between the Governments of Great Britain, the United States, Russia, and Mexico having been summarily stated, we will now present a—

VIEW OF THE WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA, ACCORDING TO ITS NATURAL DIVISIONS.

The northern extremity of the west coast of America is *Cape Prince of Wales*, in latitude of 65 degrees 52 minutes, which is also the westernmost spot in the whole continent; it is situated on the eastern side of

* The Russian settlements in America are under the control of the *Russian-American Company*, of which a particular account will be found at page 143 of the memoir. For notices of the *Hudson's Bay Company*, to which belong all the British establishments west of the Rocky Mountains, see pages 75 and 192; and, for copies of the treaties, see Appendix [F.]

Beering's Strait, a channel fifty-one miles in width, connecting the Pacific with the *Arctic* (or *Icy*, or *North Frozen*) *Ocean*, on the western side of which strait, opposite Cape Prince of Wales, is *East Cape*, the eastern extremity of Asia. Beyond Beering's Strait the shores of the two continents recede from each other. The *north coast of America* has been traced from Cape Prince of Wales northeastward, to *Cape Barrow*, in latitude of 71 degrees 23 minutes, which is probably the northernmost point of America, and thence eastward for more than a thousand miles, though not continuously to the Atlantic; no vessel has, however, yet proceeded beyond Beering's Strait as far as Cape Barrow.

The southernmost point of the west coast of North America is *Cape San Lucas*, in latitude of 22 degrees 52 minutes, the extremity of the great *Peninsula of California*, which stretches from the American continent on the Pacific side, nearly in the same direction, and between nearly the same parallels of latitude as that of Florida on the Atlantic. The Californian peninsula joins the main land under the 33d parallel; south of which, it is separated from Mexico, on the east, by the long arm of the ocean called by the Spaniards the *Vermillion Sea* and the *Sea of Cortes*, but more generally known as the *Gulf of California*.

The coast extending between these two capes is not less than four thousand miles in length, and is bordered by a continuous line of mountains, which in most places overhang the sea, and are nowhere distant from it more than eighty miles. From Cape San Lucas the general direction of the shores is northwest as far as *Cape Mendocino*, near the 40th degree of latitude; thence it runs almost due north to *Cape Flattery*, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, near the 48th degree, where it makes an angle by turning to the east. South of Cape Flattery the coast is comparatively regular and free from great sinuosities, and there are only a few islands, all of which are small, in its vicinity; northward of that point, to *Cape Spenser* near the 58th degree, it is, on the contrary, indented by numerous bays and inlets penetrating the land, and it is completely masked by islands separated from each other and from the continent by narrow and intricate channels. These islands compose the *Northwest Archipelago*; they lie together in a recess of the continental coast between Cape Flattery and Cape Spenser, in length about seven hundred miles, and in breadth about one hundred and twenty; and they are, indeed, simply a continuation, through the sea, of the mountain-chain which forms the westernmost rampart of America. Beyond Cape Spenser the American coast makes a bend, running northwest to the foot of *Mount Saint Elias*, the loftiest peak on the continent, and the most striking landmark on its western shore; thence westward nearly in the course of the 60th parallel, and then southwest to the extremity of the *Peninsula of Alaska*, in 54 degrees 40 minutes, around which it again turns to the north, and continues in that course to Cape Prince of Wales. Alaska is, like California, formed by the projection of a lofty mountain-ridge into the Pacific; from its extremity, and as if in continuation of it, a chain of islands, called the *Aleutian Archipelago*, extends westward, across the sea, to the vicinity of the opposite Asiatic Peninsula of Kamschatka.

IV. Of the northwesternmost division of the American coast, extending from Cape Prince of Wales, southward, to the extremity of Alaska, little need be said. The part of the Pacific north of the Aleutian Islands,

which bathes those shores, is commonly distinguished as the *Sea of Kamschatka*, and sometimes as *Beering's Sea*, in honor of the Russian navigator of that name who first explored it. From this sea several arms run up into the main land of America, of which the largest are *Norton Sound*, on the south side of the peninsula terminated by Cape Prince of Wales, and *Bristol Bay*, called by the Russians *Kamischeskaia Gulf*, on the northwest side of Aliaska. The upper part of Bristol Bay receives the waters of a large lake called *Lake Shelikof*; a little west of the outlet of which, on the shore of the bay, stands the small Russian factory, or fur-trading establishment, of *Alexandrowsk*, the only spot on this whole coast occupied by civilized persons.

The *Aleutian Archipelago* is considered by the Russians as consisting of *three groups* of islands. Nearest Aliaska are the *Foe Islands*, of which the largest are *Unimak*, *Unalashka*, and *Unimak*; next to these are the *Andreanowsky Islands*, among which are *Atscha*, *Tonaga*, and *Kanaga*, with many smaller islands, sometimes called the *Rat Islands*; the most western group is that first called the *Aleutian* or *Aleoutsky Islands*, which are *Attou*, *Mednoi*, (or *Copper Island*), and *Beering's Island*. On the latter Beering was wrecked and lost his life in 17-11. These islands are nearly all, like Aliaska, rocky, mountainous, and volcanic; they are of little value in an agricultural point of view, but the Russians derive great advantage from the skins and furs of animals in and about their shores, for procuring which they have several establishments in the Archipelago, particularly on Unalashka. The original inhabitants are a hardy and bold race, whom the Russians had great difficulty in subduing; these people are, however, at the present day, employed by their masters in fishing and hunting for furs in every part of the Pacific, and they compose a large proportion of the population of all the Russian settlements in America. There are other islands in the Sea of Kamschatka, of which the largest are *Nunivak*, near the American shore, under the 60th parallel, and *Saint Lawrence* or *Clerke's Island*, at the entrance of Beering's Strait.

V. *Kamschatka* is a large peninsula formed of volcanic mountains, extending from the Asiatic continent southward to the latitude of 52 degrees 10 minutes, under which its southernmost point, *Cape Lopatka*, is situated. West of the peninsula, between it and the main land of Asia, is the *Sea of Ochotsk*, which is separated from the Pacific on the south-east by the *Kurile Islands*, extending southwest from Kamschatka towards Japan. The principal place in Kamschatka is *Petro-Paulovsk*, or the *Harbor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul*, on the *Bay of Avatscha*, in latitude of 53 degrees 58 minutes; it is a small town, the inhabitants of which are all engaged directly or indirectly in the fur trade.

VI. The next natural division of the coast is that included in the great bend between the southwest extremity of Aliaska and Cape Spenser. Here are to be remarked two deep gulfs, extending northward into the continent to the 62d degree, through each of which it was for some time hoped that a passage would be discovered communicating with the Atlantic. The westernmost of these gulfs was originally called *Cook's River*, but is now generally named on English maps *Cook's Inlet*, and is known by the Russians as the *Gulf of Kenay*; the other, which is only separated from the former by a peninsula, received from the British navigators the appellation of *Prince William's Sound*, and is distinguished by the Russians as the *Bay of Tschugatsch*; it is unnecessary

here to say more of them than that they contain many islands, and that the Russians have several factories on the shores of each. Further eastward are *Comptroller's Bay* and *Admiralty*, or *Beering's*, or *Mulgrave*, or *Yakutat Bay*, where it is generally believed that Beering first landed in America in 1741. In the reports of Beering's voyage, it is stated that the mouth of a large and rapid river was found on this part of the coast; none such, however, has been discovered, though a considerable stream called by the Russians *Roca Meduaia*, (or *Copper River*,) empties into Comptroller's Bay at some distance from the ocean.

On this coast are several islands, of which the most extensive is *Kodiak*, at the entrance of Cook's Inlet, separated from Alaska on the west by the *Strait of Shellikof*; its surface is rugged and mountainous, and it is indented by many deep bays, on one of which, called the *Gulf of Chiniatskoy*, on the east side of the island, is situated *Saint Paul*, one of the largest Russian settlements in America. South of Kodiak, near the southern extremity of Alaska, are the *Schumagin Islands*, called after a seaman of Beering's ship, who died and was buried on one of them. *Mount Saint Elias* is on the northeast side of the bend, nearly under the 60th parallel of latitude; its height is estimated at seventeen thousand feet, and that of *Mount Fairweather*, a little farther south, at fourteen thousand. They are both volcanic, as are nearly all the mountains in this part of America.

The region bounded on the west and south by the divisions of the American coast above described is believed to be a frozen waste, traversed in all directions by mountains, and utterly incapable of affording a support to a population except in the immediate vicinity of the ocean. It is used by the Russians only for the purposes of the fur trade, which is carried on at the cost of a dreadful sacrifice of comfort and of life; and, as the animals yielding furs are daily diminishing in number, this part of the world must, no doubt, ere long be abandoned by all civilized persons.

VII. The *Northwest Archipelago* is contained, as already stated, in a recess of the coast of the continent, between the 48th and the 58th parallels, (between which also extend the islands of Great Britain and Ireland on the western side of Europe.) This Archipelago was first minutely examined by British navigators, who have bestowed on the islands names derived almost exclusively from the lists of the royal family, the ministry, the parliament, the peerage, the army, and the navy of Great Britain; none of which names are, however, or probably will be at any future period, used by the occupants of the islands. To present all these names would be a tedious and useless labor; and little more will be attempted than to afford some idea of the principal groups.

King George the Third's Islands are the most northwestern; the two largest of these are, respectively, called by the Russians who occupy them *Chichagoff's* and *Baranoff's Islands*. Near the western side of the latter, and divided from it by a narrow strait, is a small island, in the middle of which rises a beautiful conical peak, named by the Spaniards in 1775, *Mount San Jacinto*, and by the English under Cook, three years afterwards, *Mount Edgecumbe*. On the southeast side of this strait, called by the Spaniards *Port Remedios*, by the British *Norfolk Sound*, and by the Russians the *Gulf of Sitka*, stands *Sitka*, or *New Archangel*, the capital of all the Russian possessions in America. It was estab-

lished on its present site in 1804; and, by the most recent accounts, it contains about a thousand inhabitants, more than three-fourths of whom are Aleutians. The fort mounts sixteen short eighteen-pounders, and ten long nine-pounders, and is garrisoned by about three hundred persons. The *Admiralty Islands* are between the first described group and the main land, being separated from the former by the *Chatham Canal*, and from the latter by *Stephen's Passage*. The part of the sea between these two groups and the continent on the north is called *Cross Sound*, from which the *Lynn Canal*, an extensive bay, stretches northward behind Mount Fairweather. South of the King George's and the Admiralty Islands are the groups of the *Duke of York*, the *Prince of Wales*, and *Reveillagigedo*, (the last called after a Viceroy of Mexico,) between which are *Prince Frederick's Sound*, the *Duke of Clarence's Strait*, and other passages.

All the islands above mentioned are north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, which is the latitude of the southernmost point of the Prince of Wales's Islands, and are therefore all, with the coasts of the continent in their vicinity, among the territories on which the Russians claim the exclusive right of making settlements, in virtue of their treaties with the United States and Great Britain, as before stated at page 3.

Between the 52d and 54th parallels, extends a large island, of triangular shape, which will be found on the map, bearing the name of *Queen Charlotte's*, or *Washington's Island*. Its western coast was discovered by the Spaniards in 1774; from which time to 1787 it was considered, like all the other islands of the Archipelago, as forming part of the continent. In the last mentioned year, Captain Dixon, commanding the merchant ship *Queen Charlotte*, of London, becoming convinced that it was an insulated territory, bestowed on it the name of his vessel; but it was first circumnavigated in the summer of 1789, by Captain Gray, in the sloop *Washington*, of Boston, who, without knowing any thing of Dixon's voyage, called the country *Washington's Island*. It was the favorite resort of the early American fur-traders in the north Pacific; and the manuscript Journal of Captain Ingraham, who commanded the brig *Hope*, of Boston, in that sea, from 1791 to 1793, contains minute descriptions and charts of several ports, particularly on its eastern side, which are not noticed in any published accounts or maps. The limits of this sketch do not admit of minute descriptions, or many interesting facts relative to the island in question might be related on the authority of Ingraham. He describes the soil and climate as being well adapted for agricultural purposes, particularly in the vicinity of *Cummashawah Bay*, a fine harbor on the east coast, in latitude of 53 degrees 3 minutes; and of *Hancock's River*, on the north side, called by the Spaniards *Port Estrada*, which was after it had been surveyed and named by the captain of the brig *Hancock*, from Boston.

Pitt's, *Burke's*, and the *Princess Royal* groups, are composed of many small islands, situated very near the continent, east of *Queen Charlotte's* islands. On one of these, called *Dundas Island*, the British *Hudson's Bay Company* have a trading-post.

The largest and southernmost island in the northwest Archipelago, is that called *Quadra and Vancouver's Island*, extending, in its greatest length, from northwest to southeast about 200 miles, between the parallels of 48½ and 51 degrees, and separated from the continent on the south and east by the arm of the sea called the *Strait of Fuca*. The spot on this

island most worthy of note is *Nootka Sound*, an extensive bay communicating with the Pacific in latitude of 49 degrees 34 minutes, and affording excellent harbors for vessels in many places, particularly in *Friendly Cove*, on the north side, about ten miles from the ocean. This place was for many years the chief rendezvous of the fur-traders on the northwest coast; and some of the most important events in the history of that part of the world occurred there, as may be seen in the 6th and 7th chapters of this memoir. The name of *Nootka* was first applied by Cook, who believed it to be that employed by the natives; no word has, however, since been found in use among them more nearly resembling *Nootka* than *Yuquotl*, their name for Friendly Cove. A few miles southeast from *Nootka* is another bay called *Clyoquot*; and further in the same direction, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, is a third called *Nittinat*, in which are many islands.

The *Strait of Fuca* extends between the island last described and the continent, from Cape Flattery, directly eastward, about one hundred and twenty miles, and thence northwest about two hundred and fifty miles, communicating with the ocean in the north through an entrance, called by the Americans *Pintard's*, and by the British *Queen Charlotte's Sound*. The southern part of the strait is about forty miles in width; the part running northeast is in some places nearly as wide, but generally much narrower, and is filled with islands. This passage was discovered, in 1592, by Juan de Fuca, a Greek pilot, who declared that he had sailed through it into the Atlantic; his statement was, however, disproved in 1792 by Vancouver, Galiano, and Valdes, who surveyed it together, and determined that it was only a great sound. The island which it separates from the continent, in that year received its present long and inconvenient appellation, by agreement between Vancouver and the Spanish commandant, Quadra.

VIII. The parts of the continent contiguous to these islands have received from British navigators many names, such as *New Norfolk*, *New Cornwall*, *New Hanover*, and *New Georgia*; all of which have become obsolete. The country north of the 58th parallel is almost unknown. Two large rivers, the *Peace River* and the *Turnagain*, flow from it eastward through the Rocky Mountains into the *Mackenzie*, which empties into the Arctic Sea; another river, called the *Stikine*, has also been lately discovered entering the Pacific east of Duke of York's Island, in latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes, which is said to be three miles wide at its mouth and one mile wide thirty miles higher up.

The country on the Pacific, between the 49th and 58th parallels, is usually distinguished by the British fur-traders as *New Caledonia*; and, from all accounts, it resembles the northern part of Scotland in its ruggedness, its lakes, and its barrenness. Its principal lakes are *Stuart's*, *Babine*, and *Frazer's Lakes*, all situated between the 54th and the 56th parallels. Babine Lake communicates with the Pacific by a large stream called *Simpson's River*; Frazer's and Stuart's Lakes are head-waters of *Frazer's River*, which flows from them nearly due south about four hundred miles, and enters the ocean in latitude of 49 degrees. The soil of *New Caledonia* is everywhere sterile, very small portions only being fit for cultivation; and the climate, though much milder than that of the other countries of America between the same latitudes, is generally too severe for the production of the esculent grains and vegetables. The British Hudson's

Bay Company have several establishments for carrying on the fur trade in this country, of which the principal are *Fort Alexandria*, on Frazer's River, about three hundred miles from the sea, and *Fort Langly*, at the mouth of the same stream. From these, and other ports in New Caledonia, communications are maintained with Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia, by way of the rivers, and by steam and sail-vessels on the sea.

The *coast of Oregon* extends from the Strait of Fuca to Cape Mendocino: it will be hereafter particularly described.

IX. *Cape Mendocino* presents two points running out into the ocean, about ten miles apart, of which the southernmost, in latitude of 40 degrees 19 minutes, is the highest and the most prominent.

From it the *coast of California* extends southeastward, about one thousand four hundred miles, to Cape San Lucas. On this coast are several harbors, of which the principal will be described.

Port Bodega, communicating with the Pacific in latitude of 38 degrees 19 minutes, is supposed to be the harbor in which Drake lay with his vessel in 1579. Here the Russians made their first settlement in California in 1812. Their chief establishment at present is *Ross*, immediately on the ocean, about thirty miles farther north; it contains about four hundred inhabitants, and from it the northern factories receive their supplies of provisions.

Port San Francisco joins the Pacific, by a passage about two miles wide, under the parallel of 37 degrees 55 minutes. At a short distance from the sea it expands into a large bay, offering, as admitted by all the navigators who have visited it, one of the finest harbors in the world, and possessing every requisite for a great naval establishment. It receives two rivers, the *Jesus Maria* and the *Sacramento*, at its northern extremity, and another called the *San Joaquin* from the south. The Sacramento is navigable for small vessels to the distance of eighty miles from its mouth, beyond which little is known about its course; it is believed, however, to rise in the northeast angle of California, near the junction of the Snowy Mountains with the Rocky Mountains. This bay is much frequented by British and American whaling vessels, and it is, no doubt, destined to be the centre of an extensive commerce. Particular accounts of its numerous advantages may be found in the Journal of the Voyage made by Captain Beechey through the North Pacific in the years 1824-'25.

Monterey Bay is contained in a semicircular recess of the coast, opening westward, about twenty miles in width, between its northern point, *Cape Ano Nuevo* and *Cape Pinos* on the south. Just within Cape Pinos there is good anchorage for vessels, where they are protected from the prevailing northwest winds, and are only in danger from the violent gusts which sometimes blow from the southeast along the whole Californian coast.

Port San Diego, in latitude of 32 degrees 51 minutes, near which the Spaniards planted their first colony on the west coast of California in 1769, is a long arm of the sea, extending southeast from its mouth into the land, and defended against the billows by a sand-ridge.

The *Bay of San Jose*, near the 23d degree, immediately east of Cape San Lucas, at the southernmost part of the peninsula, is probably the same in which the Spaniards first anchored when California was discovered by them in 1535, and which received from Cortes the name of *Port Santa Cruz*. It is one of the places where the pearl-fishery has been most successful.

Near the Californian coast are many small settlements, which were originally established by missionaries of the Franciscan order from Mexico, and were intended chiefly for the purpose of civilizing and converting the natives. During the subsistence of the Spanish authority, these missions were fostered by the Government, and were maintained by means of supplies sent from Mexico; but, since the downfall of that Power, they have not only received little assistance from Mexico, but have, moreover, been taxed for the support of the republic, of which the Indian neophytes were declared to be citizens. These Indians are, however, unfortunately, among the most indolent and unintellectual of the human family; incapable of being affected by any other considerations than those addressed to their present and immediate hopes and fears. The missionaries treated them as children; and those who have been removed from under the care and authority of these priests have uniformly sunk at once into misery and vice. The Mexican population is little, if at all, better than the aboriginal; the soldiers and colonists sent there being generally criminals banished to this—the Botany Bay of the republic.

There is no rain on the coast of California from March to November; during the other months the rains are generally incessant, though in some years very little falls. The dews in summer are, however, so heavy as to prevent the destruction of vegetation. Near the sea, the temperature is at all times salubrious and agreeable, the heat of the sun in summer being moderated by constant breezes; but farther inland it is said to be most oppressive. Agriculture has been, as yet, little practised in this country; the inhabitants subsisting almost entirely on the meat of the wild cattle which cover the plains. The soil and climate appear to be favorable to the growth of every vegetable substance necessary for the subsistence and enjoyment of man; but no large portion of the territory will probably be found productive without artificial irrigation.

Of the interior of California little is known. The northern part, or continental portion, called *New California*, is said to be traversed by mountain-ridges, between which are extensive plains; some covered with grass, forming prairies, others sandy and destitute of vegetation, and others again being marshes. It appears to be certain that very little of the water which falls on this country from the clouds finds its way directly to the sea; as the line of mountains which borders the coast is traversed only by a few inconsiderable streams, besides those emptying into the Bay of San Francisco.

The peninsula, or *Old California*, is about seven hundred miles in length, and one hundred and thirty in breadth where it joins the continent, under the 33d parallel; farther south its breadth is less, not exceeding fifty miles in some places. The whole territory consists of mountains; its climate is hot and dry, the soil is barren, and the inhabitants are few and miserable, deriving their support almost exclusively from the sea.

The *Gulf of California*, or *Sea of Cortes*, or *Vermillion Sea*, which separates the peninsula from the main land of Mexico on the east, is about seven hundred miles in length, varying in breadth from sixty to one hundred and twenty. At its northern extremity it receives two large rivers—the Gila, flowing from the east; and the Colorado, which rises in the north among the Rocky Mountains, about the 40th degree of latitude, near the sources of the Lewis, the Platte, the Arkansas, and the Rio del Norte. The northern part of the territory, on the eastern side of the

gulf, is called *Sonora*, and the southern part *Sinaloa*; they together form one department of the Mexican republic. The harbor of *Guaymas* in Sonora, near the 28th degree of latitude, is said to be one of the best in America, and the town has a large and increasing trade; at the entrance of the gulf, on its eastern side, is another rising commercial place, called *Mazatlan*; and farther south is *San Blas*, among the principal ports of Mexico on the Pacific. The old Mexican towns of *Culiacan*, on the river of the same name a little north of Mazatlan, and *Chianetta*, between the latter place and San Blas, are now nearly deserted.

X. We next proceed to take a—

GENERAL VIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL MOUNTAIN-CHAINS OF NORTH AMERICA.

It has been already said, that the whole western coast of North America is bounded by a continuous chain of mountains; and it may now be added, that the whole interior of the continent, to a considerable distance from the Pacific, is traversed by lofty ridges, separated from each other by valleys or plains of small extent. Of these interior ridges, the principal in every respect is that known by the general name of the *Rocky Mountains*, forming the northern portion of the great chain of highlands which stretches from the Arctic Sea to the Strait of Magellan, dividing, except in a few places, the territories drained by streams flowing into the Atlantic, from those whose waters enter the Pacific. Throughout its whole course, this chain lies nearer to the western shores of the continent than to the eastern, and therefore much the greater quantity of the water which America supplies to the ocean is discharged into the Atlantic.

The general course of the Rocky Mountain ridge is from north-north-west to south-southeast. Between the 58th degree of latitude and the 48th, it is nearly parallel to the Pacific coast, from which its distance is about five hundred miles; from the 48th degree to the 40th, the coast runs due south, so that the distance between it and the ridge is constantly increasing, and on the 40th parallel exceeds seven hundred miles. The name of Rocky Mountains is not applied to any part of the chain south of the last-mentioned latitude; the parts north of the 50th degree are sometimes called the *Chipewyan Mountains*.

The highest points in the Rocky Mountains, and probably in North America, if not in the whole western continent, are those about the 52d degree of latitude, near the northernmost sources of the Columbia river. Mr. Thompson, the astronomer of the Hudson's Bay Trading Company, has measured several of these peaks, of which, one called *Mount Brown* is estimated by him at sixteen thousand feet, and another, *Mount Hooker*, at fifteen thousand seven hundred feet above the ocean level. It has been stated that the same gentleman has recently found other points farther north, which he considers to be more than ten thousand feet higher than either of those above mentioned. About the 42d parallel are also many lofty peaks, particularly among the *Wind-river Mountains*, a spur or offset, which extends southeast from the main chain, and from which flow many of the head-waters of the Missouri and the Yellow Stone Rivers. North of the 56th degree the ridge diminishes in height, and near the Arctic Sea it is only a line of hills.

Near the 42d degree of latitude, three other extensive ridges are united to the Rocky Mountains; one on its eastern side, running towards the

Mexican Gulf, and forming the eastern wall of a great valley or basin, through which flows the river *Bravo del Norte*; another, stretching southwest to and through the peninsula of California, between which and the Rocky Mountains is a vast region, drained principally by the rivers *Colorado* and *Gila*, emptying into the northern extremity of the Californian Gulf; the third ridge is that commonly called the *Snowy Mountains*, running westward to the Pacific, in which it terminates at Cape Mendocino, and completely separating Oregon, or the country of the Columbia, on the north, from California on its southern side. From the place of union of these chains also flow the head-waters of the *Bravo*, emptying into the Mexican Gulf—of the *Colorado*—of the *Lewis*, the principal southern branch of the Columbia which falls into the Pacific—and of the *Missouri*, the *Yellow Stone*, the *Platte*, and the *Arkansas*, all of which are discharged into the *Mississippi*.

Near the place of union of these chains is a remarkable depression of the Rocky Mountains, called the *Southern Pass*, affording a short and easy route for carriages between the head-waters of the south branch of the *Platte*, on the east, and those of the *Colorado*, on the west; from which latter, is another pass through the mountains, northward, to the *Lewis River*. There are other depressions of the great chain farther north, between the *Yellow Stone*, on the one side, and the *Salmon River* and *Flathead* branches of the *Columbia*, on the other; but they offer much greater difficulties to the traveller than the *Southern Pass*, which is, and will probably continue to be, the principal avenue of communication between the United States and the territories of the Far West.

In latitude of 53 is the great cleft, from which the *Columbia* flows, on one side, to the Pacific, and the *Athabasca*, on the other, to the *Mackenzie* emptying into the *Arctic Ocean*. Farther north, the *Peace* and the *Turnagain Rivers*, which rise near the Pacific, pass through the Rocky Mountains into the *Mackenzie*.

Respecting the *Snowy Mountains*, very little exact information has been obtained. They appear to run in an unbroken line, from Cape Mendocino to the Rocky Mountains, between the 39th and the 42d parallels of latitude, and to be united with the other ridges extending northward and southward. Whether they are to be considered as a distinct chain, or as formed by the union of branches from the others, is a question interesting only to the geologist; certain it is, that they present a complete barrier between California and the country of the *Columbia*.

XI. The remainder of this sketch will be devoted entirely to the consideration of—

OREGON, OR THE COUNTRY OF THE COLUMBIA.

Oregon, considered as comprehending the territory drained by the *Columbia river*, together with the seacoasts of that territory, lies within the following natural boundaries: *on the east*, the Rocky Mountains, extending about nine hundred miles, from the 54th parallel to the 41st; *on the south*, the *Snowy Mountains*, in their whole length about seven hundred miles, from the Rocky Mountains to Cape Mendocino, on the Pacific, near the 40th degree of latitude; *on the west*, the Pacific Ocean, from Cape Mendocino, about five hundred miles due north, to Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, near the 48th degree of latitude; and *on*

the north, the Strait of Fuca, from Cape Flattery, about one hundred and twenty miles eastward, and thence by a line running northeast, along the summit of the highlands separating the waters of the Columbia from those of Frazer's River, to the Rocky Mountains, which it would reach about the 54th degree of latitude. Such are the natural boundaries of the territory drained by the Columbia, the surface of which may be estimated at about three hundred and fifty thousand square miles.

The *coast of Oregon on the Strait of Fuca* is about one hundred and twenty miles in length, eastward from *Cape Flattery*, where the strait joins the Pacific under the parallel of 48 degrees 23 minutes. The shores are composed of low sandy cliffs, overhanging beaches of sand or stones; from them the land ascends gradually to the foot of the mountains, which rise abruptly to a great height within a few miles of the sea. The only harbor immediately on the strait is *Port Discovery*, situated near the southeast angle, which Vancouver pronounces perfectly safe and convenient for ships of any size; it runs southward from the strait into the land, and is defended from the violence of the waves by *Protection Island*, which stretches partly across its entrance on the north. A few miles farther east a long arm of the sea, called *Admiralty Inlet*, penetrates the continent, southward from the strait, more than one hundred miles, terminating near the 47th degree of latitude in a bay named by Vancouver *Puget's Sound*; *Hood's Canal* is a branch of this inlet, extending southwestward, and many smaller branches are given off on each side. The country surrounding Admiralty Inlet is described by Vancouver as beautiful, fertile, and in every respect agreeable; and the bay, with its numerous arms stretching into the interior, must offer great advantages for commercial intercourse hereafter. The Hudson's Bay Company has trading-posts on these waters, of which the principal is *Fort Nasqually*, at the southernmost part of Puget's Sound.

On the Pacific, the coast of Oregon extends five hundred miles in a line nearly straight from north to south, presenting in its whole length but two places of refuge for vessels. The northernmost of these is *Bulfinch's* or *Gray's Bay*, discovered in May, 1792, by Captain Robert Gray, of Boston; it is situated in latitude of 46 degrees 58 minutes, and offers a secure anchorage for small vessels, sheltered from the sea by sandy spits and bars. "It appears to be of little importance as a port, in its natural state," says Vancouver, "as it affords but two or three situations where boats can approach sufficiently near the shore to effect a landing;" yet should the country become settled, this and other disadvantages may, perhaps, be corrected by artificial means. The other harbor is the *mouth of the River Columbia*, about thirty miles south of the former, which was also discovered by Captain Gray, and received from him the name of his ship; it will be described particularly hereafter. *Port Trinidad*, so called by the Spaniards who anchored there in 1775, is an open roadstead in latitude 41 degrees 3 minutes, entirely unprotected from the ocean, and, according to Vancouver, unworthy to be called a harbor. Several small rivers fall into the Pacific south of the Columbia, of which the principal are the *Klamet* and the *Umqua*, both discharging their waters near the 43d parallel. Vessels drawing not more than eight feet water may enter the Umqua; at the mouth of which the Hudson's Bay Company have a trading-factory.

On this coast are several capes; none of which, however, project far

into the ocean. The most remarkable is *Cape Blanco*, discovered by the Spanish navigator Aguilar in 1803, and named by Vancouver in 1792 *Cape Orford*; it lies nearly under the 43d parallel, and is the extremity of a line of highlands which separates the valley of the Umqua, on the north, from the Klamet, on the south. The only island between Cape Flattery and Cape Mendocino, which has been thought worthy of a name, is one close to the continent, near the latitude of $47\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, called by the Spaniards *Isla de Dolores*, or *Isle of Grief*, in commemoration of the murder of some of their men on the contiguous main land; it afterwards received the appellation of *Destruction Island*, from a similar loss there sustained by a British vessel in 1787.

XII. The territory drained by the Columbia presents a constant succession of mountain-ridges and valleys, or plains of small extent. The principal ridges are two in number, besides the Rocky Mountains, running nearly parallel to each other and to the coasts; and the country is thus divided into three great regions, which differ materially in climate, soil, and productive powers. The *first region*, or *low country*, is that between the coast and the chain of mountains nearest to the sea; the *second region* is between the mountains nearest the sea and the middle ridge, called the Blue Mountains; and the *third region*, or *high country*, is between the Blue Mountains and the Rocky Mountains. All these divisions are crossed by the Columbia, the main stream of which is formed in the middle region, by the union of several branches flowing from the Rocky Mountains, and receiving in their course supplies from innumerable smaller tributaries draining the intermediate countries.

The chain of mountains running nearest the Pacific, southward from the Strait of Fuca, has received many names, no one of which appears to have been generally adopted. It is called the *California Mountains*; the *Klamet Mountains*, from the Indian nation which occupies a part of the territory on its western side; and the *Cascade Mountains*, from the cascades or cataracts formed by the Columbia, in passing through the ridge. Mr. Kelly, a patriotic American citizen, has proposed to call it the *President Range*, and has accordingly assigned to the seven highest peaks, respectively, the names of the Chief Magistrates of the United States, from Washington to Jackson, in succession.* These mountains are of considerable elevation, and many of their summits are visible from a great distance at sea, especially the most northern, called *Mount Olympus*, near Cape Flattery. Mr. Wyeth speaks thus rapturously of the view of them from the top of one of the Blue Mountains: "The traveller going west, sees the high points of the California Mountains, about one hundred and sixty miles distant, some of which rise about sixteen thousand feet above the level of the Pacific. All other views in America sink into littleness in comparison with this. From one spot, I have seen seven of

* Kelly's *Mount Washington* is the same called by Vancouver *Mount Hood*, rising due east of the mouth of the Columbia, at the distance of about one hundred miles; *Mount Adams* is the *Mount St. Helens*, of the same navigator, under the 45th parallel; *Mount Jefferson* received that name from Lewis and Clarke, in 1805; it is the lofty peak in latitude of 41° degrees, which the British fur-traders have thought proper to call *Mount Vancouver*; *Mount Madison* is the *Mount MacLaughlin* of the British maps; *Mount Monroe* is in latitude of 43 degrees 20 minutes; *Mount John Quincy Adams* is in 42 degrees 10 minutes; *Mount Jackson* is a stupendous pinnacle, under the parallel of 41 degrees 40 minutes, called by the British *Mount Pitt*.

the high points of this range, extending from north to south, their perfect whiteness and steep conical shape causing them to appear like huge sugar-loaves."*

The distance from the coast to the foot of this chain is in some places one hundred miles, in others much less. The intervening country is crossed in various directions by low ridges connected with the principal chain, some of which run parallel to it, while others stretch towards the ocean. Between these ridges are valleys, of which the two most extensive lie immediately at the base of the great chain, and are drained by rivers flowing into the Columbia; the waters from the others falling directly into the Pacific. Of the two rivers which empty into the Columbia, the northern, called the *Cowlitz*, has been imperfectly examined, and little has been reported concerning it. The southern, described by Lewis and Clarke as the *Multnomah*, but now more generally known as the *Willamet*, has been traced more than two hundred miles due south, from its entrance into the Columbia, through a valley which is said to be the most delightful and fertile part of Northwest America.

The climate of this region is more favorable to agriculture than those of the other parts of Oregon, although it is certainly adverse to great productiveness. The summer is warm and very dry. From April to October, while the westerly winds prevail, rain seldom falls in any part of Oregon; during the other months, when the south wind blows constantly, the rains are almost incessant in the lower region, although sometimes the dry season there continues longer. Farther from the Pacific, the rains are less frequent and abundant; and near the Rocky Mountains, they are reduced to a few showers in the spring. In the valleys of the low country snow is rarely seen, and the ground is not often frozen, so that ploughing may generally be carried on during the whole winter. In 1834 the Columbia was frozen for thirteen days, but this was principally in consequence of the accumulation of ice from above. "This country," says Mr. Wyeth, "is well calculated for wheat, barley, oats, rye, pease, apples, potatoes, and all the roots cultivated in the northern States of the Union; Indian corn does not succeed well, and is an unprofitable crop. The yield of wheat, with very poor cultivation, is about fifteen bushels of the best quality to the acre. Horses and neat cattle succeed tolerably well; the winter being mild, they are enabled to subsist upon the produce of the open fields. Hogs live and multiply, but cannot be made fit on the range of the country. The agriculture of this region must always suffer from the extreme dryness of the summer. The products which ripen earliest sustain the least damage, but those which come late are often injured."

Of the soil of this region, the same acute observer says: "The uplands are tolerably good, but the cost of clearing the enormous growth of timber on them would be beyond their worth; it is too thick and heavy to allow of crops being obtained by girdling the trees; and it must be removed or burnt, the labor of which is beyond the conception of those acquainted only with the forests of the United States. There are, however, prairies sufficiently numerous and extensive for the cultivation of the next century, which, being chiefly on the second bottoms of rivers, are extremely fertile, and above inundation." The forests in this part of

* Letter from Nath. Wyeth, in the report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the Oregon Territory, presented February 16, 1838. See page 196 of this memoir.

America are, from all accounts, magnificent. Ross Cox describes a fir growing near Fort George, or Astoria, on the Columbia, about eight miles from the sea, which measured forty-six feet in circumference at ten feet from the ground, one hundred and fifty-three feet in length before giving off a branch, and not less than three hundred feet in its whole height. Another tree, of the same species, is said to be standing on the banks of the Umqua, the trunk of which is fifty-seven feet in circumference, and two hundred and sixteen feet in length, below its branches. Cox adds, that "prime sound pines, from two hundred to two hundred and eighty feet in height, and from twenty to forty feet in circumference, are by no means uncommon."

XIII. The *Blue Mountains* extend from north to south, though the whole territory of the Columbia, between the Rocky Mountains and the chain which borders the coast. Their course is not so regular or clearly defined as those of the other chains; and they appear to be broken into several ridges, some of which run towards the Rocky Mountains on the east, while others join the westernmost chain. These mountains are steep and rocky, generally volcanic, and some of them covered with eternal snow; they are crossed by both branches of the Columbia, which also receives several tributaries from the valleys on their western sides.

The *middle region of Oregon*, between the mountains nearest the coast on the west and the *Blue Mountains* on the east, is more elevated, more dry, and less fertile, than the *low country*. It consists chiefly of plains, between ridges of mountains, the soil of which is generally a yellow sandy clay, covered with grass, small shrubs, and prickly pears. Timber is very scarce: the trees, which are small, and of soft useless woods, such as cotton-wood, sumach, and willow, being only found in the neighborhood of the streams. The climate during the summer is universally represented as most agreeable and salubrious; the days are warm, and the nights cool; but the want of moisture in the air prevents the contrast of temperature from being injurious to the health. The rains begin later in the year, and end sooner, than in the lower country, and they are less constant and heavy. There is little snow in the southern valleys; farther north it is more common.

Few attempts at cultivation have been made in this region, and they have not been, upon the whole, successful. Wyeth conceives that "the agriculture of this territory must always be limited to the wants of a pastoral people, and to the immediate vicinity of the streams and mountains; and irrigation must be resorted to, if a large population is to be supported in it. This country, which affords little prospect for the tiller of the soil, is perhaps one of the best for grazing in the world. It has been much underrated by travellers who have only passed by the Columbia, the land along which is a collection of sand and rocks, and almost without vegetation; but a few miles from the Columbia, towards the hills and mountains, the prairies open wide, covered with a low grass of a most nutritious kind, which remains good throughout the year. In September there are slight rains, at which time the grass starts; and in October and November there is a good coat of green grass, which remains so until the ensuing summer; and about June it is ripe in the lower plains, and, drying without being wet, is like made hay; in this state it remains until the autumn rains again revive it. The herdsman in this extensive valley (of more than one hundred and fifty miles in width) could at all times

keep his animals in good grass, by approaching the mountains in summer, on the declivities of which almost any climate may be had; and the dry grass of the country is at all times excellent. It is in this section of the country that all the horses are reared for the supply of the Indians and traders in the interior. It is not uncommon that one Indian owns some hundreds of them. I think this section, for producing hides, tallow, and beef, is superior to any part of North America; for, with equal facilities for raising the animals, the weather in winter, when the grass is best, and consequently the best time to fatten the animals, is cold enough to salt meat, which is not the case in Upper California. There is no question that sheep might be raised to any extent, in a climate so dry and sufficiently warm, where very little snow or rains falls. It is also, I think, the healthiest country I have ever been in, which, I suppose, arises from the small quantity of decaying vegetable matter, and there being no obstruction from timber to the passing winds."

XIV. The *third* and last natural division of Oregon is the *high country*, included between the Blue Mountains on the west and the Rocky Mountains on the east. The southern part of this region is a desert, of steep rocky mountains, deep narrow valleys, called *holes* by the fur-traders, and wide plains, covered with sand or gravel, generally volcanic, which can never be rendered capable of supporting more than a very small number of inhabitants. The distinguishing features of this territory are, *its extreme dryness, and the great difference in temperature between the day and the night*. It seldom rains, except during a few days in the spring; there is little snow in the valleys in winter, though a great deal falls occasionally on the mountain tops; and no moisture is deposited in dews. Mr. Wyeth saw the thermometer, on the banks of Snake River, in August, 1832, mark eighteen degrees of Fahrenheit at sunrise, and ninety-two degrees at noon of the same day; and he says that a difference of forty degrees between sunrise and noon is not uncommon. Such circumstances are alone sufficient to render any attempts at cultivation in this region entirely fruitless; and a great portion of the surface is moreover so strongly impregnated with salts of various kinds, that plants could not flourish in it, even were a sufficiency of heat and moisture regularly supplied.

In this region, nevertheless, are situated the sources of all the principal branches of the Columbia, the northernmost of which rises near the 54th parallel, and the southernmost near the 42d; they, of course, receive their waters from the mountains, as very little can be furnished by the valleys. There are also many lakes in this part of America, some of which communicate with the Columbia; the others have no outlets, and their waters are therefore necessarily salt.* The largest of these collections of salt water,

* Whenever water runs on or through the earth, it finds salts, which it dissolves, and carries with itself to its recipient. If that recipient have no outlet either above or under the surface of the earth, by which it communicates with some lower recipient, and thus its waters are not taken from it except by evaporation, the salt carried into it by streams must necessarily be constantly accumulating there, as evaporation does not abstract a single saline particle. If the facts here stated be admitted as true, the deductions cannot be denied; and it is believed that no case can be cited in contradiction of either. In like manner, the surfaces of great plains or valleys, from which the water is not carried off either by streams or by infiltration, are always impregnated with salt. Of this, the high plains of Mexico, and the valleys immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, offer examples; the soil of the parts not regularly drained being so salt as to render vegetation impossible, even where all the other requisites are furnished in abundance. The reverse is not always true; nevertheless, the saltness of a *large* body of water, or of a *large* extent of ground, affords strong reasons for suspecting that there is no regular drain from it into a lower recipient.

is that called by the Indians *Lake Youta*, and represented on the old Spanish maps as *Lake Timpanogos*, situated in one of the valleys or hollows produced by the interlocking of the Snowy Mountains with the other chains, near the Rocky Mountains. Very little is known as to the extent and position of this lake, except that it is very large, that it is surrounded by high mountains, and that it receives on its northern side a considerable stream, called the *Bear River*. Captain Wyeth places its northern extremity in latitude of 42 degrees 3 minutes. In one of the maps attached to Mr. Irving's account of Captain Bonneville's Adventures in the Far West, that point is represented under the parallel of 42 degrees 50 minutes; while in the other map illustrating the same work, it is placed still farther north by half a degree. In the map annexed to this memoir, *Lake Youta* is made to extend from $40\frac{1}{2}$ to $41\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, on the authority of Arrowsmith; which position appears more conformable than any other with the best accounts.

The northern part of the upper region about the Clarke River is less barren than that which has been just described; the valleys are wider, the rains more frequent, and the soil is freed from salt by the numerous streams which traverse it.

The country east of the Rocky Mountains, for more than two hundred miles, is almost as dry and barren as that immediately on the western side; offering no means of support for a population, except in the vicinity of the rivers, which flow through it from the great chain into the Mississippi. The interposition of this wide desert-tract between the productive regions of the Mississippi and those of the Columbia, must retard the settlement of the latter countries, and exercise a powerful influence over their political destinies.

XV. The *Columbia River* now remains to be particularly noticed, and it will be traced from the sources of its principal confluent to the ocean.

The northernmost stream of the Columbia is *Canoe River*, which rises near the 54th degree of latitude, and near the 52d is joined by two other streams, at a place called by the fur-traders *Boat Encampment*. Of the two streams which join Canoe River, one flows from the south along the base of the Rocky Mountains; the other rises in a great gorge of that chain, under the parallel of 53 degrees, its head being a small lake, within a few feet of which is another, whence the waters run into the Athabasca, one of the branches of the Mackenzie. Of this gorge, Cox says: "The country around our encampment presented the wildest and most terrific appearance of desolation. The sun, shining on a range of stupendous glaciers, threw a chilling brightness over the chaotic mass of rocks, ice, and snow, by which we were environed. Close to our encampment, one gigantic mountain, of conical form, towered majestically into the clouds, far above the others; while at intervals, the interest of the scene was heightened by the rumbling noise of a descending avalanche." The ground about this spot is higher than any other in North America, and probably on the whole western continent.

After a course of about two hundred miles due south from the point of union of the three streams above mentioned, the Columbia receives *Macgillivray's River*, and a little lower down *Clarke's*, or the *Flathead River*, both flowing from the Rocky Mountains. Clarke's river is nearly as large as the Columbia, above the place of their junction; its sources are situated within a short distance of those of the Missouri, and, as the interven-

ing ridge is not very high, it will doubtless form one of the great channels of communication between the eastern and the western sides of the continent. In its course it spreads out into a lake, about thirty-five miles long and five or six broad, which is situated in a rich valley, surrounded by lofty snow-clad mountains.

The Clarke rushes down into the Columbia, over a ledge of rocks, a little before the passage of the latter through the Blue Mountains, where it forms the *Kettle Falls*. Just below these falls, on the south side of the river, in latitude of 48 degrees 37 minutes, is situated *Fort Colville*, one of the principal establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company; the country around which is fertile and agreeable, producing wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn, potatoes, peas, and various garden vegetables, in abundance. Thence the river flows due west, receiving in its course the *Spokan* from the south-east, about one hundred miles, to its junction with the *Okanagan*, a large stream from the north, where the Hudson's Bay Company have another fort, called *Fort Okanagan*. This place was first occupied by the Astoria, or Pacific Fur Company, in 1811; from it the Columbia runs south to the latitude of 46 degrees 8 minutes, and there joins the Lewis, or Snake, the great south branch of which will now be in like manner traced from its sources.

The head-waters of the Lewis River are in the angle formed by the Rocky and the Snowy Mountains, between the 42d and the 44th degrees, near the sources of the Colorado, the Platte, the Yellow Stone, and the Missouri. Thence it flows westward along the foot of the Snowy Mountains to the Blue Mountains, through one ridge of which it passes near the 43d degree of latitude, making there the *Salmon*, or *Fishing Falls*. It then runs northwestward to its junction with the Columbia, receiving on its way the *Malade*, the *Wapiticacos*, or north branch, and the *Koos-koosee*, or *Salmon River*, from the east, and the *Malheur*, the *Burnt River*, and *Powder River* from the west, besides numerous smaller streams on each side. The Salmon River is believed to be that on and near which the party sent from the United States, in 1811, to form an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia, experienced the dreadful sufferings depicted by Mr. Irving in his *Astoria*.

The Columbia, below the junction of its two great branches, receives the *Walla-walla*, the *Umatalla*, *John Day's River*, and the *Falls River* from the south, and then passes through the range of mountains nearest the Pacific, under the 46th parallel of latitude. At the mouth of the Walla-walla is *Fort Walla-walla*, or *Nezperces*, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, near which is some land tolerably well adapted for cultivation. Below this river the Columbia descends considerably, forming many rapids before entering the mountains. The *Falls* are represented by Wyeth as impassable at low water, but passable at high water both up and down. Five miles below them are the *Dalles*, or narrows, where the river rushes through a space not more than one hundred and fifty feet wide, walled in by basaltic columns on both sides; and thirty-six miles lower, are the *Cascades*, which are falls impassable at all times. The tide comes up to the foot of the cascades, and the navigation is good for vessels drawing not more than fourteen feet to this point, which is one hundred and twenty-five miles from the ocean.

At the distance of about one hundred miles from the Pacific, on the north side of the Columbia, and a quarter of a mile from it, stands *Fort*

Vancouver, the principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains. It consists of a number of wooden buildings within a stockade, serving as dwelling-houses, stores, magazines, and workshops; and near it are other small buildings inhabited by the laborers, together with a saw-mill and grist-mill. The whole number of residents at the place is about eight hundred, of whom a large proportion are Indians or half-breeds. Several hundred acres of land near the fort are under cultivation, producing wheat, barley, oats, pease, potatoes, &c., in abundance; and the stock of cattle is also considerable.

The *Multnomah*, or *Wallamet*, enters the Columbia in the south, about twenty miles below Vancouver. It is navigable for small vessels to the distance of twenty miles from its mouth—or, rather, from its mouths, for it divides into two branches before entering the Columbia, and thus forms a long narrow island, on which Captain Wyeth endeavored unsuccessfully to establish an American trading-factory in 1835. At the head of the navigation is a fall, where the river crosses a ridge of hills; before reaching which, it flows through prairies of the richest ground, varying in breadth from a few feet to several miles. In this delightful valley the Hudson's Bay Company have formed a settlement for its retiring servants; and another has been made by American citizens, under the direction of Methodist missionaries, which is said to be in a prosperous condition. A large body of emigrants to this place sailed from New York in the latter part of 1839; and other persons are said to be now in that city preparing for their departure for the same point.

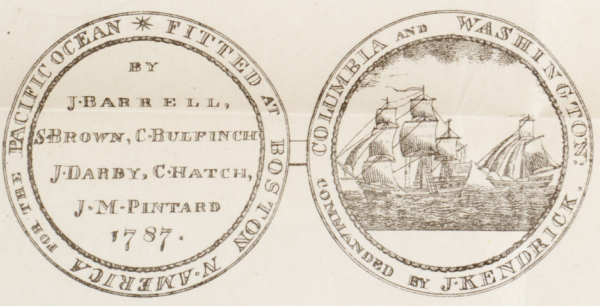
Astoria, the first settlement made on the Columbia by the Americans in 1811, is on the south side of the river, eight miles from its mouth; it consists at present of only a single house, occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, and called *Fort George*.

The Columbia, twenty-five miles from the sea, varies in width from seven miles to one, and that part of the river has been, in consequence, sometimes considered as a bay or inlet; this view is, however, contradicted by the fact, that the water continues to be fresh and potable to the immediate vicinity of the Pacific, except when the stream is very low, or the wind has long blown violently from the west. The river enters the Pacific between two points of land: one, on the north, called *Cape Disappointment*, or *Cape Hancock*, in latitude of 46 degrees 18 minutes; the other, called *Point Adams*, being seven miles southeast from the former. From each of these points a sand-bar runs into the water; above which the waves of the Pacific, on the one side, and the torrents of the Columbia, on the other, meet with terrific violence, producing a most formidable line of breakers. These circumstances render the entrance and departure of vessels hazardous at all times, and almost impossible when the winds are high. The depth of the water, between the bars, is thirty feet at the lowest; no vessel drawing more than fourteen feet can, however, proceed far up the river, on account of the irregularities of the channel.

This river, like the others in Northwest America, abounds in fish, particularly in salmon, which ascend all its branches up to the Blue Mountains, and form the principal means of subsistence for the natives of the first and middle regions. Of those natives, the limits of the present sketch do not admit a detailed description; they are supposed to be in number about twenty thousand, all savages incapable of civilization.



FAC-SIMILE of a Medal struck at Boston in 1787 on occasion of the departure of the vessels COLUMBIA and WASHINGTON for the North West Coast of America, taken from one of the original Medals deposited by the HON. C. CUSHING, in the Library of the Department of State of the United States.



THE
NORTH-WEST-COAST
OF
NORTH AMERICA
and
adjacent Territories

Computed from the best authorities under the direction
of Robert Greenhow to accompany his Memoir on the North-
west Coast Published by order of the Senate of the United
States drawn by David H. Burr

Note. The names of places on the border of the Map show their respective latitudes

MEMOIR,

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,

ON THE

NORTHWEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,

AND

THE ADJACENT TERRITORIES.

CHAPTER I.

Preliminary observations—Early attempts of the Spaniards to explore the western coasts of North America—Voyages made by authority of Hernan Cortes—Discovery of California by Becerra, in 1535—Voyage of Cortes in the Gulf of California—Discovery of the west coast of California by Ulloa, in 1539—Expeditions of Ceronado and Alarcon—Voyage of Cabrillo, in 1542—Establishment of direct intercourse by the Pacific, between Mexico and India—Visit of Francis Drake to the northwest coast in 1579.

THE territories first seen by Europeans on the western side of the Atlantic were naturally supposed to be parts of Asia, or to lie in the immediate vicinity of that continent, the eastern limits of which were then unknown; and, as the circumference of the earth was moreover, at that time, considered to be much less than it really is, hopes were entertained among the maritime nations of Europe that some route for their ships to India, safer and shorter than any around the southern extremity of Africa, would be speedily discovered. 1493.

It was under the influence of such expectations that the united Spanish Sovereigns concluded with the King of Portugal the celebrated Treaty of Partition, founded on the bull issued in 1494, by Pope Alexander VI. Agreeably to this treaty, the Spaniards were to make no attempts to communicate with India by sea through eastern routes, which became in a manner the property of Portugal; while, on the other hand, they were to possess exclusive control and use of every western channel of intercourse with those countries, which might be discovered. This and other important questions of jurisdiction having been thus definitively settled between the two greatest maritime Powers of Europe, under the guaranty of the highest authority then recognised among civilized nations, each of the parties to the treaty continued its researches within the limits assigned to it. 1495.

1493. In these examinations, the Portuguese were the most successful. They soon found their way by the Cape of Good Hope to India, where they firmly established their pre-eminence; while the Spaniards were vainly exploring the Atlantic coasts of the New World, in search of some opening through which they might penetrate with their ships into the ocean bathing the southern side of Asia. At length, in 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the Governor of the Spanish colony of Darien, on the Atlantic, after a short march across the mountains overlooking that place, arrived on the shore of a sea, which was supposed to be no other than the long-sought Southern ocean; and, as the proximity of this sea to the Atlantic was at the same time demonstrated, farther encouragement was afforded for the hope that the two great waters would be found united in a position the most favorable for the prosecution of the desired objects. The researches of the Spaniards were, in consequence, directed particularly towards the isthmus of Darien; and were conducted with zeal, until the fact of the entire separation of the oceans in that quarter was determined.
1513. In the mean time, however, Fernando Magalhaens, or Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, discovered the strait which has ever since borne his name, and, having passed through it with his ships, continued his voyage westward to India. The grand geographical question, as to the possibility of circumnavigating the earth, was thus solved; but not in a manner satisfactory to the Spaniards. The strait of Magellan was intricate, and beset by dangers of every kind; and it was itself almost as distant from Europe as India by the eastern route. Moreover, the sea intervening between the new continent and Asia proved to be much wider than had been supposed; and, in every part of it, which was traversed by vessels for many years after its discovery, the winds were found to blow constantly from eastern points.
1520. These circumstances, as they successively became known, contributed to depress the hopes of the Spaniards, with regard to the establishment of their dominion in India; other events, however, occurred at the same time, which consoled them in part for the disappointment, and fixed their attention upon the New World.
- 1517
to
1532. While Magellan's voyage was in progress, the rich and populous empire of Mexico was discovered, and it was soon after conquered by the Spaniards, under Hernan Cortes. Within the ensuing ten years Peru and Chili were likewise subjected to the authority of the Spanish monarch; and the silver of America began to be considered as ample compensation for the loss of the spices and diamonds of India. The brilliant results of these extraordinary enterprises attracted from Europe crowds of adventurers, all eager to acquire wealth and distinction by similar means, who, uniting in bands under daring leaders, traversed the new continent in various directions, seeking rich nations to plunder. Fortunately for the cause of humanity, these expeditions were fruitless, so far at least as regards the object for which they were undertaken; on the other hand, much information was speedily acquired by means of them, respecting the geography of coasts.

and regions, which would not otherwise have been explored, perhaps, for centuries.

Among those who were at this period engaged in endeavoring to discover new kingdoms in America, and new passages between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, the most zealous and persevering was Hernan Cortes. Scarcely *had he effected the establishment of the Spanish authority in Mexico, ere he commenced preparations for exploring the adjacent seas and countries; in expeditions of which nature he employed a great portion of his time, as well as of his private fortune, during the whole period of his residence in that kingdom. In prosecution of his plans, the interior, as well as the coasts on both sides of the region connecting Mexico with South America, were minutely explored, until it had been ascertained that no wealthy nations occupied those territories, and that the two seas were entirely separated by land throughout the whole extent. This arduous task having been accomplished, the enterprising conqueror of Mexico directed his attention towards the northwest.

1517
to
1532.

At that period, the most northern settlements of the Spaniards in the American continent were: on the Atlantic side, Panuco, situated near the spot now occupied by the town of Tampico, within a few miles of the Mexican Gulf; and, on the Pacific, Culiacan, a small place near the eastern side of the entrance to the Gulf of California. Northward of these settlements, which were both in the vicinity of the tropic of Cancer, nothing was known of the continent, except with regard to some isolated portions of its eastern coasts.

It should here be observed, that the accounts which have descended to us of all voyages performed before the middle of the last century, and of all Spanish voyages to a much more recent period, are very defective, especially as regards geographical positions. Seldom, indeed, is it possible to identify a spot by means of the descriptions contained in those accounts. This arises, in the first place, from the circumstance that such narratives were usually written by priests, or other persons unacquainted with nautical matters, who paid little attention to latitudes and bearings. In the next place, the instruments employed in those days for determining the altitudes and relative distances of heavenly bodies were so imperfect, both in plan and in execution, that observations made with them on land, and under the most favorable conditions of atmosphere, led to results which were far from accurate; while at sea, when there was much motion in the vessel, or the air was not absolutely clear, those instruments were useless. To these causes of error are to be added the want of proper methods of calculation, as well as of knowledge of various modifying circumstances, such as refraction, aberration, &c. Hence, it followed that the statements of latitude, given in the accounts above mentioned, are of little value as indicating the positions of places, and are at best only approximative; while those of longitude, being,

* Letter of Cortes to Charles V., written from Mexico, in 1533.

1531. when given at all, deduced merely from the notes of the vessel's course and rate of sailing, are entirely worthless. It is scarcely necessary to add that this uncertainty as to the geographical situations of places produced confusion with regard to names; and, accordingly, we find that there are few remarkable spots on the northwest coast of America, discovered before the middle of the last century, which have not at different times been distinguished by many different appellations.

Respecting the voyages of discovery, made by order of Cortes in the Atlantic seas, little is to be found on record; and no notice of them is required for our present purposes. The first expedition, under his auspices, towards the northwest, took place in 1532, and terminated most disastrously.

1532. This expedition was commanded by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a relation of Cortes, who sailed from Acapulco in a small ship, accompanied by another under Juan de Mazuela; they advanced together along the southwest coast of Mexico, as far north as the 27th degree of latitude, and were there separated by a storm: after which nothing more was heard of the vessel commanded by Mendoza. The other ship, under Mazuela, was obliged, after the storm, to put back to the river of Culiacan, the nearest Spanish port, where she was deserted by the greater part of her crew. Those who remained then endeavored to carry her to Acapulco; but she was stranded on the shore of the province of Jalisco, near the place where San Blas now stands; and her crew, with the exception of three, were murdered by the savages. The vessel was subsequently seized and rifled by Nuño de Guzman, the chief of a roving band of adventurers, who, assuming the title of Governor of Jalisco, pretended to act for the Sovereign of Spain, independently of Cortes.

1533. A year having elapsed after the departure of these vessels, without any news being received of them, Cortes despatched two others in the same direction, under Hernando de Grijalva and Diego de Becerra, who sailed together from Tehuantepec on the 30th of October, 1533.

Grijalva, being soon separated from his companion, took a westward course, and reached a group of small islands at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles from the main land, (now called the Revillagigedo islands;) after which he returned to Mexico, without having effected any other discovery.

Meanwhile, Becerra, likewise sailing westward from Tehuantepec, found and almost immediately under the tropic of Cancer, and anchored in a small bay, where his men, having obtained some valuable pearls, became anxious to fix themselves for a time. This Becerra refused to permit; and he was preparing to continue his voyage, when a mutiny took place, in the course of which he was murdered, and the command was assumed by Fortunio Jimenes, the pilot. In pursuance of their plan, the mutineers then landed, and began to construct habitations on the shore of the bay; but, while thus engaged, they were surprised by a body of savages, who killed nearly the whole of them. The survivors escaped with the vessel, and succeeded in navigating her over to

the little port of Chiametla, on the coast of Jalisco, where she was also seized by the lawless Nuño de Guzman. 1533.

It may be mentioned, at once, that the land thus discovered by Becerra was the southern extremity of the peninsula of California. The bay in which his ship was lying at the time of his assassination is supposed to be that now called the bay of La Paz, and sometimes the bay of San Jose.*

When Cortes became assured of the seizure and spoliation of his vessels by Guzman, he prosecuted that person before the *Audiencia*, or royal court of justice of Mexico, which immediately decided in his favor. The pretended Governor of Jalisco, however, proved refractory, and refused to make restitution; whereupon, the conqueror assembled a body of troops, and marched at their head to Chiametla, in order to recover his vessels, and re-establish his authority in that country. On his approach, Guzman fled, with his adherents, to the interior; and Cortes having been joined at Chiametla, agreeably to his orders, by three vessels, determined to proceed with them in person to the new country discovered by Becerra in the west, which was said to be so rich in pearls and precious stones. 1534.

He accordingly embarked with his forces at Chiametla, and on the 3d of May, the day of the *Invention or Finding of the Holy Cross*, agreeably to the Roman Catholic calendar, he reached the bay in which Becerra had been murdered. In honor of this day, the name of *La Santa Cruz* (the Holy Cross) was bestowed upon the country, as well as on the bay; and possession having been solemnly taken of the whole in the name of the Sovereign of Spain, preparations were commenced for the establishment of a colony on the spot. These arrangements being completed, Cortes took his departure with two vessels, to examine the coasts of the new territory towards the north and east, for the purpose of assuring himself whether or not it was united to the American continent. 1535. April 15.

Of the voyage made by Cortes in the arm of the sea between California and the continent, the accounts are so confused and contradictory that it is impossible to ascertain his route. It appears, however, that, although he crossed this sea several times, he did not reach its northern extremity. After some time spent in this manner, during which his vessels were frequently in danger of destruction from storms, and their crews were suffering from want of provisions, he at length returned to Santa Cruz, where he found the colonists in the utmost distress from famine and privations of all sorts. Under these circumstances, he resolved to go back to Mexico, in order to procure supplies; which he accordingly did, leaving the colony in charge of his lieutenant, Francisco de Ulloa.

On arriving at Acapulco, in the beginning of 1536, Cortes learned that, during his absence from Mexico, he had been superseded 1536.

* The accounts of these voyages are derived from Herrera's History of the Spanish Empire in America, and from Navarrete's Introduction to the Journal of the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*.

1536. in the government of that country by Don Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank, who had already made his entrance into the capital as Viceroy. The conqueror thus saw himself, in a moment, despoiled of his power, in the territory which had been, through his exertions, added to the Spanish dominions; and the blow was the more severe, as his private property had been almost entirely expended in his endeavors to make new discoveries. He was, however, not to be depressed by these difficulties; and as he still possessed the right, in his quality of Admiral of the South Sea, to prepare and despatch vessels upon the Pacific, he immediately resolved to engage in another expedition towards the northwest, where he hoped to find the means of retrieving his fortunes. He accordingly recalled Ulloa and the colonists from Santa Cruz; and having with difficulty succeeded in raising the necessary funds, he equipped three ships for the contemplated voyage, which was not commenced until 1539.
1539. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Francisco de Ulloa, Cortes being obliged to remain at Mexico in order to attend to some important suits at law, in which he had become involved. Ulloa quitted Acapulco on the 8th of July, 1539, and, after losing one of his ships in a storm near the coast of Culiacan, he sailed with the two others towards the west, as far as the harbor of Santa Cruz, which, as well as the surrounding country, began by this time to be called *California*.* To ascertain the extent of this country, and whether it was connected with America or with Asia, or was detached from both those continents, were the first objects of the voyage; in pursuance of which, the Spanish navigator directed his course from Santa Cruz northward, through the arm of the ocean separating California from the main land of Mexico on the east. In this course he proceeded, examining both shores, until he had convinced himself that the two territories were united near the 33d degree of latitude. He then returned southward to Santa Cruz, through the same arm of the ocean, to which he gave the appropriate name of *Mar de Cortes*, (Sea of Cortes.) This great gulf has since received a variety of appellations, of which that principally used by the Spaniards is *Mar Vermelho*, (Vermillion Sea.) Among all other nations, it is known as the Gulf of California.
- Oct. 18. Having thus ascertained the continuity of California with America in the northeast, Ulloa next proceeded to examine the western sides of the new country. With this view, he sailed from the harbor of Santa Cruz, around the southern extremity of the land which is now called Cape San Lucas; thence he advanced along the coast, northward, struggling almost constantly against the violent northwest winds which prevail in that part of the Pacific, until he reached the 30th degree of latitude. By the time of his arrival at that parallel, many of the men in both vessels were disabled by sickness, and the stock of provisions was much reduced;
1540.
Mar. 25.

* With regard to the origin or the signification of the word *California*, many speculations have been offered, none of which are either satisfactory or ingenious.

in consequence of which, it was determined that one of the vessels should go back to Mexico, carrying the sick and the news of their discoveries, while Ulloa should remain in the other for the purpose of examining the coast still farther. The necessary arrangements having been accordingly made, the two vessels parted at the Isle of Cedars, (now called *Isla de Cerros*, or Isle of Mountains,) situated near the coast, in the 28th degree of latitude. The vessel called the *Santa Agueda*, bearing the sick and the despatches, reached Acapulco in safety before the end of May, 1540. Whether or not Ulloa ever returned to Mexico, is not known with certainty.* Thus terminated the last expedition of discovery made by authority of Hernan Cortes.

1540.

April 5.

In the mean time, the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who succeeded Cortes in the government of Mexico, had also become interested in the examination of the coasts and countries north of that kingdom; his attention having been thus directed by the accounts of some persons who had made a long and toilsome peregrination across those regions.

These persons, Alvaro Nuñez, (better known in history as *Cabeza Vaca*, or Bull-head,) two other Spaniards, and a negro, had landed, in 1527, near Tampa Bay, in East Florida, among the adventurers under Panfilo Narvaez, who invaded that country in search of mines or nations to plunder; and after the destruction of their comrades by starvation, shipwreck, and the arrows of the savages, had wandered for nine years through forests and deserts, until, at length, they reached Culiacan, near the Gulf of California, in 1536. Although these adventurers had themselves seen no signs of cultivation or wealth in the territories thus traversed, yet they had received from the savages, on their way, many confused accounts of rich and populous kingdoms situated still farther northward; and the Viceroy, having heard their statements, thought proper to endeavor to ascertain the truth of the reports. For this purpose he was induced, by the advice and solicitation of his friend, the celebrated Bartolomé de las Casas, to employ two Franciscan friars, in place of the soldiers who were usually sent on such expeditions; in order that the natives might be in this manner preserved from the violence which military men would not fail to exercise, if opportunity should be offered for the gratification of their cupidity.

1527 to
1536.

The friars, Marcos de Niza and Honorato, with the negro who had accompanied Cabeza Vaca, and some Indians, accordingly departed from Culiacan on the 7th of March, 1539. What route they took it is impossible now to discover. The reverend explorers, however, returned before the end of the year, (without the negro,) bringing accounts of countries which they had visited in the northwest, abounding in gold and precious stones, and in-

1539.

Mar. 7.

* Our knowledge of Ulloa's voyage is derived chiefly from the narrative of Francisco Preciado, one of the officers of the *Santa Agueda*, which is interesting, though by no means exact. It may be found in Italian, in the Collection of Ramusio, vol. iii, page 233; and in English, though badly translated, in the reprint of Hakluyt, vol. iii, page 503.

1539. habited by a population more numerous and more civilized than either Mexico or Peru.

According to the letter* addressed to the Viceroy by friar Marcos, upon his return, these rich and delightful countries were situated beyond the 35th degree of latitude, in the vicinity of the sea, and were separated from those previously known to the Spaniards by extensive tracts of forest and desert, through which it would be necessary to pass in order to reach the golden region. The friar describes with minuteness his route, as well as the situation, extent, and divisions of the new countries; dwelling particularly on the magnificence and greatness of a city called *Cibola*, the capital of a province of the same name, which he describes as containing more than twenty thousand large stone houses, all richly adorned with gold and jewels. The people of this place, as the letter says, were at first hostile to the strangers, and had killed the negro; but, in the end, they had evinced a disposition to embrace Christianity, and to submit to the authority of Spain; in consequence of which, the friars had secretly taken possession of the whole country for their Sovereign, by setting up crosses in various parts.

These, and other things of the like nature, gravely related by ecclesiastics, who professed to have witnessed what they described, were admitted as true by the Viceroy; and he accordingly prepared, without delay, to conquer these new countries, which were considered as belonging of right to his Catholic Majesty, as well as to convert their inhabitants to Christianity. For these purposes, he raised a body of soldiers and missionaries, who were to pursue the route described by friar Marcos, under the command of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the governor of the territory immediately north of Mexico, called New Galicia. At the same time, in order, if there should be occasion, to support these forces, a small squadron was sent along the western coast, towards the north, under the direction of Fernando de Alarcon.

1540. Cortes also claimed the right, as Admiral of the South Sea, to attempt the conquest of these countries by means of a naval armament; and a violent dispute in consequence arose between the two chiefs. The conqueror, however, had expended all his disposable funds upon the equipment of the shipst which he had sent out under Ulloa, before the return of friar Marcos from the north; and he had, therefore, only to console himself with the hope that those vessels might accidentally have reached the shores of the golden land before its invasion by the forces of the Viceroy. In this expectation he was disappointed, as already shown. This extraordinary man, soon after the conclusion of Ulloa's voyage, returned to Spain, where he passed the remaining seven years of his life in vain efforts to procure restitution of his prop-

* See Ramusio, vol. iii, page 297; and Hakluyt, vol. iii, page 438.

† Herrera says that Ulloa was sent by Cortes to subdue the countries discovered by friar Marcos. This is, however, an error, if the dates given by him and the other historians of that period be correct.

erty and honors, in the vast and valuable dominions which he had rendered subject to the crown of Castile. 1540.

* Fernando de Alarcon, the commander of the naval forces sent by Mendoza for the conquest of Cibola, sailed from the harbor of Santiago, on the west coast of Mexico, with two ships of war, and advanced northward along that coast to the extremity of the Californian gulf, where he found the entrance of a large and rapid river. Having embarked, with a portion of his crew, in boats, upon this river, to which he gave the name of *Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia*, (Our Lady of Safe Conduct,) he ascended one of its branches, (probably that now called the *Colorado*,) to the distance of eighty leagues from its mouth. Throughout this whole distance he found the stream broad and rapid, and the country on either side rich and thickly peopled, though occupied only by savages. In reply to the inquiries made by him respecting Coronado's party, and the rich territories of which they were in search, he received a number of confused stories of kingdoms abounding in gold and precious stones, and inhabited by civilized nations; of rivers filled with crocodiles; of droves of buffaloes; of enchanters, and other wonderful or remarkable objects. At the extremity of his course up the river, he received what he considered definite information respecting Cibola, and was even assured that he might reach that country by a march of ten days into the interior. He, however, suspected some treachery on the part of those who gave such assurances; and fearing lest he should be cut off in case he proceeded farther onwards, he descended the river to his ships, and returned to Mexico before the end of the year. His report to the Viceroy displays great self-conceit, and violent animosity against Cortes and Ulloa. Mendoza was, however, so little satisfied with his conduct, that he was, immediately after his return, dismissed from the service. May 9. Aug. 26.

The land forces sent under Coronado exhibited much greater perseverance in their search for the rich kingdoms believed to be situated in the northwestern part of America. According to the letter of their general,† who appears to have been a person of sober and resolute character, this body of soldiers and priests, after leaving Culiacan, followed the route described by the two friars, and found the forests and deserts mentioned in their narrative. Having toiled through these dreary regions, however, they had ample cause to distrust the other statements of the reverend discoverers. They indeed reached a country called Cibola, situated nearly in the position assigned by the missionaries to their golden land; but they there saw before them only a half-cultivated territory, thinly inhabited by a people not absolutely barbarous, but yet entirely destitute of that wealth and refinement which had been attributed to them in the reports made to the Viceroy. The magnificent cities were small Indian villages, the April 22. August.

* Letter of Alarcon to the Viceroy, in Ramusio, vol. iii, page 303; and in Hakluyt, vol. iii, page 505.

† Ramusio, vol. iii, page 300; Hakluyt, vol. iii, page 447.

1540. largest not containing more than two hundred houses; and the immense quantities of precious metals and stones dwindled down into "*a few turquoises,*" and "*some little gold and silver, supposed to be good.*" In fine, as Coronado says in his despatch written from Cibola, "*the reverend father provincial had told the truth in nothing which he said respecting kingdoms, provinces, and cities, in this region; for we have found all quite the contrary.*"

The Spaniards, although they were thus disappointed in their hopes of plunder, yet did not like to return empty-handed to Mexico, and petitioned their leader to allow them to settle in Cibola, which was a pleasant and agreeable country. To this request, however, Coronado would not assent; and he could only be prevailed on to continue the march northward for some time longer, in search of other rich countries, which were said by the people of Cibola to lie in that direction. Of the remainder of their journey after quitting Cibola, we have a very imperfect account. It appears that they rambled for two years through the region between the Pacific and the great dividing chain of mountains, deriving their subsistence chiefly from the flesh of the buffaloes, which were there found in large numbers. The northern limit of their wanderings was a country called by them *Quirina*, near the ocean, and under the 40th degree of latitude, inhabited by a kind and intelligent people, from whom the Spaniards learned that the coasts were occasionally visited by ships laden with rich goods and adorned with gilded images.* With information of this nature the adventurers returned to Mexico in 1542, to the great disappointment of Mendoza, who doubtless expected more real results from the labor and expense bestowed by him on the equipment and pay of the body.

1541. Before the return of Coronado's party from the northwest,† the Viceroy had prepared another naval armament, which was to proceed in that direction, from one of the ports on the Pacific, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, one of the most celebrated heroes of the conquest. But, just as it was about to depart, a rebellion broke out among the Indians of the province of Jalisco; and the forces which had been assembled for the expedition on the ocean were all required to re-establish the Spanish authority in the disturbed territories. In the course of the campaign which ensued, Alvarado was killed by a kick from his horse; and the difficulties in Jalisco continuing, Mendoza could not carry into effect his views with regard to the countries northwest of Mexico until the following year.

1542. The disturbances in Mexico having been at length quieted, two of the vessels which had been prepared for the expedition to the North Pacific were placed under the command of Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator of considerable reputation at that day. These vessels sailed together from the port

* In this account there is nothing improbable. Japanese vessels have been found upon the northwest coast of America twice since 1814.

† Herrera, decade 7, book 2, chapter 11. ‡ Herrera, decade 7, book 5, chapter 3.

of Navidad, in Jalisco; and, after a short passage, reached the harbor of Santa Cruz, whence they proceeded around Cape San Lucas, in order to explore the west coast of California, which had been discovered two years before by Francisco de Ulloa. Without attempting to trace minutely the progress of Cabrillo along this coast, or to enumerate the various bays, capes, and islands visited by him, scarcely any of which can now be identified, suffice it to say that, by the middle of November, he had advanced as far north as the 40th degree of latitude; having been, like Ulloa, incessantly opposed by violent northwesterly winds. From this height the Spaniards were driven back to a harbor, which they had before entered and named *Port Possession*, supposed to be in the small island of San Bernardo, near the main land under the 34th parallel. Here Cabrillo sunk under the fatigues to which he had been subjected, and died, leaving the command of the ships to the pilot, Bartolomé Ferrer, or Ferrelo.

1542.
July 2.

Nov. 15.

1543.
Jan. 3.

The new commander, being no less enterprising than his predecessor, resolved, if possible, to attain some of the objects of the expedition before returning to Mexico. He accordingly sailed from Port Possession; and, after having been several times driven back, at length, on the 1st of March, he found himself, by observation, in the 44th degree of latitude. Here the crews of both vessels were suffering from cold, fatigue, and want of proper nourishment; in consequence of which, it was resolved that the attempt to proceed farther northward should be abandoned. Agreeably to this resolution, the navigators directed their course towards the south, and arrived in safety at Navidad on the 14th of April, 1543.

March 1.

It is not easy, from the accounts which we possess, to ascertain precisely what was the most northern point on the American coast seen by the Spaniards in this expedition. Navarrete,* after examining the journals and other papers relating to the voyage, which are still preserved in the Archives of the Indies, pronounces that the 43d parallel of latitude is to be considered as the northern limit of the discoveries made by Cabrillo and Ferrelo. The same writer has also remarked, that the latitudes assigned in those documents to all the places visited by the ships, which can now be identified, are about a degree and a half too high. Conformably with this observation, it would appear that a promontory, named by Ferrelo the Cape of Risks, (*Cabo de Fortunas*,) in commemoration of the perils encountered in its vicinity, may be that situated in the latitude of 40 degrees 20 minutes, which afterwards received the name of *Cape Mendocino*.

While the expeditions thus made under the authority of the Viceroy Mendoza were in progress, Hernando de Soto and his band of adventurers were performing their celebrated march† through the region north of the Mexican Gulf, which was then known by the general name of Florida. Without attempting to

1538
to
1543.

* Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, page 34.

† There are several accounts of this expedition; among which, the best known are those by Garcilasso de la Vega, and by an anonymous Portuguese.

1538 delineate the course of their wanderings, suffice it to say that
 to they traversed, in various directions, the vast territories now com-
 1543. posing the southern and southwestern States of the American
 Union, and then descended the Mississippi from a point near the
 mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf, over which they made their way in
 boats to Panuco. From the accounts of the few who survived
 the fatigues and perils of this enterprise, added to those of Alvaro
 Nuñez and Vasquez de Coronado respecting the countries which
 they had severally visited, it was considered absolutely certain
 that neither wealthy nations nor navigable passages between the
 Atlantic and the Pacific oceans were to be found north of Mexico,
 unless beyond the 40th degree of latitude. Having arrived at
 this conclusion, the Spaniards desisted from their efforts to ex-
 plore the northwest division of America, and did not renew them
 until nearly fifty years afterwards. In the mean time, circum-
 stances had occurred which served to show that the discovery of
 any means of facilitating the entrance of ships from Europe into
 the Pacific would be deleterious to the interests of Spain in the
 New World.

Before the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had
 established their dominion over a large portion of the coasts and
 islands of the East Indies, between which and Europe they were
 carrying on an extensive and valuable trade by way of the Cape
 of Good Hope. The Spaniards, in the mean time, viewing with
 feelings of jealousy and vexation this advancement of the power
 and wealth of their rivals, had endeavored likewise to obtain a
 footing in southern Asia, for which purpose naval armaments had
 been despatched thither from Spain, through the straits of Magel-
 lan, and also from the ports of Mexico on the Pacific. These
 expeditions had, however, proved unsuccessful. The squadron
 1542. sent from Mexico in 1542, under Admiral Villalobos, crossed the
 Pacific in safety, and reached the group of islands, since called
 the Philippines, of which possession was taken for the King of
 Spain. The forces of Villalobos were, however, soon dispersed,
 and none of his vessels returned to Mexico.

1564. In 1564 the Spaniards made another effort to establish them-
 selves in the East Indies, the issue of which was more fortunate.
 The Philippine islands were in that year entirely subjugated
 by Miguel de Legaspi, who had been sent for the purpose with a
 squadron from the port of Navidad, on the west coast of Mexico;
 moreover, a discovery was effected during this expedition, which
 proved highly important, and without which, indeed, the other
 results would have been of little value. Until that period, no one
 had ever crossed the Pacific from Asia to America; all who had at-
 tempted to make such a voyage having endeavored to sail di-
 rectly westward, through the part of the ocean lying between the
 tropics, where the winds blow constantly from eastern points.
 Three of Legaspi's ships, however, by taking a northeastern
 course from the Philippines, entered a region of variable winds,
 and were thus enabled to reach the vicinity of the Californian
 coast, about the 40th parallel of latitude, from which the prevail-
 ing northwesterners soon carried them to Mexico.

The Spaniards thus gained—what they had so long desired—a position in the East Indies; and all doubts as to the practicability of communication with those countries, by means of the Pacific, were completely dissipated. Various other obstacles to the navigation of that ocean being in like manner removed about the same period, the commercial intercourse between the Spanish provinces in America and in Asia rapidly increased. Large ships sailed regularly from Acapulco, laden with precious metals and European merchandise, for Manilla and Macao, from which places they brought back the silks and spices of the Indies, either for consumption in Mexico, or for transportation to Spain; while an extensive trade in articles no less valuable was carried on between Panama and the ports of Chili and Peru. The voyages made for these purposes were in general long, but comparatively safe; and as the Pacific was for some years free from all intrusion on the part of other nations, little care or cost was bestowed upon the defence of the vessels, or of the towns on the coast.

1564
to
1579.

The ships proceeding from Acapulco to Manilla were carried, by the invariable easterly or *trade winds*, directly across the ocean, to their port; in returning, they frequently made the land on the northwest coast of America, the most prominent points of which thus became, in the course of time, tolerably well known. The accounts of two or three of these return voyages have been preserved; but the information obtained from them is of little use, in consequence of their want of exactness. In Hakluyt's Collection may be found a letter,* addressed in 1584 to the Viceroy of Mexico, by Francisco Gali, or Gualle, containing a description of his passages from Acapulco to Macao, and thence back to Acapulco; on which letter great stress is laid by Navarrete and other writers, as showing the extent of Spanish discoveries in the North Pacific during the sixteenth century. Gali there relates that he left Macao on the 24th of July, 1584, and, proceeding by the usual northern route, reached the American coast, in sight of which he sailed for a long distance before arriving at Acapulco. Where he first saw the land of America, the letter does not precisely state. After describing his course from the vicinity of Japan, east and east-by-north, he says: "Being by the same course, upon the coast of New Spain, under *seven-and-thirty degrees and a half*, we passed a very high and fair land, with many trees, wholly without snow, &c. From thence, we ran southeast, southeast-by-south, and southeast-by-east, as we found the wind, to the point called *el Cabo de San Lucas*, which is the beginning of the land of California on the northwest side, lying under two and twenty degrees, being five hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendocino." No mention is made of any land seen north of 37½ degrees; Navarrete, and after him Humboldt, however, insist that Gali reached the vicinity of the American continent, under the parallel of *fifty-seven and a half degrees*; and that the first land

1584.

* Vol. iii, page 526, of the reprint. The letter is "translated out of Spanish into Dutch, verbatim, by John Huyghen Van Linschoten," and from Dutch into English.

1581. seen by him was the western side of the largest island of King George the Third's group. This assertion is supported by no evidence; and is irreconcilable with the account given by the navigator in his letter, the genuineness of which is not denied.*

1595. Torquemada, in his *History of the Indian Monarchy*, (vol. i, page 717,) mentions the voyage of a ship called the *San Augustin* along the western side of California, in 1595, under the command of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeñon, who had been directed to examine the coast in search of a place suitable for the establishment of a colony and marine depot; nothing, however, is stated respecting the course of the ship, except that she was lost in the bay of San Francisco. We have accounts of two or three other visits made by Europeans to this part of America during the sixteenth century, which will be noticed hereafter.

1560 While the commerce of the Spaniards in the Pacific was thus
to increasing, their Government was adopting those measures of restriction and exclusion, which were maintained with so little relaxation during the whole remaining period of its supremacy in the American continent. The great object of its policy was to secure to the monarch and people of Spain the entire and perpetual enjoyment of all the advantages which could be derived from the territories claimed by them in virtue of the Papal cession of 1493; and, with that view, it was considered absolutely necessary, not only to prevent the establishment of foreigners in any part of those territories, but also to discourage the rapid advancement of the Spanish provinces themselves in population, wealth, or other resources. Agreeably to these ideas, the settlement, and even the exploring of new countries in America, were restrained; colonies were rarely allowed to be planted near the coasts, unless they might serve for purposes of defence; and when voyages or journeys of discovery were made, the results were generally concealed by the Government. The subjects of all foreign nations were prohibited, under pain of death, from touching the section of the New World supposed to belong to Spain, or from navigating the seas in its vicinity.

Against these excluding regulations, the English, after they had thrown off their allegiance to the head of the Roman Catholic church, began first to murmur, and then to act. Their Government required from that of Spain an acknowledgment of their rights to occupy vacant portions of America, and to trade with such as were already settled; and these demands having been refused, Queen Elizabeth did not hesitate to encourage her subjects, openly as well as secretly, to violate laws which she declared to

* The only authorities with regard to Gali's voyage, cited by Navarrete, in addition to the letter from the navigator contained in Hakluyt, are two letters addressed by the Viceroy of Mexico to the King of Spain in 1585; the originals of which are preserved in the Archives of the Indies. These two letters are merely mentioned in a note. The account of the voyage given by Navarrete is, however, with the exception of the difference as to the highest degree of latitude reached by Gali, precisely the same as that contained in Hakluyt. Humboldt, as usual, copies Navarrete in all things relating to the discovery of the northwest coast. The question is of no importance at present.

be unjustifiable and inhuman. The Gulf of Mexico and the West Indian seas were, in consequence, soon haunted by bands of daring English, who, under the equivocal denominations of *free-traders* and *freebooters*, set at defiance all prohibitions with regard to commerce or territorial occupation, and frequently plundered the ships of the Spaniards, as well as the towns on their coasts. About the same time, the French Protestants began their attempts to form settlements in Florida; and the revolt in the Netherlands, which terminated in the freedom of the Dutch provinces, shortly after produced a formidable increase in the number of these irregular foes to the supremacy of Spain.

1560
to
1578.

The Pacific was for some years preserved from such hostile invasions by the dread of the difficulties and dangers of the passage through the straits of Magellan; and the Spaniards began to regard as bulwarks of defence those obstacles to communication between Europe and the western side of America, which they had previously been so desirous to remove or counteract. The reports of the extent and value of the trade in the Pacific, and of the riches accumulated at various places in its vicinity, did not, however, fail in time to overcome all apprehensions on the part of the English,* whose ships at length, in 1578, appeared upon that ocean, under the command of the most able and adventurous naval captain of the age. It is scarcely necessary to say that this captain was Francis Drake. As he is generally supposed to have, during the voyage here mentioned, effected important discoveries on the northwest coasts of America, it will be proper to notice his movements in that quarter of the world particularly; and to determine, if possible, how far such suppositions are based upon authentic proofs. The most material facts on the subject, as collected from the only original evidence† which has yet been made public, are the following:

1578

Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth in December, 1577, with five small vessels, which had been procured and armed by himself and other private individuals in England, ostensibly for a voyage to Egypt, but really for a predatory cruise against the dominions and subjects of Spain. The Governments of England and Spain were then, indeed, at peace with each other; but mutual hatred, arising from causes already alluded to, prevailed between the two nations, and the principles of general law or morals were not at that period so refined as to prevent Queen Elizabeth from favoring Drake's enterprise, with the real objects of which she was doubtless well acquainted.

1577.
Dec. 13.

For some months after leaving England, Drake roved about the Atlantic, without making any prize of value; and then, having refitted his ships on the eastern coast of Patagonia, he succeeded

1578

* The first attack made by the English on the Spaniards, in the Pacific, took place in 1575. In that year, a party of freebooters, headed by their captain, John Oxenham, crossed the isthmus of Panama, and built a vessel on the south side, in which they made several valuable prizes; they, however, at length fell into the hands of their enemies, and were all, with the exception of five boys, put to death at Panama.

† See Appendix A to this memoir.

1578. in conducting three of them safely through the dreaded straits of
Sept. 5. Magellan, into the Pacific. Scarcely, however, was this accomplished, ere the little squadron was dispersed by a storm; and the chief of the expedition was left with only a schooner of a hundred tons burden, and about sixty men, to prosecute his enterprise against the power and wealth of the Spaniards on the western side of America.

December. Notwithstanding these disheartening occurrences, Drake did not hesitate to proceed to the parts of the coast occupied by the Spaniards, whom he found unprepared to resist him either on land or on sea. He accordingly plundered their towns and ships with little difficulty; and so deep and lasting was the impression produced by his achievements, that, for more than a century afterwards, his name was never pronounced in those countries without exciting feelings of horror and detestation.

1579. At length, in the spring of 1579, having completed his visitation of the American coast by the plunder of the town of Guatulco, near Acapulco in Mexico, Drake considered it most prudent to direct his course towards England; and, fearing that he might be intercepted by the Spaniards if he should attempt to repossess the straits of Magellan, he determined to cross the Pacific to the East Indies, and thence to continue his voyage around the Cape of Good Hope, to his country. With this view, he left Guatulco on the 16th of April; but, instead of proceeding directly westward, which would have been his true line of navigation, he, for some reason not clearly shown in the accounts of his expedition, sailed towards the north, and on the 2d of June following had reached the 42d parallel of latitude. There his men began to suffer from cold; and his farther progress appeared to be difficult, if not impossible, on account of the violence and constancy of the north-west winds. Under these circumstances, (whether from accident or intentionally is not certain,) he fell in with the American coast, and anchored near it. The place, however, proving insecure, he quitted it without landing, and sailed along the shore to the south, until he found a safe and commodious harbor about the 38th degree of latitude, in which he remained with his vessel from the 17th of June to the 23d of July.

June 17 to July 23. This period was spent by the English in repairing their vessel, and making other arrangements for the long voyage in prospect. The natives of the surrounding country, who came in crowds to the shore of the harbor, at first exhibited signs of hostile intentions. They were, however, soon conciliated by the kind and forbearing conduct of the strangers; and their respect for Drake increased to such an extent, that, when they saw him about to depart, they earnestly entreated him to remain among them as their king. The naval hero, though not disposed to undertake in person the duties of sovereignty over a tribe of naked savages, nevertheless "thought meet not to reject the crown; because he knew not what honor and profit it might bring to his own country. Wherefore, in the name and to the use of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the country into his hands; wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might

so conveniently be transported for the enriching of her kingdom at home." The investiture accordingly took place with due ceremony; Drake bestowing upon the country thus legitimately added to the English dominions the name of *New Albion*, and erecting on the shore of the bay a monument with an inscription commemorative of the transfer. 1579.

The preparations for continuing the voyage having been completed, Drake quitted his new made fellow-subjects, to their great regret, on the 23d of July, and, steering directly across the Pacific, reached the vicinity of the Philippine Islands in sixty-eight days; thence he pursued his course through the Indian seas, and around the southern extremity of Africa into the Atlantic, and arrived in England, with his booty undiminished, on the 25th of September, 1580. July 23. Sept. 30. 1580. Sept. 25.

With regard to the harbor on the northwest coast of America, in which the English repaired their vessel, nothing can be learned from the original accounts of their expedition, except that it was situated between the 38th and the 39th parallels of latitude; and that a group of small islands was found in the ocean, at a short distance from its mouth: whence we are led to conclude that it was either the *Bay of San Francisco*, or another bay a few miles farther north, now called *Port Bodega*, to each of which this description applies. As to the extent of the portion of that coast seen by Drake, the accounts are at variance. In the earliest and apparently the most authentic relations and notices of his voyage, the 43d degree of latitude is given as the northern limit of his course in the Pacific; while in others, of later date, and more questionable authority, it is maintained that he examined the whole shore of the continent from the 48th parallel to the 38th. Burney, in his *History of Discoveries in the Pacific*, (vol. i, page 356,) has devoted several pages to the subject. He there pronounces that "*the part of the American coast discovered by Drake is to be reckoned as beginning immediately north of Cape Mendocino, and extending to the 48th degree of north latitude;*" and this opinion has been since almost universally adopted. There are, however, strong reasons for rejecting the decision of Burney, whose review of the evidences in this, as in all cases in which his countrymen were concerned, is entirely *ex parte*. An exposition of these reasons would require more space than could be with propriety allotted to it in the body of this history; it has therefore been consigned to the Appendix, [A,] and the conclusion only will be here presented, which is: *that in all probability, the English under Drake, in 1579, saw no part of the west coast of America north of the 43d degree of latitude, to which parallel it had been discovered by Cabrillo and Ferrello, in 1543.*

The success of Drake's enterprise encouraged other English adventurers to attempt similar expeditions through the Strait of Magellan; and it likewise served to stimulate the navigators of that nation, in their efforts to discover northern passages of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Of their predatory excursions, none appear to have been attended with success, except that of the celebrated Thomas Cavendish, or Can- 1580.

1587. dish, who, during his circumnavigation of the globe, rendered his name almost as terrible to the Spaniards as that of Drake, by his ravages on the western coasts of America. In this voyage, Candish lay for some time near Cape San Lucas, the southern-
Nov. 15. most point of California, and there captured the *Santa Anna*, a Spanish ship, richly laden, on her way from Manilla to Acapulco, which he set on fire after plundering her and landing her crew on the coast. The miserable persons, thus abandoned in a desert country, must soon have perished, had not the hull of their vessel, after the extinction of the fire by the waves, been driven on shore in their vicinity; this carcass they contrived to repair, so as to render it sea-worthy, and, embarking in it, they succeeded in reaching a Mexican port. Among them was *Juan de Fuca*, a Greek pilot, of whose subsequent discoveries on the northwest coast of America an account will be given in the next following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Fabulous or uncertain accounts of voyages in the north Pacific—Apprehensions of the Spanish Government with regard to the discovery of northern passages between the Atlantic and the Pacific—Voyages of Fuca in 1593, and Vizcaino, in 1602—Establishments of the Jesuits in California—First colonies planted by the Spaniards on the western side of California, between 1769 and 1774.

DURING the latter years of the sixteenth and the first of the seventeenth centuries, the navigators of England were engaged in exploring the northwestern coasts of the Atlantic, in hopes of discovering some passage through which they might enter the Pacific, with less difficulty and loss of time than by sailing around the southern extremity of America. The Spanish Government was, as the historians of that period fully testify, much alarmed by these efforts of its most hated and most dangerous enemies to facilitate communications between the two seas; and the uneasiness thus occasioned was from time to time increased by rumors of the successful issue of voyages made for that purpose by subjects of various European nations.

1575
to
1632

The earliest of these rumors related to the discovery supposed to have been made by the celebrated Portuguese, Gaspar de Cortereal, in 1500, of a passage called the *Strait of Anian*, uniting the two oceans, north of that part of America which was, and still is, known by the general name of Labrador. Cortereal did certainly, about the year last mentioned, explore the coasts of Newfoundland and those of the continent in its vicinity; and it is possible that he may also have penetrated through Hudson's Strait into Hudson's Bay, which he would then most naturally have considered as a western ocean. Whatever may have been the origin or basis of the rumor respecting the discovery of the Strait of Anian,* the Spaniards and other European nations long continued to be persuaded of its truth. Expeditions were made in search of the passage; and nearly all of those who pretended to have accomplished northern voyages between the Atlantic and the Pacific, asserted that they had sailed by way of the Strait of Anian.

The number of persons who claimed the merit of discovering navigable passages through or around the northern parts of Amer-

* The Strait of Anian was said to have been so named by Cortereal, after two brothers who sailed with him. The author of an article in the *London Quarterly* for October, 1816, conceives that the passage was more probably thus denominated, because the navigator "deemed it to be the *eastern* extremity of a strait, whose *western* end, opening into the Pacific, had already received that name." In order to show the value of this conception, it is only necessary to observe that Cortereal's voyage took place in 1500, and that the ocean on the western side of America was not discovered until thirteen years afterwards.

1575
to
1632.

ica at the period here referred to, appears to have been considerable. The chroniclers of the time have preserved the names of several; and although their stories are now known to have been as false as those respecting the acquisition of the philosopher's stone, or the elixir of life, yet some of them should be noticed, on account of the influence which they exerted upon the progress of research in the northwestern part of the New World.

The most celebrated fable of this class, is the one of which a Portuguese, named *Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado*, is the hero. He is said to have sailed from the Atlantic, in 1588, through a strait communicating with that sea near the 62d degree of north latitude, into the Pacific, which he entered by a very narrow opening situated under the 60th parallel; having, in the course of this navigation, been obliged to proceed as far north as the 75th degree. This supposed voyage is mentioned by several Spanish authors of the seventeenth century. It was however forgotten, and remained in oblivion, until 1790, when it was again brought before the world by an eminent French geographer, M. Buache, who endeavored to establish the truth of the most material parts of the statement, in a memoir read by him before the Academy of Sciences of Paris. In consequence of his observations, the Spanish Government ordered the commanders of the vessels which were in that year sent to explore the northwest coasts of America, to search for the western extremity of the strait. They did so, but in vain; and it is now certain that no such passage exists. With regard to the origin of the story, Navarrete informs us that a person named Maldonado, an unprincipled adventurer, who had written some works on geography, presented to the Council of the Indies, in Spain, a narrative or memoir of a voyage which he pretended to have made at the time, and in the manner above related, accompanied by a petition that he might be rewarded for his discovery, and intrusted with the command of forces, in order to occupy and defend the passage against other nations. Navarrete adds, that this proposition was rejected by the Council, but that the papers respecting it were retained, and are still preserved among the Archives of the Indies. In 1812, Signor Carlo Amoretti, of Milan, found in the Ambrosian library a Spanish manuscript, purporting to be a copy of this same narrative or memoir, and published a translation of it in French, with notes and commentaries in support of the assertions of the writer. Whether the said manuscript be indeed a copy of that presented by Maldonado to the Spanish Government, or not, is a question as yet unsolved; and it is, moreover, a question which may as well remain without solution, as the subject no longer possesses any claim to attention. Equally useless is it at the present day to inquire whether or not this Maldonado* made a voyage in the

* The question as to the truth of the story of Maldonado's voyage is discussed in the introduction to the account of the expedition of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, and in the *London Quarterly Review* for October, 1816. The article in the *Review* is well written, but filled with inaccuracies in all that relates to the Pacific. The writer considers the account translated by Amoretti to be the fabrication of some German.

north Pacific as far as Beering's Strait, the discovery of which has been ascribed to him, upon evidence the most slender, supported by presumptions the most gratuitous.*

1575
to
1632.

No less destitute of truth is the story of the expedition of Admiral *Pedro Fonte*, from Peru to the Atlantic, through northern seas and rivers; which is, however, to be referred to a much later date than that of the voyage of Maldonado, as it first appeared in a periodical work entitled "*Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs of the Curious*," published at London in June, 1708.† According to this story, the admiral sailed from Callao in April, 1640, to the north Pacific, where he discovered a group of islands near the American continent, named by him *Islas de San Lazaro*. Among these islands he proceeded 260 leagues, and then, in the latitude of 53 degrees, he entered a river called by him *Rio de los Reyes*, which he ascended in a northeasterly direction, penetrating the interior of America, until he reached a great lake containing many islands. There he left his ships, and going (in boats, we are to infer) down another river which flowed from the lake eastwardly, he at length came to a sea, where he found a large ship at anchor. She proved to be a trading-vessel from Boston, in Massachusetts; and her commander, Shapley, informed the admiral that he had arrived at his actual position by a northern course from that port. Being thus convinced of the existence of an uninterrupted connexion by water between the two oceans, across the northern section of America, the Spaniards returned to their ships, and then sailed back to Peru, through the Rio de los Reyes and the Pacific.

1640.

The above sketch of the supposed expedition of Admiral Fonte will be sufficient for present purposes. The original account is long, and is filled with confused and trifling details, the inconsistencies in which should have prevented it from receiving any credit. It was, however, for some time generally believed to be true, or partly true; and its probability was maintained so lately as in 1797, by the scientific Fleurieu, in his Introduction to the Narrative of Marchand's Voyage. The fact of the existence of a number of islands in the situation assigned to the Archipelago of San Lazaro, indeed, affords some reason for the assumption that the story may have been founded on discoveries really made in that part of the Pacific. Navarrete‡ treats the whole account as an absurd fabrication; and takes the opportunity to defend the Government of his country from the charge brought against it by

* Viz: upon a passage in the *Bibliotheca Hispanica-Nova*, of Nicolas Antonio, published in 1672, to the effect that the author had seen in the possession of a bishop, a manuscript account of the discovery of the Strait of Anian, by Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in 1588. This passage, and an abstract of the relation of Maldonado, taken from Amoretti's publication, may be found in Burney's History of Voyages in the Pacific, vol. v, page 166; the abstract is in the appendix [B] to this memoir.

† The whole account of this pretended voyage may be found in Burney's History of Voyages in the Pacific, vol. iii, page 185; and in Dobbs's History of Hudson's Bay. The story belongs to the class of fictions now commonly called *hoaxes*.

‡ Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, page 76.

Fleurieu, of concealing the results of attempts made by its orders to explore unknown seas and regions.

One other account of a supposed voyage from the Pacific to the Atlantic remains to be noticed ; which should not, however, be classed with those above mentioned, although it is certainly erroneous as regards the most material point, and was probably known to be so by the original narrator. All the information as yet obtained respecting this voyage may be found in a note* or declaration written by Michael Lock, an English merchant or agent in the Levant trade, and published under his name, in 1625, in the celebrated geographical and historical collection called "the Pilgrims," by Samuel Purchas.

1592.

From Mr. Lock's declaration, it appears that, in 1596, he met at Venice an aged Greek, calling himself *Apostolos Valerianos*, who stated, that he had been employed for more than forty years, under the name of *Juan de Fuca*, as seaman and pilot in the Spanish service; that he had been one of the crew of the *Manilla* ship *Santa Anna*, plundered by Cavendish near the coast of California, in 1587, on which occasion he had lost property of his own to the value of sixty thousand ducats; and that he had subsequently, in 1592, acted as pilot in a voyage, made by order of the Viceroy of Mexico, in search of "the Straights of Anian, and the passage thereof into the North sea." In this voyage, as he said, "he followed his course west and northwest, along the coasts of Mexico and California, as far as the 47th degree of latitude;" between which parallel and the 48th, he entered "a broad inlet of the sea, and, sailing therein more than twenty days, he found the land trending some time northwest and northeast, and north, and also east and southeast, and very much broader sea than was at the entrance; and he passed by divers islands in that sailing. Being entered thus far into the said straight, and being come into the North sea [the Atlantic] already, and finding the sea wide enough everywhere, it being about thirty or forty leagues broad at the mouth of the straights where he entered, he thought he had well discharged his office, and, not being armed to resist savages, he set sail, and returned homeward again to Acapulco." The Greek added, that neither the Viceroy of Mexico nor the Spanish Government had rewarded him for this service, "and understanding of the noble mind of the Queen of England, and of her wars maintained so valiantly against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Majesty would do him justice for his goods lost by Captain Candish, he would be content to go to England and serve her Majesty in a voyage for the perfect discovery of the northwest passage into the South sea, and would put his life into her Majesty's hands, to perform the same, if she would furnish him with only one ship of forty tons burthen, and a pinnace; and

* "A note made by me, Michael Lock the elder, touching the strait of sea commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South sea, through the northwest passage of *Meta Incognita*."—*Purchas's Pilgrims*: London, 1625, vol. iii, p. 849. The whole account will be found in the appendix [C] to this memoir.

that he would perform it, from one end of the straights to the other, in thirty days time." 1592.

Mr. Lock goes on to say that he had endeavored, in consequence, to interest the Government of his country in the affair; and had held correspondence on the subject with various eminent persons in England, as also with Juan de Fuca, from whom he gives the copy of a letter stating his readiness to engage in the proposed enterprise. The English Government, however, showed no willingness to favor the project; considering the whole story, probably, as a fabrication on the part of the old Greek for the purpose of advancing his own interests. The hundred pounds required in order to bring him to London could not be raised; and when Mr. Lock last heard of him, he was dying in the island of Cephalonia, in 1602.

These are the most material circumstances relative to Juan de Fuca, and his supposed discoveries in the northern seas, as recorded by Mr. Lock, and transmitted to us with the respectable endorsement of Purchas. Several English writers of the same period allude to the subject, but they afford no additional particulars; and nothing whatsoever has hitherto been obtained from any other source, tending to prove directly that such a voyage was made, or that such a person as Juan de Fuca ever existed. The account appears to have obtained no credit in England; and to have been almost unknown out of that kingdom, until after the publication of the journals of the last expedition of Cook, (1785,) who conceived that he had, by his examinations on the northwest coast of America, ascertained its entire falsehood. Subsequent discoveries in that part of the world have, however, served to establish a strong probability in favor of the general correctness of the old Greek's assertions; inasmuch as they show that his geographical descriptions are as nearly conformable with the truth as those of any other navigator of his day. Thus Fuca says that between the 47th and 48th degrees of latitude he entered a broad inlet of sea, through which he sailed for twenty days, the land trending northwest and northeast, and north, and east and southeast; and that in his course he passed by numerous islands. Now the fact is, that, between the 48th and 49th parallels, a *broad inlet of sea* extends from the Pacific eastward, apparently penetrating the American continent, to the distance of about one hundred miles; after which, it turns northwest by-west, and, continuing in that direction about two hundred and fifty miles farther, crossed and divided by many islands, it again communicates with the Pacific.

The discrepancies here to be observed are few and slight, and are certainly all within the limits of supposable error on the part of the Greek, especially when his advanced age, and the circumstance that he spoke only from recollection, are considered; while, on the other hand, the coincidences are too great and too striking to be fairly attributable to chance. Of those who have examined the subject, some have rejected the whole account given by the pilot as false; others, on the contrary, maintain not only that he performed the voyage as stated, but that he was even convinced of

1592. his having reached the Atlantic in the course of it. A mean between the two opinions* seems to be the most reasonable conclusion. It should be admitted that Fuca entered the strait now bearing his name, and that he may have passed entirely through it; but that he, an experienced navigator, should have conceived that by sailing *thirty leagues east, and then eighty leagues northwest-by-west*, he had arrived in the Atlantic, is wholly incredible.

This will suffice with regard to the voyage of Fuca, the truth or falsehood of which is, at the present day, a question of little or no moment.

- Some reports of the discovery of a northern passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and of the existence of rich nations in that direction, induced the Spanish Government, about the year 1595, to order that measures should be taken to ascertain the facts on those subjects. The Count de Monterey, Viceroy of Mexico, accordingly fitted out three vessels, which were despatched from Acapulco in the spring of 1596, under the command of Sebastian Vizcaino, a soldier well acquainted with marine affairs. Nothing important, however, was gained by this expedition. Vizcaino did not proceed beyond the limits of the Gulf of California; and, being disappointed in his attempts to form establishments on the shores of that sea, he returned to Mexico before the end of the same year.

1599. Other and more peremptory orders for the immediate survey and settlement of the western coast of California were received by the Viceroy of Mexico, from Madrid, in 1599; and he, in consequence, began preparations for an expedition, on a greater and more complete scale of equipment than any of those previously made in that direction. Two large ships and a small vessel were provided for the purpose at Acapulco, and furnished with all the requisites for a long voyage of discovery; and, in addition to their regular crews, a number of pilots, priests, draughtsmen, and other proper persons, were engaged, composing, together, says Torquemada,† “the most enlightened corps ever raised in New Spain.” The navigation was placed under the direction of Toribio Gomez de Corvan, as admiral; but the command of the whole force was intrusted to Sebastian Vizcaino, who bore the title of Captain General of California.

1602. The vessels sailed from Acapulco on the 5th of May, 1602, and, May 5. having reached the western side of California before the middle of the following month, the survey was immediately commenced June 12. from Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of the peninsula.

* It is needless to quote the opinions of Forster or Fleurieu, as they both wrote before the publication of the Journals of Vancouver, by whom the passage now called the Strait of Fuca was explored. Navarrete considers the account of the pilot's voyage false, *because* he can find no mention of it among the Archives of the Indies, or in the old Spanish historians; and Humboldt, as usual, contents himself with adopting the conclusions of Navarrete.

† Monarquía Indiana, vol. i, page 694. Torquemada's account is abridged from the journal of Friar Antonio de la Ascension, the chaplain of the admiral's ship. It contains little respecting the movements of the other two vessels.

The prosecution of the undertaking was attended with great difficulties; the scurvy soon appeared in the squadron, and the Spaniards had their perseverance put to the test by the northwest winds, which almost constantly opposed their progress along the coast. Vizcaino, however, made the best use of the time which he was obliged to spend in harbors, by examining the shores and the adjacent inland territories; and he thus collected a large amount of valuable information on those subjects, in the form of notes, plans, and sketches, which are said to lie still mouldering among the archives of the Spanish Government.*

1620.

By the beginning of December, after their departure from Acapulco, the ships had advanced no farther north than the 32d degree of latitude, near which a good harbor was found, and named *Port San Diego*. Proceeding onwards, they reached another harbor under the 37th parallel, combining, in the opinion of Vizcaino, every requisite for the maintenance of a colony, and for the supply and repairs of vessels on their way from India to Mexico. On this place he bestowed the name of *Monterey*, in honor of the Viceroy, to whom he immediately sent letters by one of his ships, urging the establishment of colonies and garrisons at several points indicated.

Dec.

From Monterey, the remaining ship in which Vizcaino sailed with the admiral, and the small vessel commanded by ensign Martin de Aguilar, departed on the 3d of January, 1603, and by the 7th they had reached the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, when they were driven back by a violent gale, during which they were separated. The ship took refuge in the Bay of San Francisco, where search was made in vain for the wreck of the *San Augustin*, which had been lost there while on her voyage from Manila, in 1595;† she, however, soon got to sea again, and, passing beyond Cape Mendocino, was for several days tossed about at random by the storms. On the 20th of January she was opposite a high white promontory, which received the name of *Cape Blanco de San Sebastian*, and was found by a solar observation to be in the latitude of 42 degrees. By this time there were but six persons on board capable of doing duty; and as the small vessel did not appear, Vizcaino, with the assent of the other officers, resolved to direct his course towards the south. This was accordingly done, and the ship entered Acapulco on the 21st of March, with only three effective men among her crew.

1603.

Jan. 10.

Jan. 13

Jan. 20

The small vessel, after her separation from the ship, sailed northward for some distance along the coast, as far as the latitude of 43 degrees, "where," says Torquemada, "the land forms a cape or point, which was called *Cape Blanco*, and from which the coast begins to run to the northwest; and near it was found a rapid and abundant river, with ash trees, willows, brambles, and

Jan. 19.

* Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, page 68. A chart of the west coast of California, as far north as Cape Mendocino, was compiled from these documents, of which a copy may be found in the atlas of the work above mentioned.

† As before mentioned at page 34.

1603. other Castilian trees, on its banks ; but it could not be entered on account of the strength of its current." From this point Aguilar turned to the south ; his vessel reached Acapulco, but he and all the other officers, and many of the men, died of scurvy on the voyage thither.

Considerable doubts have been cast, and not without reason, upon the accuracy of the account of Aguilar's discoveries beyond Cape Mendocino. It is certainly incorrect on one point, for we know that the coast does not "begin to turn towards the north-west" at the 43d degree of latitude, or at any other point between Cape Mendocino and the 47th degree. Moreover, it is scarcely credible that Aguilar should, at so stormy a season, and with so inefficient a crew, have ventured so near to a lee shore, entirely unknown to him, as to be able to distinguish, *without a glass*,* the species of the trees growing on it. The great river which he is said to have found about the 43d degree of latitude has not yet been identified ; although several streams, none of them large, do certainly enter the Pacific near that parallel. The account of the discovery of this river has attracted much more attention than it merited, or than the unfortunate Aguilar (if he actually saw such a stream) could have anticipated, in consequence of an idle opinion expressed, or rather recorded, by Torquemada, that it might prove to be the long-sought Strait of Anian, or might lead to the wealthy city of Quivira, believed to exist in that part of the world. The Cape Blanco mentioned as the northern limit of Aguilar's progress along the coast, is supposed by Cook to be a remarkable promontory, situated under the 43d parallel, to which the English navigator, however, did not scruple to apply the name of *Cape Gregory*. In like manner, Vancouver has bestowed the appellation of *Cape Orford* upon another great projection from the continent, near the 42d degree, although he considered it to be identical with the Cape Blanco de San Sebastian of Vizcaino.

Upon comparing the accounts of this expedition with those of the voyage of Cabrillo, in 1542-'3, it will be seen that the same, or nearly the same, portions of the west coast of America, were observed on both occasions ; and that Vizcaino, consequently, did no more than survey minutely what had been already discovered by his predecessors.

- Vizcaino endeavored, after his return to Mexico, to prevail upon the Viceroy to establish colonies and garrisons at San Diego, Monterey, and other points on the coast which he had surveyed, for the purpose of facilitating the trade with India, as well as to prevent the occupation of that coast by other nations. His efforts being unavailing in Mexico, he went to Spain, where he finally obtained from King Philip III. royal orders for the execution of his projects. He, however, unfortunately died in Mexico in 1606. 1609, while engaged in preparing for the enterprise ; and no farther measures were taken, either by individual Spaniards or by their

* The invention of the telescope took place in 1609.

Government, to settle the west coast of California, or to extend the limits of discovery in that direction, until 160 years afterwards. 1609.

This part of America remained, in the mean time, almost forgotten, except by persons engaged in the navigation from India to Mexico, who were obliged to make themselves acquainted with the situation of the principal headlands and islands* south of Cape Mendocino. One of these navigators brought to Mexico, in 1620, an account of a channel which he pretended to have discovered near the 43d parallel of latitude, connecting the Gulf of California with the Pacific; and, as this statement corresponded with that of the discovery of a great river at the same position by Martin de Aguilar, it was readily received as true. Accordingly, in all maps of this part of the world, published during the remainder of the seventeenth century, California is represented as an island, separated from the continent by a strait.† The error was corrected in 1700 by Father Kuhn, (or Kino, as the Spaniards write his name,) a German Jesuit, who explored the region about the northern extremity of the gulf. 1620.

Shortly after the period of Vizcaino's expedition, the French, the English, and the Dutch, successively established colonies on the Atlantic side of North America, as well as in the West Indies, where the English and French already held some possessions; and geographical discoveries were also about the same time made by the navigators of those nations, which were, or appeared to be, seriously prejudicial to the interests of Spain in the New World. Thus, Henry Hudson ascertained the existence of the great interior sea north of Canada, from which it was confidently expected that some passage to the Pacific would be speedily found; and Lemaire and Van Schouten entered that ocean through the open sea, south of the promontory, which, in honor of their native city in Holland, they called Cape Horn. The navigation between the Atlantic and the Pacific was so much facilitated by the latter 1600.

* In a work printed at Manilla in 1712, called "Navegacion Especulativa y Practica," minute directions are given for sailing along this part of the American coast.

† In the curious map of North America, at page 851 of the 3d volume of Purchas's Pilgrimage, published in 1625, the sea is represented between California and the continent, as far north as the 45th degree. On this map are laid down, by name, Cape Blanco, Cape San Sebastian, and many other points discovered by Vizcaino. In the geographical and historical atlas of Mitchell and Senex, published at London in 1721, California appears as an island, extending from Cape San Lucas to the 45th degree of latitude; the northernmost part of the island is called Nova Albion. North of it are placed a number of small islands, near the continent, with the names of Quiscento, Colubra, Wanguino, Maquino, &c., affixed to them. Whence were these names derived?

A veteran buccanier, Captain Coxton, who flourished in the latter part of the 17th century, asserted that he had, in 1688, discovered a river emptying into the Pacific from the American continent, north of Cape Mendocino, up which he had sailed into a great interior sea called the *Lake of Thoyaga*, containing many islands, inhabited by a numerous and warlike population. This lake may be found on several old maps of that part of North America, for instance, in the atlas of Mitchell and Senex, above mentioned. Northwest America was indeed at that time the *terra incognita*. Bacon laid the scene of his *Atlantis* there; and *Broddignag*, according to the very exact account of its discoverer, Captain Lemuel Gulliver, was situated immediately north of the Strait of Fuca, about the 50th parallel of latitude. The position of *Utopia* (or *no where*) is not clearly expressed in the narrative of Master Ralph Hythloday; but it seems to have been near California.

1600. discovery, that voyages to the western side of America were no longer considered as dangerous enterprises; and the Spanish commerce on those coasts was almost ever afterwards harassed by pirates, or *quasi* pirates, of various classes and denominations. The Gulf of California was, during the seventeenth century, the principal resort and rendezvous for these depredators, especially for those from Holland, who, under the name of *Pichilings*, kept the inhabitants of the southern coasts of Mexico in constant anxiety.

For the purpose of protecting these coasts from such inflictions, as well as of obtaining advantage from the pearl-fishery on the eastern side of California, several attempts were made by the Government, as well as by individuals and companies in Mexico, to establish garrisons, colonies, and trading-posts in that peninsula.*

1616
to
1684. Of the expeditions thus made, it is needless here to relate the particulars, as they are unconnected with the principal subject of this memoir; suffice it to say, that they all terminated unfortunately, from want of funds, from the barrenness of the country and the hostility of its inhabitants, and, above all, from the indolence and viciousness of the persons sent out as colonists. The last of these expeditions made by command of the Spanish Government was under the direction of Don Isidro de Otondo, who, in 1683, conducted from Mexico a number of soldiers, settlers, and priests, of the order of the Jesuits, and distributed them at various points on the western side of the Californian gulf; the colonies, however, all disappeared within a few months after they had been planted, and it was then resolved by a council of the principal authorities of Mexico that the reduction of California by such means was impracticable.

1655. The Jesuits who had accompanied Otondo in his expedition, while concurring with the council in its opinion, nevertheless insisted that the object might be attained by another course, viz: by the conversion to Christianity and civilization of the natives of that part of America, which task they offered themselves to undertake. Their proposition met with little encouragement from the heads of the government in Mexico. Being, however, not disheartened, the fathers perambulated the whole kingdom, preaching and exhorting the authorities and the people to aid them in the prosecution of an enterprise so pious and so politic. By such means, and by the co-operation of their brethren in Spain, they raised a small fund, and finally, in 1697, procured royal warrants authorizing them to undertake the reduction of California *for the King*, and to do every thing which might be necessary for that purpose, *at their own expense*. On receiving these warrants, Father Salvatierra, the principal missionary, sailed with a few soldiers and laborers to the land which was to be the scene of their operations, where he was soon joined by Fathers Kuhn, (or *Año*, as

* Accounts of these expeditions may be found in the History of California, by Father Venegas; and in Navarrete's Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana.

the Spaniards call him,) Picolo, Ugarte, and others, all men of education and courage, zealously devoted to the business before them. 1697.

On arriving in California, the Jesuits had to encounter the same obstacles and difficulties which had rendered vain all previous attempts to form establishments in that region. They were attacked by the natives, to whose enmity several of the fathers fell victims; their own men were insubordinate, and were generally more inclined to fish for pearls, than to engage in the regular labors required for the support of settlers in a new country; and their operations were for some time confined within the narrowest limits, by the want of funds. Their brethren and friends in Spain occasionally obtained orders for small sums from the Government for their use; but the Mexican treasury, on which these orders were drawn, was seldom able to meet them when presented,* and the value of the assistance thus afforded was in all cases much diminished before it reached those for whom it was intended.

By perseverance and kindness, however, the Jesuits triumphed over all these difficulties. Within a short time after their entrance into California, they founded several stations or missions; and before the middle of the last century, their establishments extended, at short distances apart, along the whole eastern side of the peninsula, from the mouth of the Colorado in the north, to Cape San Lucas. Each of these stations contained a church, a small fort, and a storehouse; and it formed the centre of a district, in which the Indians were induced, by the most gentle means, to labor regularly for their own support, to live at peace among themselves, and to receive instruction in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion. To these ends were the efforts of the fathers exclusively directed, immigration from other countries being always discouraged by them. That their exertions in this way were calculated to produce temporary good, cannot be denied, as the individual objects of them must have been rendered more happy and comfortable than they would have otherwise been; but it appears to be equally certain, that neither the Jesuits nor any other missionaries have ever succeeded in fitting a Californian Indian to become a useful member of society. 1697 to 1768

These missionaries, likewise, exerted themselves assiduously in acquiring a knowledge of the geography, natural history, languages, &c., of the country which they had taken under their charge; and so far as regards the middle and eastern parts of the peninsula, and the region farther north, watered by the Colorado and the Gila, nearly all the information which we now possess has been derived through the labors of the Jesuits. Respecting the western side of the peninsula they added little or nothing to the stock of knowledge, all their efforts to examine that portion having been unsuccessful. One of the most material points as-

* It appears, from the History of California, by Venegas, (part 3, section 4,) that in 1702 the Mexican treasury was exhausted by the expenses of expeditions for the conquest of Texas, and for establishing forts and garrisons at Pensacola, and other places on the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

1697
to
1768. certained by them was the fact of the connexion of California with the American continent, which, after having been doubted or denied for almost a century, was completely established by Father Kuhn, an indefatigable German, in 1700.

The results of these researches were communicated to the world, from time to time, through the medium of a periodical publication, entitled "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions Etrangères*," (Edifying and Curious Letters written from the Foreign Missions,) which was conducted at Paris by Jesuits, for several years, from 1716. But the most complete account of California,* to 1750, is to be found in the *Natural and Civil History* of that country, generally attributed to Father Miguel Venegas, though now known to have been composed chiefly by another priest of the order, named Andres Marcos Burriel. Respecting this work, which appeared originally at Madrid in 1757, and has been since translated into all the principal European languages, it may be here observed, that the portions dedicated to the labors of the Jesuits are highly interesting, and that they bear with them the marks of truth; but that the notices of events which occurred prior to the entrance of the missionaries into the country are often at variance with those given by the older writers, and sometimes evidently erroneous. The observations of the author upon the policy of the Spanish Government towards its American dominions are replete with wisdom, and indicate more liberality, as well as boldness on his part, than could have been reasonably expected, considering the circumstances under which he wrote and published.

The Jesuits received, as before mentioned, little assistance from the Spanish Government in the prosecution of their plans with regard to California. That Government, indeed, was not only at all times disinclined to favor projects from which no immediate increase of its revenues or political strength could be anticipated, but was also particularly jealous and mistrustful as to the proceedings of the Jesuits in the New World. Suspicions were entertained at Madrid that those proceedings were not dictated solely by philanthropic and religious motives; but that the body aspired to the separation and exclusive control of many portions, if not of the whole, of the Spanish empire in America. These suspicions became stronger as the influence of the Jesuits increased; the power possessed, or believed to be possessed, by their order, however, preserved them for some time from any direct open attack on the part of the Government. At length, in 1767, a royal decree was issued by King Charles III. for their expulsion from his dominions; it was executed without difficulty,† and the

* "*Noticia de la California y de su Conquista, sacada de la historia manuscrita del Padre Miguel Venegas, y de otras noticias.*" ("Account of California, and of its conquest, drawn from the manuscript history of Father Miguel Venegas, and from other sources.") The English translation, published in 1759, is miserable.

† A large military force was sent from Mexico, for the purpose of dislodging the Jesuits in California. Gaspar de Portola, the commander of this expedition, is said to have been much ashamed and mortified on finding that his efforts were directed only against a few old priests, and their half-starved simple Indian converts.

missionaries in California were obliged, at a moment's warning, to quit forever the establishments which they had so long and so sedulously been engaged in rearing. 1767.

In 1769, immediately after the expulsion of the Jesuits from California, the Spaniards established the first colony and garrison on the western coast of that territory. This measure was effected in prosecution of a scheme of reform and defence, which had been devised at Madrid, with the view of rendering the trans-Atlantic dominions of Spain more profitable to the mother country, and more dependent upon its authority; as well as of securing them against apprehended encroachments of foreign nations. 1769.

Since the days of Sebastian Vizcaino, who had so strenuously recommended the settlement of this part of America, the Spanish power had, from a variety of causes, been constantly declining. On the Atlantic side of the New World several valuable territories, which had long been occupied by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, as well as others to which his claims were less obvious, had passed into the hands of his bitterest foes; and although his authority was still undisputed on the western side of the continent, yet his pretensions to the exclusive dominion of the Pacific had become obsolete. The buccaneers had led the way into that ocean. They were followed by the armed squadrons of Great Britain and Holland, with one or other of which nations Spain was almost incessantly at war; and, during the short intervals of peace, came the exploring ships of those Powers and of France, whose voyages of discovery were always regarded by the Court of Madrid as ominous of evil to its American colonies. The results of these exploring expeditions were communicated to the world without delay, and in the most full and authentic manner possible; the journals of the respective navigators being published immediately after their return, illustrated by charts, tables, and drawings, affording accurate ideas of the objects and events described. New channels of commercial intercourse were thus opened to all; and new principles of national law, adverse to the subsistence of the monopolies enforced by Spain, were gradually introduced and adopted by the other maritime Powers of Europe.* 1603 to 1769.

After the peace of 1763, the exploring voyages of the French and British were more frequent, and were conducted in a manner which gave to them distinctly the characters of political movements. The irritation and jealousy which they occasioned at Madrid were still farther increased upon the establishment of colonies, by each of the abovementioned nations, among the islands of the Falkland group, at the very threshold of the Pacific. The French Government, indeed, soon withdrew its subjects from 1764 to 1766.

* "Sir Benjamin Keene, one of the ablest foreign ministers this country ever had, (he was ambassador from Great Britain to the Court of Madrid from 1754 to 1757,) used to say, that if the Spaniards vexed us in the first instance, we had means enough to vex them without infringing upon treaties; and the first step he would recommend would be, to send out ships of discovery to the South seas."—*Lord Lansdowne's speech in Parliament on the Convention with Spain; delivered December 13, 1790. Parliamentary History*, vol. xxvii, page 944.

1764 those islands, at the request of the King of Spain; the British
 1766. cabinet, however, disregarded all hints and remonstrances respect-
 ing its alleged encroachments upon the territories of his Cath-
 olic Majesty, and there were strong indications of designs on its
 part to invade other portions of those territories in a similar man-
 1763 ner. The exploring ships had confined themselves to the south-
 to ern and intertropical parts of the ocean; there was, however, no
 1768. reason for expecting that they would not in time advance towards
 the shores of the north Pacific, where their presence could not
 but be injurious to the interests and security of the Spanish do-
 minions.

Serious grounds for apprehensions on the part of the Spanish Government were also afforded by the Russians, whose discoveries and settlements on the northernmost coasts of the Pacific were about that time beginning to attract the attention of other European nations. Of these proceedings little was known with certainty, except that the Russians had built vessels on the eastern side of Asia, and had discovered extensive territories beyond the sea which bathes those shores. Whether the territories thus found were islands, or parts of Asia or of America, and whether those continents were or not united in the north, were questions then undetermined. The fact that this ambitious and enterprising Power had formed establishments on the Pacific, was sufficient to create alarms at Madrid; which were rendered more serious by the knowledge, afterwards obtained, that new armaments on a large scale were in preparation at Kamschatka.

1765. In order to avert the evils thus supposed to be impending, the Spanish Government devised a series of measures, which were to be successively applied as circumstances might seem to indicate or to allow. Of these measures, one of the principal objects was the occupation and settlement of the vacant territories of America bordering upon the ocean; to effect which, endeavors were made without delay. In the beginning of 1768, orders were given to the Viceroy of Mexico to have those coasts explored as far northward as it might be practicable to advance; and at the same time to establish colonies upon them, sufficiently near each other for mutual support, in case of need, against savages or foreigners. The execution of these orders was committed chiefly to Don Jose de Galvez, a high officer of the Council of the Indies, who had been sent to Mexico in 1765 to superintend the application of the new measures in the northern section of Spanish America.

1768. The west coast of America had at that time been discovered only as far north as the 43d degree of latitude—that is to say, as far north as Sebastian Vizcaino had sailed in 1603; and all the information concerning it, being derived from the accounts of the old navigators, amounted to little more than descriptions of harbors and promontories south of that parallel. Upon examining the manuscripts of Vizcaino relating to his voyage, notices and charts were found of several places upon this coast, which he considered well adapted for settlements; and, in consequence of his recommendations, it was determined by the Viceroy and Galvez that the first establishments should be made at the spots

which had received from this discoverer the names of *San Diego* 1768.
and *Monterey*.

Great difficulties were to be overcome in order to carry this determination into effect. Few persons could be found in Mexico willing to subject themselves to the fatigues and privations attending the settlement of a new country; and it was not easy to procure on the Pacific side of the kingdom such vessels as would be required for the transportation of men and materials to the designated points on the northwest coast. At length, however, before the close of the year, a small number of persons, consisting of priests, soldiers, and colonists, were assembled at one of the missionary stations on the eastern coast of California, called *La Paz*, from which place they began their march through the peninsula, for San Diego, in two parties, respectively conducted by Gaspar de Portola, the governor of the new province, and Fernando de Rivera, a captain in the army.

The arms, ammunition, provisions, and materials for the colonies were sent around to San Diego in two vessels, one of which, the *San Antonio*, reached that place on the 11th of April, 1769; April 11.
the other vessel, the *San Carlos*, was driven far out to the westward, and was unable to enter her destined port until the end of the same April 29.
month. Of a third vessel, the *San Jose*, which had also been despatched for the west coast, nothing was ever heard. The parties of emigrants who had proceeded by land from *La Paz*, under Portola and Rivera, successively arrived during May; and a convenient spot having been selected on the shore of the harbor, a town was laid out and buildings were commenced. May.

Portola, being anxious in like manner to found a settlement at Monterey before the winter, set off for that place in June, with a portion of the emigrants and soldiers; leaving directions at San Diego that a vessel, which was expected with supplies from Mexico, should be despatched to meet him at the other harbor. This expedition was not successful. The Spaniards, marching along or near the coast towards the north, overshot Monterey, and at the end of October found themselves on the shores of the Bay of San Francisco, which they recognised by means of the high white cliffs at its entrance. Turning towards the south, they found a port corresponding with that described by Vizcaino under the name of Monterey; but the cold weather had set in, and, the vessel not appearing with the supplies, they were obliged to retrace their steps to San Diego, where they arrived on the 24th of January, 1770.* Oct. 30.
Nov. 28.

In the spring of 1770 the *San Antonio* returned to San Diego 1770.

* An account of the establishment of the first colonies on the west coast of California was drawn up by Don Miguel Costanso, the engineer of the expedition, and published at Mexico in the latter part of 1770; but it was immediately suppressed by the Government. Fortunately, however, a copy of the work was carried to England, where a translation was made from it and published in 1790. This translation is accompanied by other useful articles with regard to the northwest coast, and by several maps and plans of harbors in that part of America. The work is in the library of Congress. Much information on the same subject is also afforded by Father Francisco Palou, in his *Life of Father Junipero Serra*, a Franciscan friar, who was the chief of the missionaries to California in 1768.

1770. with supplies from Mexico, in consequence of which Governor Portola determined to make another effort to form an establishment at Monterey. He accordingly marched for that place, where he was joined by the vessel with the supplies before the end of May; and having succeeded in completing the most necessary arrangements for the shelter and support of the settlers during the winter, he himself proceeded to Mexico to superintend the despatch of emigrants to the colonies.

It was in prosecution of this plan for securing the unsettled territories of America adjoining the Spanish dominions from occupation by foreigners, that Don Francisco Bucareli, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, in June, 1770, forcibly expelled the British colonists from their establishment, called Port Egmont, in the Falkland Islands. This event occasioned serious difficulties between the Governments of Great Britain and Spain, and preparations for war were made upon both sides; negotiations were, however, at the same time carried on, and the affair was at length arranged without recourse to arms, in a manner not wholly unsatisfactory to Spain. The history of these transactions has never yet been fully communicated to the world. From what has been published officially, added to the information obtained from various* other sources, the circumstances appear to have been as follows:

- Sept. 12. London, the British Secretary of State, Lord Weymouth, addressed to the Court of Madrid demands for the immediate disavowal on its part of the acts of the Governor of Buenos Ayres, and for the restitution of the islands in the condition in which they were before those acts took place. To these demands the Spanish Government at first gave evasive answers, endeavoring to change the question at issue into one respecting the right of sovereignty over the islands; but the British ministry refused to treat upon this subject until the disavowal and restitution had been made as required; and preparations for large armaments were begun throughout Great Britain. The Spanish ambassador at London next declared himself empowered by his Sovereign to state that no *particular orders* had been given to the Governor of Buenos Ayres with regard to the Falkland Islands, although that officer had acted agreeably to his *general instructions and oath* in expelling the British; and that Port Egmont should be restored as demanded. This offer was, however, also rejected as unsatisfactory by Lord Weymouth; and war appeared inevitable.

Dec. In this conjuncture, the King of Spain applied to his cousin Louis XV. of France for aid, agreeably to the Family Compact, in order that he might resist the demands of Great Britain. France was, however, at that time in a very disturbed state; in

* Parliamentary History, vols. xvi and xxviii; Dodsley's Annual Register for 1771, page 218; Belsham's History of Great Britain, vol. v, pages 368 to 371—particularly a note at the last cited page. The account given by this writer is perhaps the clearest which has yet been presented. See also an article on the Character of Lord Chatham, in the Edinburgh Review, No. 136, for July, 1838, page 448.

consequence of which, Louis declined entering as a party into the dispute, though he at the same time tendered his good offices as a mediator between the two Powers.* To this offer the Spanish Government acceded; and the King of France was thereupon immediately requested to take the whole matter under his charge, and to make any arrangement which he might consider proper for the interests and honor of Spain. In the mean time, a change had occurred in the composition and views of the British ministry. Lord Weymouth, being unwilling to recede from his first demands, and finding his colleagues averse to a war with Spain, had retired from office, and his successor, Lord Rochford, was ready to compromise the affair. The offer of mediation on the part of France was, therefore, accepted by the Court of London; and a definitive arrangement of the dispute was effected on the day of the meeting of Parliament.

1770.

Dec. 12.

1771.
Jan. 22.

On that day the Spanish ambassador at London, Prince Maserano, presented to Lord Rochford a *Declaration*, in the name of the King of Spain, to the effect that his Catholic Majesty, being desirous to maintain peace with Great Britain, disavowed the acts of violence committed by the Governor of Buenos Ayres, and engaged to restore to his Britannic Majesty and his subjects "the port and fort of Egmont in the Falkland Islands, with all the artillery, stores, and effects, precisely as they were before the 10th of June, 1770;" but at the same time it was declared that this disavowal and engagement "*cannot nor ought in anywise to affect the question of prior right of sovereignty of the Falkland Islands.*" The Earl of Rochford, in return, presented an *Acceptance*, in which, after recapitulating the paragraph of the *Declaration* relating to the disavowal and engagements to make restitution, he stated that "his Britannic Majesty would look upon the said declaration, together with the performance of said engagement, as a satisfaction for the injury done to the Crown of Great Britain;" *he, however, made no allusion whatever to the reservation respecting the right of sovereignty to the territory restored.*

In execution of this engagement, the British colonists were replaced at Port Egmont, as soon as it had been restored to the condition in which it was before the seizure; they were, however, withdrawn in 1774, by order of their own Government, and the Falkland Islands having thus been freed from the presence of all other Europeans, were occupied by the Spaniards, who retained them until South America became independent. This abandon-

1774.

* The celebrated treaty between the Monarchs of France and Spain, called the *Pacte de Famille*, was signed at Paris on the 15th of August, 1761. By the first article, their Majesties declare that "the two Crowns will henceforth consider every Power as their common enemy, which shall become the enemy of either of them;" by the second article, they "reciprocally guaranty, in the most absolute and authentic manner, all the estates, lands, islands, and places which they possess in any part of the world." Other articles fix the amount of "the first succors which the Power requested shall be obliged to furnish to the Power requesting." This treaty was virtually annulled by the National Assembly of France, in August, 1790; having been almost a dead letter during the whole period in which it was supposed to have been in force.

1774. ment by Great Britain of a territory which had formed the subject of such serious difficulties between her Government and that of Spain, was justified by the British ministry on the ground that no advantages were derived or expected from the colony sufficient to compensate the costs of maintaining it. The Spaniards, however, have always asserted, and their assertion is supported by the opinions of distinguished British historians and statesmen, *that the evacuation of the islands took place in execution of an express though secret engagement to that effect, entered into by Lord Rochford at the time of the arrangement of the dispute.**

The Spanish Government considered the result of this dispute as advantageous, upon the whole, to the security of its American possessions; regarding the concessions made by itself as more than compensated by the indirect admission of its assumed rights of sovereignty over the unsettled territories adjoining those dominions. Indeed, those concessions were little else than diplomatic courtesies. The spot occupied by the British colonists was restored only to be soon after abandoned; and Bucareli, notwithstanding the censure cast upon him in the disavowal of his conduct, was continued in command at Buenos Ayres until that evacuation took place, after which he was raised to the lucrative and dignified station of Viceroy of Mexico.

The same opinions with regard to the concessions of the Spanish King prevailed very generally in Great Britain, as soon as they were made known. The arrangement was severely criticised, and the ministry were reprehended† for concluding it, both in and out of Parliament; and the consciousness that these opinions were just, rendered the British Government more severe and uncompromising in its exactions from Spain upon the occasion of the dispute respecting Nootka Sound in 1790. The similarity of the circumstances which led to these two disputes, and the identity of the principles maintained by each party at both periods, rendered it proper to introduce the foregoing accounts and observations respecting the difficulties between Spain and Great

* Governor Pownall, in the debate in Parliament, March 5th, 1771, (see Parliamentary History, vol. xvi, page 1394.) on his motion for censuring the ministry on account of the arrangement with Spain, says: "Without some such idea as this, namely, that *as soon as reparation is made to our honor for the violent and hostile manner in which we were driven off the island, and as soon as we are put in a situation to evacuate it on our own motion, it is tacitly understood we are to cede it*—without some such idea as this, the whole of the negotiation is inexplicable and unintelligible." To this no reply was made on the part of the ministry.

† In the debate in the House of Peers upon the address approving the arrangement with Spain, Lord Chatham used this language: "There never was a more odious or more infamous falsehood imposed upon a great nation. It degrades the King; it insults the Parliament. His Majesty has been advised to affirm an absolute falsehood. My Lords, I beg your attention; and I hope to be understood when I repeat that it is an absolute falsehood. The King of Spain disowns the theft, while he leaves him unpunished and profits by his theft." In the protest against the arrangement entered into in the House of Lords by Lords Chatham, Lansdowne, and other eminent members, it is averred that in the declaration and acceptance "no claim on the part of his Majesty to the right of sovereignty to any part of the island ceded to him has been advanced; and any assertion whatsoever of his Majesty's right of sovereignty has been studiously avoided from the beginning to the end," &c. See Junius's letter of January 30, 1771; and Johnson's Defence of the Ministry, which is generally supposed to have been dictated by Lord North.

Britain in 1770; otherwise they would have been out of place in this memoir. 1774.

The issue of this dispute served to impress the Spanish Government still more strongly with the conviction of the necessity of occupying the vacant coasts adjoining its American provinces, either effectively, or in such a manner as to afford at least the semblance of right to the exclusive possession of them. Efforts with this view were accordingly made on the shores of Texas, Mosquito, Patagonia, and California; and were continued at a great expense, though with little success, until 1779, when the war between Spain and Great Britain occasioned their suspension. 1771
to
1779.

The settlements of the Spaniards on the west coast of California were, and continued to be until within a few years past, little more than missionary stations under the direction of Franciscan friars; some of them were, however, styled *Presidios*, in virtue of their possessing mud forts garrisoned by a few miserable soldiers. The most northern of these establishments was that on the Bay of San Francisco, founded in 1776; the residence of the Governor was, and still is, at Monterey.*

The British Government, on its part, although abandoning the Falkland Islands, still persevered in endeavoring to have the Pacific minutely explored. For this purpose, Captain Cook was despatched on his second voyage around the world, from which he returned in 1775; having in the mean time made many important discoveries, and completely disproved the rumors, based upon the declarations of the Spanish navigator Quiros in 1607, respecting the existence of a habitable continent south of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. 1772.

In 1774 and 1775 the northwest coast of America was explored by Spanish navigators between the 43d degree of latitude, the limit of preceding discoveries from the south, and the 58th; and in 1778 and 1779 the remaining portions, as far north as the Arctic Sea, were examined by the British, under Cook and his successors in command. Before relating these important occurrences, it will be convenient to present a view of the discoveries which had been made by the Russians in the northernmost parts of the Pacific, as the objects and movements of the other two nations, with regard to this section of the world, will thereby be rendered more easily intelligible. 1774
to
1779.

* For statistical accounts of these establishments, as they existed at the beginning of the present century, see Humboldt's Essay on New Spain.

CHAPTER III.

Voyages of discovery and trade in the northernmost parts of the Pacific made by the Russians from Kamschatka and Ochotsk, between 1728 and 1779—Voyages of Beering and Tschirikof—Establishment of the fur trade between Asiatic Russia and the opposite coasts and islands of America—Voyages of Synd, Krenizin, Levassheff, and Benyowsky.

BEFORE the beginning of the eighteenth century, the coasts of Asia bordering upon the Pacific, north of the 40th degree of latitude, were as little known as those of America beyond the same parallel. At that time, the only information respecting the former territories was derived from the reports of Martin Geritzen de Vries, a Dutch navigator, who had in 1643 explored the seas north of Japan as far as the 48th degree, and had doubtless entered the gulf bounded by the Kurile Islands and Kamschatka on the east, which is now called the Sea of Ochotsk. In the best maps,* published as lately as 1720, Jesso, the most northern of the Japanese islands, is represented as part of the continent of Asia; while the Kurile group are laid down as a continuous territory, under the name of *the Company's land*, separated from Jesso by a passage called the *Strait of Vries*.

1735

Such was the state of geographical knowledge with regard to the northeastern coasts of Asia in 1696, when the Cossacks, who had been sent by Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, to explore and conquer the northern parts of that continent, discovered Kamschatka, and penetrated to the shores of the Pacific. Within the ensuing fifteen years, Kamschatka and the whole region intervening between it and Europe were definitively attached to the Russian empire.

From these conquests the Russians acquired, among other advantages, an extension of their commercial intercourse with China, which thus in a short time became very important. The principal articles of export to that country were the skins and furs† of animals, which were obtained either in Siberia and Kamschatka, or by way of England from Hudson's Bay; in return, the Russians brought from China its teas, silks, porcelain, and other precious commodities. This commercial intercourse was effected by means of caravans passing over land to and from certain points

* See historical and geographical atlas of Mitchell and Senex, published at London in 1620.

† Furs have been at all periods highly prized in China as objects of comfort and luxury. In the northern provinces they are used as defences against cold; while throughout the empire they constitute an important part of the dress of every rich noble or ostentatious person. "With the least change of air," says Krusenstern, "the Chinese immediately alter their dress; and even at Canton, which is under the tropic, they wear furs in the winter."

in each empire; and when we consider the immense distance, and the difficulties of the journey between the commercial cities of European Russia and those of China, it becomes evident that none but objects of great value, in comparison to their bulk, could have been thus transported with profit to those engaged. 1695.

The possession of these vast regions only served to inspire the ambitious Czar with designs for the extension of his authority over other portions of the earth. Finding his dominions limited by the ocean in the east, he was anxious to know what territories lay beyond that barrier, and whether it would not be possible for him to invade from that quarter the establishments of the French, the British, or the Spaniards in America. Influenced by such views, he ordered that vessels should be built in Kamschatka, and equipped for voyages of discovery to be made agreeably to instructions which he himself drew up; while, in the mean time, other vessels should proceed from Archangel eastward, to explore the Arctic or Icy Sea and the northern coasts of Asia. 1711.

At the period when this plan was arranged by Peter the Great, it was not known whether Asia and America were united by land in the north, or were separated by means of a connexion between the Pacific and the Icy Sea: nor had it indeed been ascertained that the waters which bathed the shores of Kamschatka communicated directly with the Pacific, although this was considered most probable from the traditions that large ships had been wrecked upon those shores. The solution of these great geographical questions was the first object proposed by the Czar in the expeditions; the next being to discover the most practicable means of reaching the possessions of other European nations in America.

Various circumstances prevented the execution of any of these projects during the lifetime of Peter. His widow and successor, Catherine, however, resolved to carry them into fulfilment; and a small vessel was at length, in 1728, built and equipped at the mouth of the river of Kamschatka, on the eastern side of that peninsula, for a voyage agreeably to the instructions of the Czar. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Vitus Beering, a Dane, who had been selected for the purpose by Peter on account of his approved courage and nautical skill; his lieutenants were Alexei Tschirikof, a Russian, and Martin Spanberg, a German, both of whom afterwards rose to eminence as navigators. 1725 1728

Beering sailed from Kamschatka on the 14th of July, 1728, and took a northward course along the Asiatic shore, which he traced as far as the latitude of 67 degrees 18 minutes. There he found the coast turning almost directly eastward, and presenting nothing but rocks and snow as far as it could be perceived, while no land was visible in the north or the east. From these circumstances, the navigator concluded that he had reached the north-eastern extremity of Asia, and that the waters in which he was then sailing were those of the Icy Sea. Conceiving, therefore, that he had attained the objects of his voyage in this direction, and fearing that if he should proceed farther he might be obliged to winter in this desolate region, for which he was unprepared, July 14. August 16

1728. he returned to Kamschatka, where he arrived in safety on the
Sept. 2. 2d of September. In this voyage Beering had twice, without knowing it, passed within a few miles of the American continent, through the narrow strait upon which his name was, fifty years afterwards, generously bestowed by Cook.

1729. In the succeeding year Beering sailed again from Kamschatka, and, taking an eastward course, endeavored to find the American continent. Ere he had advanced far in that direction, how-

June 5. ever, he was assailed by violent adverse winds, which forced him around the southern extremity of the peninsula into the Sea of Ochotsk. After this repulse, he went to St. Petersburg, and engaged in no other expedition of discovery for twelve years.

1729
to
1741.

While Beering was thus remaining inactive at the Russian capital, the existence of a direct communication between the Pacific and the sea which bathes the shores of Kamschatka was ascertained, first by the shipwreck of a Japanese vessel on the eastern side of that peninsula in 1729, and ten years afterwards by the voyages of two Russian vessels, under the command, respectively, of Martin Spanberg and William Walton, through the passages between the Kurile Islands to Japan. Within the same period, also, the continuity of the Pacific with the Atlantic through the Icy Sea, which the discoveries of Beering had given reason to suspect, was rendered nearly if not absolutely certain by means of expeditions, partly by land and partly by sea, along the northern coasts of Europe and Asia; all the attempts, however, made at that time, and since, to pass with vessels around those coasts, from ports in Europe to the Pacific, proved abortive. Moreover, a Russian, named Krupisheff, had sailed, in 1732, from Kamschatka northward, as far as the extreme point of the Asiatic shore reached by Beering in his first voyage; thence he had been driven by storms towards the east, upon the coast of an extensive and mountainous territory which was supposed to be, and undoubtedly was, a part of America. Thus the great geographical questions proposed by the Czar Peter were determined, and the practicability of a communication by sea between the Russian dominions in Asia and the Spanish possessions in America was satisfactorily proved.

1732.

1740.

These discoveries encouraged the Empress Anne, who occupied the throne of Russia when they were completed, to persevere in endeavoring to extend her authority further eastward; and she accordingly commissioned Beering in 1740 to superintend another expedition from Kamschatka in search of America. For this purpose two vessels were built in the Bay of Avatscha, on the southeast side of Kamschatka, which had been selected for the establishment of a marine depot; they were larger and more fully equipped than any of those employed in preceding voyages of discovery in that quarter, and scientific men were engaged in France and Germany to accompany Beering, so that precise information might be obtained on all points connected with the seas and territories to be explored. Before the preparations were all made, the Empress Anne died; but her successor, Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, immediately declared in favor of the enterprise, and, no delays being experienced, the vessels were

both ready for sea by June, 1741. On the 4th of that month they sailed from the Bay of Avatscha; the larger being commanded by Beering, and the other by Tschirikof, who had accompanied the Dane in his other voyages. On leaving the harbor, the vessels took a directly eastern course, and thus continued in company until the 21st of June; on that day they were separated during a storm, after which they never again met. 1741.

The only regular accounts which we have of Beering's voyage, after his separation from Tschirikof, are contained in the Journal of Steller, the surgeon and naturalist of the ship.* This journal is by no means sufficiently precise upon points of navigation and geography; in consequence of which, it has been impossible to identify many of the spots described by him as discovered during the voyage, although the general course of the vessel may be traced.

From these accounts we learn that Beering, after parting with Tschirikof, continued on his course eastward, without meeting with any thing worthy of note until the 15th of July; on which day, land was seen in the north, near the 60th degree of latitude. The part first descried was the summit of a mountain, the extraordinary elevation of which may be surmised from the fact that it became visible at the distance of more than eighty miles. As they sailed towards this point, the Russians perceived successively other lofty peaks, and then ridges of mountains, all covered with snow, and stretching along the coasts, as well as into the interior of the country, to the utmost limits of the view; and, upon drawing nearer to the land, they found a large river emptying into the sea, the current of which was felt several miles from its mouth.† July 15.

These evidences of the extensiveness of the territory, together with its geographical position, were sufficient to convince the Russians that they had at length reached the American continent. Many of the officers immediately expressed to the commander their wishes that he would pursue the discovery towards the southeast, in which direction the coast appeared to turn; but Beering was then laboring under severe illness, and was anxious to arrive in Kamschatka before the winter, in consequence of which he gave orders that they should take a western course. On the 20th of the month they anchored in a narrow passage between the continent and a small island, on which latter they landed in search of water. There they found several huts, which appeared to have been recently abandoned by their occupants, and various implements similar to those used in Kamschatka; none of the natives, however, were to be seen, and the Russians, having obtained a supply of water, set sail again on the following day. July 19. July 20. July 21.

* Steller's Journal was first published in the original German by Professor Pallas in 1795; before which time, all that was known of Beering's voyage to America was contained in a meagre and incorrect abstract of this Journal in Muller's Collections of Russian History. A translation of the most material parts of the account may be found in Coxe's History of Russian Discoveries, page 20.

† No such river has been since found in that part of America.

1741. According to Steller, the name of *St. Elias* was bestowed by the Russians on the most prominent point of this island, in honor of the patron of the day on which they reached it. The old accounts of the expedition, however, state that Beering gave that name to the lofty mountain which had first attracted his attention. Steller is more probably correct, as the 20th of July is the day of Saint Elias, agreeably to the calendar of the Greek church. The stupendous peak rising on the northwest coast of America, near the 60th degree of latitude, and distinguished on our maps as *Mount Saint Elias*, received that appellation in 1778 from Cook, who considered it to be, as it doubtless was, the same observed by Beering in 1741. Vancouver, who examined this coast minutely in 1791, was convinced that the place in which the Russians first anchored is on the eastern side of the entrance to a bay, now generally known as *Beering's*, and sometimes called *Admiralty Bay*.

- July 21. From the island on which they had first touched, the Russians proceeded towards the west; frequently seeing land in the north, but seldom going near enough to enable them to distinguish its character. On the 3d of August, in the latitude of 56 degrees, a chain of high mountains appeared ahead, stretching across the horizon; and as they knew that Kamschatka was still far distant, they concluded that the land before them was either a great island, or a peninsula extending southward from the American continent. They in consequence altered their course to a southern one, in order thus to reach the latitude of 53 degrees, where they were sure of finding the sea open on the west as far as Avatscha. The distance was short, but they were so much impeded in their progress by contrary winds and currents, as well as by their fears of running upon shoals and small islands, that by the end of the month they had scarcely advanced fifty miles upon their way. By this time the crew began to suffer from sickness and fatigue, and, in order to give them rest and to procure fresh water, Beering again anchored near some islands, on which they remained ashore for several days. While they were lying at this place, the first death occurred among them; in commemoration of which, the group of islands received the name of the deceased sailor, and have ever since been known as *Schumagin's Isles*. Here, also, natives of America were first seen by the Russians; they resembled the Tschutski, or aboriginals of northeastern Asia, in their features and habits; and it was remarked that they used implements of iron, which have since been found to be common among all the inhabitants of Northwest America.
- Aug. 31. After leaving Schumagin's Islands, the Russians discovered others,† extending in a chain westward, nearly in the course of the 53d parallel of latitude, which they passed without landing on them, being anxious to reach Kamschatka before the begin-

* They are in number twelve, and are situated near the latitude of 55½ degrees, on the eastern side, and not far from the southern extremity of the great peninsula of Alaska.

† The Fox Islands, called Unalashka, Unimak, &c.

ning of the stormy season. In this expectation they were dis- 1741,
appointed. About the middle of September they were assailed Sept.
by a furious tempest, and for several weeks were driven over the
sea at random, while famine, disease, and despair were daily les-
sening their numbers. At length, on the 5th of November they
again saw land in the latitude of 55 degrees; it proved to be an
island, and on it they resolved, at all hazards, to pass the winter.
With this view, they landed their stores and other necessities, Nov. 7
and began to construct habitations out of sails and spars; they
soon, however, had an abundant supply of building materials
from the wreck of their vessel, which was driven ashore and
dashed to pieces by the waves.

On the 8th of December Beering expired, worn down by sick- Dec. 8
ness and fatigue; and thirty of his men were successively con-
signed to their graves on the island before the ensuing summer. 1712.
Nearly all these deaths were occasioned by scurvy, with which
the whole crew were affected when they landed; the survivors
were restored to health by the free use of fresh water, and sup-
ported themselves chiefly on the meat of sea and land animals, of
which they killed great numbers during their stay. Upon the
return of mild weather, they began to build a small vessel out
of the pieces of the wreck, which they got ready for sea in Au- April
gust. On the 14th of that month they departed in their frail boat Aug. 11
from the western side of the island; two days afterwards they Aug. 16.
made the coast of Kamschatka; and on the evening of the 21st Aug. 21.
they landed, forty-six in all, at the place from which they had
sailed in the Bay of Avatscha. The island, where they had thus
passed more than nine months, is a long and narrow slip of land,
situated between the parallels of 55 and 56, about eighty miles
from the east coast of Kamschatka; it has ever since been called
Beering's Isle.

Such were the occurrences of Beering's last voyage. The 1741
other vessel employed in this expedition under Tschirikof, like-
wise pursuing an eastward course, came upon land on the 15th July 15.
of July, in the latitude of 56 degrees. The territory thus discov-
ered extended on the ocean from north to south; it was covered
with high mountains, and its coasts were steep and rocky. As
the weather was unfavorable for approaching the land, Tschirikof
cast anchor at the distance of some miles from it, and sent ten
men in a boat to make examinations; after some time, these men
not returning nor making any signals from the shore, a second
boat with six others of the crew was despatched in the same di-
rection. Neither of these parties ever returned, nor was any thing
learned respecting their fate; although their commander remained
for several days cruising near the coast, in hope that they would
make their appearance. This hope having entirely vanished,
Tschirikof quitted the coast which he had discovered, and set July 27.
sail for Kamschatka. His voyage homeward was attended with
great difficulties, from constant storms, and from the sickness of
his crew; at length, on the 8th of October, he reached the Bay Oct. 8
of Avatscha, having lost twenty one men by scurvy, in addition
to the sixteen whose fate was not determined.

1741. The land discovered by Tschirikof in 1741 must have been, agreeably to his statement of its latitude and bearings, the western side of one of the islands contiguous to the American continent, which are now called on English maps *the Prince of Wales's Archipelago*. The inhabitants of these islands are fierce and treacherous, and have always displayed the most unpromising animosity against foreigners; it is therefore most probable that the men sent ashore by Tschirikof were murdered as soon as they landed.

1741
to
1764. The discoveries effected by Beering and Tschirikof in this expedition were not considered by the Russian Government of sufficient importance to justify the immediate despatch of other vessels towards the American coasts; and accordingly no farther attempts were made by its orders to explore the north Pacific until 1766. In the mean time, however, accidental circumstances connected with Beering's voyage had turned the attention of private individuals in Kamschatka to the islands seen by that navigator on his return, and the part of the ocean in which those islands are situated had been thoroughly searched.

1742. It has been mentioned that the crew of Beering's vessel had, during the period passed by them on an island near Kamschatka, subsisted chiefly on the flesh of the land and sea animals which they found there in great numbers. The skins of these animals, particularly of the foxes and sea-otters, were preserved by the men, and carried in their boat to Kamschatka, where they were sold for such high prices that many persons were induced immediately to go to the island and procure farther supplies. In the course of the voyages made for this purpose, other islands were discovered, offering the same advantages; and the number of persons engaged in the search for furs was increased.

1741
to
1764. The trade thus commenced was for some time carried on by individual adventurers, each of whom, acting only for his own benefit, was alternately a seaman, a hunter, and a merchant. At length, however, some capitalists in Siberia employed their funds in the pursuit; and the expeditions to the islands were in consequence made on a more extensive scale, and were conducted with greater regularity and efficiency. Trading stations were established at particular points, where the furs were collected by persons left there for the purpose; and vessels were sent at certain periods, from the ports of Asiatic Russia, to carry the articles required for the use of the agents, or for barter with the natives of the islands, and to bring away the skins which had been procured.

The aborigines of the islands were a bold and savage race, whom it was found almost impossible to subdue or to conciliate; they attacked and murdered the strangers whenever an opportunity was offered, and the Russians appear to have treated them, in return, with great cruelty and oppression. In the smaller islands, the natives were soon extirpated or reduced to absolute slavery by the traders, who employed every means to force them to hunt and fish for the animals yielding the furs. The poor savages were required by their taskmasters to procure a certain num

ber of skins during each season; for the delivery of which, and for their quiet behavior in the mean time, they were obliged to give up their children as hostages. In the larger islands, where the mountains afforded facilities for retreat or defence to the inhabitants, wars were constantly going on between them and the strangers.

1741
to
1764.

In addition to the miseries and loss of human life thus occasioned, a large proportion of the persons engaged in the collection and conveyance of the furs were annually destroyed by cold, starvation, shipwreck, and especially by scurvy. The history of the first establishment of the Russians in this quarter of the world is, indeed, little else than a series of accounts of dreadful disasters and sufferings; and whatever may be our opinions with regard to the humanity of the adventurers, or the morality of their enterprises, we cannot but admire the courage and perseverance which they displayed in struggling against such appalling difficulties.*

The islands thus discovered and conquered by the Russian fur-traders were those between the 53d and the 55th parallels of latitude, extending in a regular line or chain from the vicinity of Kamschatka, eastward across the sea, to the extremity of the opposite American peninsula of *Aliaska*. They were at first known by the general name of *Aleyutsky*, or *Aleutian Islands*; at present, however, they are considered as divided into three groups, the most western of which retains the name of *Aleutian*, the middle group being called the *Andreanowsky*, and the most eastern the *Fox Islands*. The latter division includes Unalashka, Umnak, and Unimak, the largest and most important islands of the chain; at a short distance northeast from these are the *Schumagin Islands*, discovered by Beering, and named after one of his crew; and still farther in the same direction is *Kodiak* or *Kuktak*, the largest island in this part of the Pacific. Kodiak was the extreme point to which the fur-traders had penetrated in 1778; before that time the only portion of the American continent frequented by them was the coast of *Aliaska*, which they believed to be an island.

As the traders had no instruments for determining latitudes or longitudes with precision, their ideas of the relative situations of places in the north Pacific were exceedingly vague and incorrect. Their navigation was conducted in the most inartificial manner possible. A vessel sailing eastward from the Bay of Avatscha, or the southern extremity of Kamschatka, could not proceed far without falling in with one of the islands of the Aleutian chain, which would serve as a mark for her course to another; and thus she might go on from point to point, until she reached the place of her destination. In like manner she would return to Asia; and, if her course and rate of sailing were observed with tolerable attention, there could seldom be any uncertainty whether she were north or south of the line of the islands. A great number

* The narratives of many of these expeditions of the Russian fur-traders may be found in Coxe's interesting "Account of Russian Discoveries." Krusenstern, in the narrative of his voyage to the north Pacific, states that at least one-third of the vessels employed in this trade were lost every year. See *podĭa*, chapter viii.

1741 of vessels were, however, lost every year, in consequence of this
to want of knowledge respecting the coasts, and want of means to
1764. ascertain positions at sea.

The Russian Government remained for some time unacquainted with the extent of this trade, and, indeed, with the existence of the islands discovered by its subjects. At length, in 1764, the Empress Catherine II. ordered that measures should be taken to procure exact information upon these points, as also with regard to the general direction of the west coasts of America, and their distance from those of her own dominions in Asia. This ambitious Sovereign had then just ascended the throne, and seemed determined to carry into fulfilment the designs of Peter the Great for the extension of the Russian empire beyond the Pacific.

1766. The first voyage made by order of Catherine II. for these purposes was that of Lieutenant Synd, who in 1766 and 1767 sailed through the seas northeast of Kamschatka. Very few particulars concerning his expedition have been published, from the circumstance, probably, that they were not calculated to reflect credit on the nation. By the accounts which have transpired, it appears that he proceeded northwardly, along the Asiatic shore, into the Arctic Ocean; and that he may have seen the American continent, about the 64th degree of latitude, as he was returning.

1768. In the following year, 1768, another expedition was commenced, for the purpose of surveying the islands discovered by the fur-traders. With this view, Captain Krenitzin and Lieutenant

July 23. Levashef sailed from the mouth of Kamschatka river, each in
July 27. command of a small vessel; and, after examining Beering's Island, and some others nearest the coast of Asia, they stretched across to the Fox Islands, among which they passed the winter. Before the ensuing summer nearly half the crews of both vessels had perished from scurvy; and when the navigators returned to

1769. Kamschatka in the autumn of 1769, they had only ascertained approximately the positions of a few points in the chain of islands between that peninsula and Aliaska. It is, indeed, said that Krenitzin employed himself entirely in trading for furs, with which his vessel was laden when she came back from her voyage. The only valuable information derived by the Russian Government from this costly expedition was respecting the mode of conducting the fur trade in the islands; upon this subject the reports of Levashef were curious and interesting, and they served to direct the Government in its first administrative dispositions with regard to these countries.

The expedition of Krenitzin and Levashef was the last made by the Russians in the north Pacific, for purposes of discovery or investigation, before 1783. In 1771, however, took place the first

1771. voyage from the eastern coast of the Russian empire, to a port frequented by the ships of European nations; and, strange to say, this voyage was conducted under the *Polish flag*! In the month of May of that year, a small number of persons, chiefly Poles, who had been exiled to Kamschatka, succeeded in overpowering the garrison of Belscheretsk, a place situated on the southwest

May 11. side of that peninsula, in which they were detained, and escaped

to sea in a vessel then lying in the harbor. They were directed in their enterprise by Count Maurice de Benyowsky, a Hungarian, who had been in the Polish service, and who afterwards wrote a history of his own life.* From his accounts, it appears that the fugitives, upon entering the Pacific, were driven northwardly along the coast of Asia, as far as the 66th degree of latitude, during which part of their voyage they also saw the American continent. At Beering's Island, which they visited, they found a number of fugitives like themselves, established in possession, under the command of a Saxon named Ochotyn; they also landed on several of the Aleutian Islands, where they discovered crosses with inscriptions, which had been erected by Krenitzin while on his expedition. Proceeding towards the south, they touched in succession at various places in the Kurile, Japanese, and Loochoo Islands, and in Formosa, and at length arrived in September at Canton. Benyowsky's accounts were at first discredited; they have, however, been since confirmed as regards the most material circumstances.

In 1771, a work entitled "*A Description of the New Archipelago of the North, discovered by the Russians, beyond Kamschatka, by J. L. Strahlm, Councillor of State to the Empress of Russia*," was published at St. Petersburg, under the immediate direction of the Government. Accounts coming from such a source were universally considered as authentic and accurate; the work was translated into all the principal languages of Europe, and it served as the basis for all maps and descriptions of the north Pacific Ocean until 1785. According to Strahlm, the American coast extended on the Pacific, from the southern extremity of California, in a line nearly due northwestward, to the 70th degree of latitude. Between the most northern part of this coast and the opposite shores of Asia were placed on his map a number of islands, several of which correspond in name with those of the Aleutian chain; but the positions there assigned to them were very different from those now known to be correct. Alaska was represented as an island lying beyond the 55th parallel, and separated from each of the adjacent continents by a strait. In the large and beautifully engraved Latin map of the Russian Empire, by Treschot and Schmidt, published in 1776, on which the coasts of Asia are all laid down with great apparent precision, no land except the Aleutian Islands appears east of Kamschatka, within 25 degrees of longitude.

The errors of latitude in these maps amounted, in many cases, to ten degrees, and those of longitude were, as might have been expected, much greater. Indeed, until 1778, when Cook made his voyage through the north Pacific, the differences in longitude between places in that part of the ocean had never been estimated, except by the dead reckoning,† which, however carefully

* *Memoirs and Travels of Count Mauritius Augustus de Benyowsky*, written by himself. 2 vols. octavo: London, 1790.

† That is, "by keeping an account of the distance run by the log, and of her course steered by the compass, and rectifying these data by the usual allowances for drift, lee-way, &c., according to the ship's known trim."—*Falconer's Marine Dictionary*.

1774. observed, cannot afford accurate results; nor had any relation, which could be considered as nearly correct, been established between the meridians of a point on the Atlantic and of one on the north Pacific. The above remarks on the extent of the information with regard to the northwest coast of America possessed in 1774, by those who had taken the greatest pains to procure it, will serve to show more clearly the value of the discoveries effected by the Spanish and British navigators during the five years immediately succeeding that period. It may be added, that no further attempts were made by the Russians to increase their knowledge of this part of the world until 1783.

CHAPTER IV.

Voyages of discovery in the north Pacific, made by the Spaniards and the British, between 1774 and 1779—Voyages of Perez, Heceta, Bodega, and Cook—Journeys through the northern parts of America, made by Hearne and Carver.

IN the preceding pages, it has been shown that, before 1774, the Spaniards had examined the western coast of America as far north as the 43d degree of latitude; and the Russians, sailing eastward across the Pacific, from their dominions in Asia, had discovered beyond the 55th degree many islands, as well as other territories, which were supposed to be parts of the first mentioned continent. Respecting the portion of the American coast included between these two parallels of latitude, no definite accounts had been obtained, although it was probably visited by European navigators during the latter years of the sixteenth century. The discoveries of the Russians had served to prove that the two great continents were entirely separated from each other by the ocean, but they had afforded little information as to the extension and limits of America in the northwest; and few of the conjectures based upon them have been confirmed by subsequent observations.

In 1774, the Spaniards attempted, for the first time since the days of Vizcaino, to explore this coast beyond the 43d degree of latitude. For that purpose, the corvette Santiago was despatched by the Viceroy of Mexico from San Blas, under the command of Juan Perez, an ensign in the Spanish navy, with Estevan Jose Martinez as pilot. They were ordered to proceed, if possible, as far as the 60th degree of latitude, and thence to examine the shores southward to Monterey. 1774.

Of this expedition a very imperfect account only can be presented. The Spanish Government carefully concealed all information respecting it until 1802, when a short sketch of the principal occurrences appeared in the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Schooners Sutil and Mexicana, which was in that year published at Madrid, by authority of the King. In addition to this official notice, a few particulars have been communicated by Baron Humboldt, in his Essay on New Spain, as derived from the original Journal of Fathers Crespi and Peña, the chaplains of the Santiago, which he was permitted to inspect at Mexico. From these, the only sources of knowledge on the subject, the following account of the voyage of Perez has been drawn.

From San Blas, Perez sailed first to Monterey, and thence continued his voyage towards the north, keeping at a distance from the coast, in order to reach a high latitude before the cold weather should commence. The land next seen by him was near the Jan. 25.

1774. 54th parallel, and must have been the northwestern part of Queen
 July 20. Charlotte's Island. After a cursory examination of this coast, he
 proceeded towards the south, occasionally seeing the land; and
 at length, in the latitude of $49\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, he discovered and entered
 Aug. 9. a bay, to which he gave the name of *Port San Lorenzo*.^{*}
 Here he traded with the natives, who surrounded his vessel in
 great numbers, offering the skins of animals in return for articles
 of iron, with which metal they were already acquainted. From
 this bay Perez sailed on the 10th of August; and as he arrived
 at Monterey on the 27th of the same month, it is not probable
 that he examined very minutely the coast lying between the two
 places. Martinez, the pilot of the ship, however, in 1789, asserted
 that a passage extending eastwardly between the 48th and 49th
 parallels had been found, and entered by his commander soon
 after quitting Port San Lorenzo; upon the strength of which as-
 sertion, Navarrete assigns to Perez the discovery of the arm of the
 sea now called the Strait of Fuca, and in his map bestows the
 name of *Point Martinez* on the cape at the southern side of its
 entrance.

From this account of the voyage of Perez, it will be seen that
 little information was obtained by him with regard to the north-
 west coast of America. If the latitude of Port San Lorenzo be
 correctly reported in the accounts of the expedition, (and we have
 no reason for supposing otherwise,) that bay must have been the
 same to which Cook, four years afterwards, gave the name of
King George's Sound, and which is now known as *Nootka Sound*.
 The Spanish Government, however, by concealing all accounts
 of the voyage of Perez until long after the publication of the jour-
 nals of Cook, deprived itself of the means of establishing the
 claims of its subjects to the merit of the discovery, which is al-
 most universally attributed to the British navigator.

1775. Immediately after the return of Perez, the Viceroy of Mexico,
 Don Antonio Bucareli, ordered that another expedition should be
 made to the north Pacific, for the purpose of examining the whole
 shore of the continent, from Cape Mendocino as far, if possible,
 as the 65th degree of latitude. With this view, the Santiago was
 placed under the command of Captain Bruno Heceta, Juan Perez
 going in her as ensign; and she was to be accompanied by the
 Sonora, a schooner of not more than thirty tons burden, of which
 Juan de Ayala was the chief officer, and Antonio Maurelle the
 pilot. From the Journal of Maurelle, as translated into English
 by the honorable Daines Barrington, and published at London in
 1781, nearly all that is known respecting the expedition has been
 derived. This Journal is confined almost entirely to the occur-
 rences on board of the schooner; concerning the movements of
 the Santiago, we have only a few indistinct notices, in the Intro-
 duction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana.
 The most material facts collected from these sources are the fol-
 lowing:

^{*} The 10th of August is the day of San Lorenzo, (St. Lawrence,) according to the Roman Catholic Calendar.

The two vessels having been provisioned for a voyage of a year, sailed together from San Blas, in company with the schooner San Carlos, which was bound for Monterey. Ere the latter vessel had proceeded far from the land, her captain became delirious; in consequence of which, Juan de Ayala was ordered to take his place, Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega succeeding to the command of the Sonora. This circumstance is here mentioned, because, in nearly all the accounts of the voyage, Ayala is represented as the principal officer in command, whereas he in fact only accompanied the exploring vessels to the vicinity of Monterey.*

The exploring vessels, after parting with the San Carlos, made Cape Mendocino on the 7th of June, and on the 10th cast anchor in a small cove just beyond that promontory, in the latitude of 41 degrees 3 minutes. At this place, which was named *Port Trinidad*, the Spaniards remained nine days, employed in refitting their vessels and taking in water. During this time, they held communications with the natives of the country, who appeared to be a mild and tractable race; and on their departure, they erected a cross near the shore, with an inscription setting forth the period of their visit, and the rights of their Sovereign to the surrounding territory, founded upon the discovery. This cross was seen standing by Vancouver, who landed there in 1793; the English navigator did not, however, consider the place as meriting the name of a *port*.

On leaving Port Trinidad, the Spaniards kept at a distance from the land, beating against contrary winds, until the 9th of July, when, finding themselves in the latitude in which *Juan de Fuca* was said to have discovered a strait leading eastward through the continent, they sailed to the coast in order to ascertain the truth of the account. Proceeding in that direction, they soon saw the land, which, from its situation as described, must have been the southwest side of the great island of Vancouver and Quadra, at the entrance of the passage now called Fuca's Strait. They were, however, unable to examine this part of the coast, and were driven southward, to within eighty miles of the mouth of the Columbia, where they anchored, between the continent and a small island. Here they met with a severe misfortune; several of the crew of the schooner, who had been sent on shore in search of water, were surrounded by savages, and murdered immediately on landing; and the vessel was herself ex-

* *Barrington's Miscellanies*, which contains the translation of Maurelle's Journal, is a rare work; and the notices of this expedition, contained in the various memoirs, reports, and reviews, concerning the northwest coasts of America, are nearly all taken directly or at second-hand from the abstracts of the Journal by Fleurieu, in the Introduction to the Narrative of Marchand's Voyage around the World, and in the instructions to La Pérouse. In these papers, Fleurieu has displayed much geographical knowledge, yet he has committed numberless errors; and his contempt for the Spaniards has led him, whenever an opportunity presented itself, or could be contrived, to disparage their proceedings. His accounts and criticisms with regard to the expedition, described by Maurelle, are filled with inaccuracies, and with unjust or illiberal charges against the Spaniards. Of his mistakes, the least important is his assignment of the command to Ayala.

1775. posed to danger from the attacks of the barbarians, who appeared in great numbers in canoes, and were with difficulty prevented from boarding her. In commemoration of this event, the island was called *Isla de Dolores*, (Isle of Grief.) Twelve years afterwards it received from the commander of the Austrian ship Imperial Eagle the name of *Destruction Island*, in consequence of the massacre of some of his men near the spot where the Spaniards had been cut off.
- July 15. After the occurrence of this disaster, as many of the crews of both vessels were moreover disabled by sickness, it was debated among the officers whether they should endeavor to proceed to the north, or return to Monterey. The commander, Heceta, was anxious to return; Bodega and Maurelle, however, notwithstanding the miserable condition of their little schooner and crew, insisted that they should persevere in their efforts to reach a higher latitude; and their opinion having been unwillingly adopted by their superior, the voyage was resumed on the 20th of July.
- Aug. 4. On the 4th of August the vessels were separated, and Heceta seized the opportunity of going to Monterey, while the schooner continued her course towards the north.
- Aug. 14. Ten days after leaving the schooner, Heceta, while sailing along the coast of the continent towards the south, discovered a promontory, called by him *Cape San Roque*, and immediately south of it, under the parallel of 46 degrees 16 minutes, an opening in the land, which appeared to be a harbor or the mouth of some river.* This opening, represented in Spanish charts printed before 1788 by the names of *Entrada de Heceta*, *Entrada de Asuncion*, and *Rio de San Roque*,† was, without doubt, the mouth of the Columbia river, which was thus, for the first time, seen by the natives of a civilized country.
- Aug. 18. Bodega and Maurelle, in their schooner, after parting with Heceta, proceeded towards the north as far as the latitude of 57 degrees, before they again saw the land. Under that parallel they discovered a lofty mountain in the form of a beautiful cone, rising from the ocean, and occupying nearly the whole of what appeared to be a peninsula, projecting westward from the coast of an extensive territory. In the angles between the supposed peninsula and the main land, were two bays, the northernmost of which was called *Port Remedios*, and that on the southern side *Port Guadalupe*, in honor of the two most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Mexico, situated near the capital. The mountain overhanging these bays received the name of *San Jacinto*, the saint on whose day it was discovered; and the appellation of *Cape Engaño* (Deception) was bestowed on its western extremity. There is no difficulty in identifying these spots, from the descriptions given by Maurelle, although they are distinguished on our English maps by other names; they are on the western side of the

* Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, page 153; and Introduction to the same, page 94.

† The 15th of August is the day of the Assumption; and the 16th is St. Roque's (or St. Roch's) day, according to the Roman Catholic Calendar.

largest island of King George the Third's group, a little northward of the place where the Russian navigator, Tschirikof, saw the land, and where his men were lost in 1741. Mount San Jacinto is now generally known as *Mount Edgecumbe*, and Cape Engaño as *Cape Edgecumbe*; Port Remedios is the *Bay of Islands*; and Port Guadalupe is *Norfolk Sound*, called also by the Russians the *Gulf of Sitka*. These two bays communicate with each other by a narrow passage behind the mountain, which is thus completely insulated. 1775.

The Spaniards landed on the shore of Port Remedios, where they took possession of the country for their Sovereign with religious formalities, obtained some fresh water, and fought and traded with the natives, who appeared to have very distinct ideas of their own rights of property in the soil. The voyage was then continued towards the north, as far as the 58th degree. When the vessel had reached that latitude, nearly the whole of her crew were incapable of duty, while the increasing violence of the winds rendered additional exertions absolutely necessary. Under such circumstances, the officers found that it would be imprudent to persevere in their endeavors to advance, and they accordingly turned towards the south, resolving, however, to explore the coasts minutely in that direction. Aug. 19. Aug. 22.

Having taken this course, they searched along the shores as they went, for the passage or strait called the *Rio de los Reyes*, through which Admiral Fonté was said to have sailed into the Atlantic in 1640. "With this intent," writes Maurelle, "we searched every bay and recess of the coast, and sailed around every headland, lying to during the night, in order that we might not lose sight of this entrance; after which exertions, we may safely pronounce that no such strait is to be found." This conclusion was certainly correct, yet it was as certainly not established by the discoveries of the Spaniards in 1775. On that occasion, the search was confined to the part of the coast north of the 55th parallel; whereas, according to the account of Fonté's voyage, the *Rio de los Reyes* entered the Pacific under the 53d. Moreover, had the observations been as minute as Maurelle represents them, several passages would have been found leading towards the north and east, for the examination of any one of which more time would have been required than was devoted by the Spaniards to the whole search.

In the course of this examination, a bay, affording excellent harbors, and well secured against the ocean by islands, was discovered in the latitude of 55½ degrees, which, in compliment to the Viceroy of Mexico, was called *Port Bucareli*. It is situated on the southwestern side of the largest of the Prince of Wales's Islands, and is one of the few places on the northwest coast of America which still retain on our maps the names originally bestowed by their Spanish discoverers. From Port Bucareli the schooner sailed slowly southward, along the shores of the great islands which border the American continent, and were long after supposed to form part of it; and on the 19th of September she reached the spot where her men had been murdered. Aug. 24. Sept. 19.

1775. two months before by the savages. Thence her voyage was continued, at some distance from the land, past the mouth of the Columbia; a little south of which she again approached the continent, and her officers endeavored to find the entrance of the great river said to have been seen by Martin de Aguilar, the pilot of one of Vizcaino's vessels, in 1603. The examinations with this view were commenced near a promontory, "resembling in form a round table," which* received the appellation of *Cape Mezari*, situated about thirty miles from the mouth of the Columbia; and were prosecuted to the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, without success. The Spaniards then bore away for the bay of San Francisco; and, while looking for it, they entered a smaller bay, situated farther north, to which Captain Bodega thought proper to give his own name. There they remained long enough to survey the shores; after which, they took their departure, and arrived at Monterey on the 7th of October.
- Oct. 7.

The expeditions of the Spaniards in the north Pacific, during the years 1774 and 1775, have been made the subjects of severe reflections and sarcasms by French and English writers; especially by Fleurieu, in his *Introduction to the Account of Marchand's Voyage around the World*, and his *Notes to the Instructions given to La Pérouse*. It must be acknowledged that little *exact* information respecting the northwestern side of America was derived by means of these expeditions; yet their results might have been important, by affording useful hints for the organization and conduct of future voyages. The great questions of the extension of the continent towards the north and west were left unsettled, and the delineation of the coasts, founded upon the journals and tables of the navigators, was imperfect and inaccurate; on the other hand, the eastern boundaries of the Pacific were approximately ascertained, as far north as the 58th degree of latitude; and several harbors were found, the positions of which were determined with tolerable precision. Perez and Hezeta, indeed, displayed a cautiousness of disposition approaching to pusillanimity; but Bodega and Maurelle certainly vindicated the character of their nation for courage and perseverance, by their struggles to advance under the most appalling difficulties.

1777. In order to complete the examination of the northwest coast of America, the Viceroy, Bucareli, obtained from his Government the use of two small corvettes, which he was anxious to despatch in 1777; the funds required for their equipment were, however, so slowly collected that they were not ready for sea until two years afterwards. In the mean time, that coast had been visited by Captain James Cook, whose discoveries now claim our attention. Before proceeding to consider them, it should be observed that the Spanish Government carefully concealed from the world every circumstance relating to its establishments and researches
- 1773.

* This promontory is minutely described by Captain Clarke, who ascended it in January, 1806. See Lewis and Clarke's *Travels*, chapter 22.

on the shores of the north Pacific; and it was not until 1781, when 1778
Mr. Barrington published his translation of Maurelle's Journal, that any thing was known in Europe upon those subjects, except the fact that a voyage had been made about 1774 from Mexico to that part of the ocean. This should be borne in mind, in order that a just estimate may be formed of the value of the labors of Cook and his successors in command; none of whom were aware that any discoveries had been made by the Spaniards on the west coasts of North America, since those of Vizcaino in 1603.

Mention has been frequently made in this memoir of the efforts of the British to discover a northern passage for ships between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. These efforts were all directed towards the northwestern extremities of the Atlantic; and, in prosecution of them, the two great seas called *Hudson's Bay* and *Baffin's Bay* were first explored, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the navigators whose names they bear. It was soon afterwards ascertained, satisfactorily, that the desired communication could only be realized through the medium of one or the other of these bays; and, in order to encourage perseverance in the search for it, the whole region surrounding Hudson's Bay was granted by King Charles II., in 1669, to a society 1669
of London merchants, entitled the *Hudson's Bay Company*, with the understanding that they should endeavor to effect the discovery. As an additional means of promoting the attainment of this end, the British Parliament, in 1745, offered a reward of twenty 1745
thousand pounds to those of "*his Majesty's subjects who might find a passage for ships from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific.*"

Without presenting a detailed account of the various expeditions* made in consequence of these engagements and inducements, suffice it to say that, in 1768, nothing had been learned 1768
respecting the portion of the American continent and the adjacent seas west of the immediate vicinities of Hudson's and Baffin's Bays. Hudson's Bay had been explored completely by the fur-traders, as far north as the 67th degree of latitude, beyond which, however, it was known to extend; and although Baffin's Bay had been navigated to the 77th parallel, yet its shores had been but imperfectly examined. A channel for the passage of ships, between one of these bays and the Pacific, might therefore exist; or the Pacific, or some large river emptying into it, might be found within a short distance of places on the Atlantic side, accessible to vessels from Europe. The acquisition of Canada by Great Britain, in 1763, had rendered the determination of these questions more interesting to that Power, as there was no longer any danger that such discoveries could be employed to its disadvantage.

In order to arrive at some definite conclusion on those points, 1769
as well as for other purposes connected with commercial interests, the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1769, commis-

* A concise, though clear, and doubtless just account of these expeditions, and of their results, may be found in the Introduction to the Journals of Captain Cook's Third and Last Voyage, written by Doctor Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury.

1769. sioned Mr. Samuel Hearne, one of their agents, to explore the region westward and northward of Hudson's Bay, so as to ascertain, if possible, how far the land extended without interruption in those directions, and, consequently, how far a ship would necessarily have to pass in a voyage between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Agreeably to his instructions, Hearne set out* from *Fort Prince of Wales*, situated at the westernmost extremity of Hudson's Bay, in the latter part of 1769; between which period and July, 1772, he made three journeys on foot and in canoes, through the designated territories, examining them in various lines of march, to the distance of nearly a thousand miles from the place of his departure. In these expeditions, he discovered the *Great Slave Lake*, and many other similar collections of fresh water, from the most western of which issued streams flowing towards the north. One of the largest of these streams, called *Coppermine River*, was traced by him for a considerable distance, down to its termination, near the 68th degree of latitude, in a sea, which was certainly a division of the ocean, for the tides were observed in it, and the relics of whales in abundance were strewn on its shore. The traveller, moreover, assured himself that the portion of the continent which he had thus examined was not traversed by any channel or uninterrupted line of water forming a communication between the seas on its eastern and its western sides; and that, consequently, no passage could be effected from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in that direction, without sailing north of the mouth of the Coppermine.

The discoveries of Hearne were considered in Great Britain as highly important. The sea into which the Coppermine river emptied was supposed to be the Pacific;† and, as that ocean thus appeared to extend much farther towards the northeast than had been previously imagined, the hope of finding a direct communication between its waters and those of Baffin's Bay were proportionally increased.

Before relating what was done by the British Government in consequence of the information afforded by Hearne, it will be proper to notice another journey in the interior of North America, performed a short time previous, by Captain Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut. This gentleman set out from Boston in June, 1766; and, proceeding by way of Michilimackinac, passed the two following years in exploring the region west of the Great Lakes, which is watered by the upper Mississippi. Beyond this region he did not advance; and the only reason for mentioning his expedition here is, that, in the narrative of his adventures,‡ allusions are sev-

June,
1766,
to
October,
1768.

* The discoveries made by Hearne were communicated to the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and by them to the British Admiralty: no account of them was, however, given to the world until the publication, in 1781, of the *Journals of Cook's Last Voyage*, in the Introduction to which they are noticed. Hearne's *Journals and Maps* were finally published in 1795, after his death.

† Hearne estimated the latitude of the mouth of the Coppermine to be 72 degrees. We now know, from the observations of Franklin, that this river enters the Arctic Sea under the parallel of 67 degrees 51 minutes.

‡ Published at London in 1778. It attracted much attention at that time, and soon went through several editions. The work has been lately reprinted at New York.

eral times made to a *great river* flowing westwardly into the Pacific from the central part of the continent.

In the Introduction to his Narrative, Carver states that his objects were, "after gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil, and natural productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, to ascertain the breadth of the vast continent (North America) which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, in its broadest part, between the 43d and 46th degrees northern latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to the Government to establish a post in some of those parts about the *Strait of Anian*, which, having been discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belong to the English. This, I am convinced, would greatly facilitate the discovery of a northwest passage, or communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean." This extensive plan he was, however, unable to effect; having been obliged to turn back after having advanced as far as the St. Peter's River, and just as he was preparing to pursue his journey "*by way of the Lakes Du Pluye, Dubois, and Quinipique,* to the head of the Great River of the West, which falls into the Strait of Anian, the termination of his intended progress.*" In summing up the information which he presents to the public, he lays great stress upon his "account of the heads of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the centre of the great continent, viz: "*the River Bourbon, (Red River,) which empties itself into Hudson's Bay; the waters of the St. Lawrence; the Mississippi; and the River Oregon, or River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Strait of Anian.*"

This account is certainly incorrect, so far as regards the head waters of any stream flowing into the Pacific; and as Carver, though he frequently mentions the Oregon, gives no information concerning it more particular than that *it rises among the Shining Mountains, west of the source of St. Peter's River, and falls into the Pacific at the Strait of Anian*, he cannot in justice be considered as having thrown any light upon the geography of the western division of North America. As to the derivation or meaning of the word *Oregon*, he says nothing; and nothing satisfactory is, indeed, known about it. No such word is to be found in any vocabularies of Indian languages which have been examined in search of it; and there is little probability that it comes either from the *Oregano* or the *Oregon* of the Spaniards, or the *O'Regan* of the Irish. In fact, there is reason to suspect that Carver invented the name himself, and that he derived his idea of the river not from the Indians, but from the maps of the day, in most of which such a stream is laid down running from the vicinity of the Mississippi. It is certain that he copied the greater part of his accounts of the manners and customs of the *Nadouessie* Indians, (now called the *Sioux*;) as well as their terms, from those given by Lahontan, nearly a century previous, respecting the sav-

1766
to
1768.

* *Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, and Lake Winnipeg.*

1766 ages of Canada; as may be seen by comparing the chapters on
 10 marriage, on burial, on hunting, and on many other subjects in
 1768. the two works, although he merely mentions the French traveler once or twice incidentally, and then in a very disparaging manner.*

Carver concludes his narrative by stating that a project had been formed in England, in 1774, by Richard Whitworth and other persons, of whom he himself was one, to cross the American continent with a large party, by way of the Oregon and Missouri Rivers to the Pacific, and then to examine the coasts of that ocean towards the north, in search of some passage leading to the Atlantic; but that the Revolution in America had caused the scheme to be abandoned.

1771. The British Government, however, soon afterwards endeavored to obtain a solution of the interesting question as to the existence of a northern passage between the two oceans; for which purpose it was arranged that ships should be simultaneously despatched to the north Pacific and to Baffin's Bay. Captain Cook, who about this time returned from his second circumnavigation of the earth, volunteered to conduct the expedition to the north Pacific; his offer was joyfully accepted, and he accordingly sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of July, 1776, in his old ship the *Resolution*, accompanied by the *Discovery*, under the command of Captain Charles Clerke.

1776.
 July 12.

Captain Cook was instructed to proceed by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Otaheite, "to the coast of *New Albion*, endeavoring to fall in with it in the latitude of 45 degrees." He was there "to put into the first convenient port to recruit his wood and water and procure refreshments, and then to sail northward along the coast to the latitude of 65 degrees, or farther if not obstructed by lands or ice, taking care not to lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account," until he had reached that parallel. At the 65th degree he was to begin his examination of the coast, in search of "a water passage pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays;" if he should find such a passage, he was to endeavor to make his way through it; should he, however, become convinced that no such communication existed, he was to visit the Russian establishments in that quarter, and to explore the seas north of them as far and as completely as he could. The direction not to commence the search for a passage to the Atlantic south of the 65th parallel, was founded on the proofs afforded by Hearne that the American continent extended uninterrupted beyond that latitude, and that, consequently, the stories of the voyages of Fuca and Fonté from the Pacific to the Atlantic were entitled to no credit.

The application of the name of *New Albion* to the western portion of North America showed that the British Government had

* In the interesting Account of Major Long's Expedition through the country of the upper Mississippi in 1823, vol. i, chapter 7, will be found some observations calculated to show that no dependence is to be placed on Carver's statements respecting that part of America, particularly as regards the St. Peter's River, which it is probable that he never ascended.

no intention to resign the rights supposed or pretended to have been acquired by Drake's visit to that region. In order to revive and fortify these claims, Cook was instructed, "with the consent of the natives, *to take possession, in the name of the King of Great Britain*, of convenient situations in such countries as he might discover, that had not been already discovered or visited by any other European Power, and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces of his having been there; but if he should find those countries uninhabited, he was to take possession of them for his Sovereign, by setting up proper marks and inscriptions as first discoverers and possessors." He was "strictly enjoined not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven thither by some unavoidable accident; in which case, he was to stay no longer than should be absolutely necessary, and to be careful to give no umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his Catholic Majesty." With reference to the Russians he was directed, "if in his farther progress northward he should find any subjects of any European Prince or State upon any part of the coast, not to disturb them or give them any just cause of offence, but, on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendship." 1776.

The preceding extracts from the instructions given to Cook in 1776 will be sufficient to explain the objects of his voyage to the north Pacific, and the views of the British Government with regard to the part of America bordering upon that division of the ocean. It should be observed, in addition, that those views were in every respect conformable with justice, with the existing treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, and with the principles of national law, then generally admitted in civilized countries.

When Cook sailed from England on this his last voyage, he expected to reach the north Pacific early in the summer of 1777; he was, however, detained by his researches in other parts of the ocean during the whole of that year, and did not arrive upon the northwest coast of America until the 7th of March, 1778, when he made the land about a hundred miles north of Cape Mendocino. For several days afterwards he was prevented by violent storms from advancing as he wished towards the north, and was driven along the coast to some distance in the contrary direction. The wind then becoming favorable, he took the desired course, and on the 22d of the month his ships were opposite a projecting point of the continent, situated a little beyond the 48th parallel, to which he gave the name of *Cape Flattery* in token of his improved prospects. In this part of his voyage he recognised the Cape Blanco of Aguilar, near the 43d parallel, but he thought proper to bestow on it the name of *Cape Gregory*. The mouth of the Columbia was passed by him, without its being noticed, during a stormy night. July 12. 1778. Mar. 7.

The coast immediately south of Cape Flattery was carefully examined in search of the strait through which Juan de Fuca was said to have sailed from the Pacific to the Atlantic in 1592. In the account of that voyage, the entrance of the strait is placed Mar. 13. Mar. 22.

1778. between the 47th and 48th degrees of latitude; and the land being found by Cook to extend uninterruptedly across that space, he did not hesitate to pronounce that no such passage existed. This assertion has been subsequently confirmed; had the English navigator, however, traced the outline of the coast on the *other* side of Cape Flattery, he would there have discovered an arm of the ocean, apparently penetrating the continent towards the east, through which he might have proceeded with his ships for many days ere he could have been assured that the story of the Greek pilot's voyage was not true in all its most essential particulars.

This arm of the sea was passed unnoticed by Cook, who continued his voyage from Cape Flattery, northward across its entrance, and along the shore of what he supposed to be the continent, as far as the latitude of $49\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. Under that parallel he found a spacious and secure bay offering every facility for the repair of his vessels and the refreshment of his men, in which he
 Mar. 29. cast anchor on the 29th of March, bestowing upon it, at the same time, the name of *King George's Sound*. This name he shortly after changed to that of *Nootka Sound*, under the impression (which appears to have been incorrect) that *Nootka** was the term employed to distinguish the bay, by the natives of the surrounding territory.

April. The English remained at Nootka Sound four weeks, engaged in preparations for the difficulties which they expected to encounter. During this period they communicated freely with the natives of the country, who, though universally represented as the most thievish, treacherous, and ferocious of the human race, were upon this occasion rendered useful, and even obliging, by the kind and conciliatory conduct of the strangers. A regular interchange of commodities was also established between the parties, the seamen giving their old clothes, buttons, knives, and other trifles, in return for the skins of sea-otters and seals, which were found in abundance on those coasts.

Cook has recorded in his Journal many curious particulars illustrative of the character and habits of these savages, and he has also noticed some circumstances which appeared to show that they had held intercourse with Europeans before his arrival among them. Thus he remarks that they manifested no surprise at the sight of his ships, and were not startled by the reports of his guns; they had tools and weapons of iron, and ornaments of brass, which latter, at least, could not have been made by persons unacquainted with the arts; and one of their chiefs had hanging around his neck *two silver table-spoons of Spanish manufacture*. Yet the navigator was convinced, from inquiries, that no ships besides those under his command had been seen at Nootka, and that none of the inhabitants had ever communicated directly with the Spaniards or any other civilized people. Their indifference with regard to his ships he attributed to their "natu-

* The name of *Uquot*, or *Yucuatl*, applied by the natives of this region to a part of the sound called Friendly Cove, is the only word in their language which resembles *Nootka*.

ral indolence of temper and want of curiosity ;" and he concluded that they obtained their iron and other metals from the European colonies in America, through the agency, "perhaps, of several intermediate nations." 1778.

Under these circumstances, Cook finally considered himself justified in claiming the merit of the first discovery of Nootka Sound, and it has since been almost universally conceded to him. The Spanish Government and writers, however, insist that this place is no other than the *Port San Lorenzo*, entered and so named by Juan Perez, during his voyage along this coast, four years previous to the arrival of the English in the north Pacific. In the account of that voyage, at page 70, we have shown upon what evidence this assertion is founded ; and it cannot be denied that many of the facts observed by Cook, at Nootka, tend to confirm the probability of its correctness. To attempt to determine the question satisfactorily in favor of the Spanish navigator, would be at the present day an unprofitable employment.

Cook sailed from Nootka Sound on the 26th of April, with the intention of proceeding as speedily as possible to the 65th degree of latitude, where he was to begin the examination of the American coasts, in search of a passage to the Atlantic. The land next seen by him was the beautiful peak which he called *Mount Edgecumbe*, but which had received from Bodega and Maurelle in 1775 the name of *Mount San Jacinto* ; and two days afterwards he beheld rising from the shore two stupendous piles of rocks and snow, on the southernmost of which the appellation of *Mount Fairweather* was bestowed, while the other, lying nearly under the 60th parallel, was recognised as the *Mount Saint Elias* described in the accounts of Beering's last voyage. From the foot of Mount Saint Elias the coast was observed to turn to the west, instead of continuing in a northward direction, as it was represented in the latest charts of the Russians. Cook thereupon resolved to commence his survey at that point, hoping that he should soon find some strait or arm of the ocean, through which his ships might pass around the northwestern extremity of the continent into the sea discovered by Hearne. April 26. May 2. May 4.

With this view the English advanced slowly along the shore from Mount Saint Elias to a considerable distance westward, and thence southward as far as the 55th degree of latitude ; minutely exploring in their way the two great gulfs called *Prince William's Sound* and *Cook's River*, and every other opening through which they supposed it possible to effect a passage. Their expectations, however, were in each instance disappointed ; and the land was found extending continuously on the right of the whole line thus surveyed by them, over a vast space, which in the charts and accounts of the Russians, was represented as occupied by the ocean. That this land was a part of the American continent Cook entertained no doubt, although the fact had not then been established ; and he therefore saw with regret that the probability of his being able to accomplish the grand object of his voyage was materially lessened, if not entirely destroyed. June.

While this survey was going on, the ships were frequently visited by the natives of the adjacent territories, none of whom ap-

1778. peared to have held any previous intercourse with civilized persons; and it was not until they had passed the southwestern extremity of the land, near the 55th parallel of latitude, that traces of the Russians were perceived. From this point they proceeded towards the west, and at length, on the 27th of June, they reached an island which proved to be *Unalashka* one of the largest of the Fox group, well known as a place of resort for the fur-traders from Asia. None but savages were found upon it at that time; yet, as its position with reference to the other islands and to Kamschatka was supposed to be expressed with some approach to accuracy on the charts published at St. Petersburg, its discovery was considered important for the regulation of future movements.

July 3. From Unalashka Cook proceeded northward through the part of the Pacific usually distinguished as the *Sea of Kamschatka*, into the Arctic Ocean, examining the American coast in search of a passage around the continent towards the east. On the 9th of August, he reached a point situated near the 66th parallel of latitude, and called by him *Cape Prince of Wales*, which has been ascertained to be the western extremity of America; and thence, crossing a channel of only fifty-one miles in breadth, he arrived at the opposite extremity of Asia, since known as *East Cape*. Upon the channel which there separates the two great continents he generously bestowed the name of *Beering's Strait*, in honor of the navigator who had first, though unknowingly, passed through it fifty years before.

Beyond Beering's Strait the American coast was found extending upon the *Arctic Sea* towards the east, and was traced in that direction to *Icy Cape*, a point situated in the latitude of $70\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, where the progress of the ships was arrested by the ice. In like manner the Asiatic shore was examined as far westward as it was possible to proceed; and the warm season having by this time passed away, Cook judged it prudent to return to the south, deferring the prosecution of his researches until the ensuing summer.

Oct. 2. On the 2d of October the ships again arrived at Unalashka, where fortunately some Russian traders were found. The chief of these men, Gerassim Ismyloff, was an old and experienced seaman, who had accompanied Benyowsky in his adventurous voyage to China in 1771, and had been for many years engaged in the trade between Kamschatka and the islands. He readily exhibited to Cook all the charts in his possession, and communicated what he knew respecting the geography of that part of the world. The information thus received from him, however, was only so far valuable to the English navigator, as it proved the inaccuracy of the ideas of the Russians with regard to the American continent.

Oct. 26. Leaving Unalashka after some days, the English ships continued on their course towards the south, and on the 26th of November reached Owyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands. There they remained during the winter, and there, on the 16th of February, 1779, the gallant and generous Cook was murdered by the natives.

Captain Charles Clerke, upon whom the command of the expedition devolved in consequence of this melancholy event, endeavored in the following summer to effect a passage to the Atlantic through the Arctic Sea. With this view he sailed from Owyhee to *Petro-Paulowsk*,* the principal port of Kamschatka, in the Bay of Avatscha, and thence through Beering's Strait; beyond which, however, his ships were prevented by ice from advancing as far in any direction as they had gone in the previous year. His health declining, he was obliged to return to the south before the end of the warm season, and on the 22d of August he died near *Petro-Paulowsk*. 1779.
Mar. 13.
May 1.
Aug. 22.

Captain John Gore, a native of New England, next assumed the direction of the enterprise; and the ships being considered by the officers unfit, from the bad condition of their rigging, to encounter the storms of another year's voyage in this part of the ocean, it was determined that they should direct their course homeward. Accordingly, in October they sailed from *Petro-Paulowsk*, where they had been treated with the utmost hospitality by the Russian authorities; and in December following they anchored at the mouth of the River Tygris in China, near the city of Canton. Oct.
Dec. 18.

With the stay of the ships at Canton are connected circumstances which gave additional importance to the discoveries made in the expedition.

During their voyage along the northwest coasts of America, the officers and seamen had obtained from the natives of various places which they visited a quantity of the finest furs, in exchange for knives, buttons, and other trifles. These furs were collected without any reference to their value as merchandise, and were used on board as clothes or bedding; in consequence of which the greater portion of them had been entirely spoiled, and the remainder were much injured before the ships reached *Petro-Paulowsk*. At that place a few of the skins were purchased by the Russian traders, who were anxious to obtain the whole on the same terms; but the officers, having in the mean time acquired information respecting the value of furs in China, prevailed upon the seamen to retain those which they had still on hand, until their arrival at Canton, where they were assured that a better market would be found.

In this expectation they were not disappointed. The furs carried by them to China were the first which entered that empire by sea, all those previously used in the country having been brought by land though the northern frontiers. The supplies thus received had never been equal to the demands; no sooner, therefore, was it reported in Canton that two cargoes of these highly prized objects of comfort and luxury had arrived in the Tygris, than the ships which contained them were surrounded by persons all eager to buy for their own use or upon speculation. The Chinese, according to custom, began by proposing prices far

* Called also *Petro-Paulski*, and the *Harbor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul*. The Russians write it *Petropawlowskaia*.

1779. below those which were then current; but the English refusing to accede to such terms, they gradually increased the amount of their offers, and in the end the whole stock of furs was purchased by them for money and goods, the value of which was not less than ten thousand dollars.

The business for which the English stopped at Canton having been despatched, they sailed from that place in January, 1780, and, passing around the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at the mouth of the Thames on the 4th of October following.

The results of Cook's researches in the north Pacific were certainly far more important than those obtained by any or all of the navigators who had previously explored that part of the sea. The positions of a number of points on the western side of America were for the first time accurately determined, and means were thus afforded for ascertaining approximately the extent of the continent in that direction. The existence of a northern channel of communication between the two oceans, passable by ships, seemed to be entirely disproved; but, in recompense, a vast field for the exercise of industry was opened to the world, by the demonstration of the advantages which were to be derived from the collection of furs on the northern shores of the Pacific, and the sale of them in China.

With regard to the *novelty* of Cook's discoveries on the north-west side of America, it appears, on comparing his course with those taken by the Spaniards four years previously, that until he had passed the 58th parallel of latitude he saw no land, (with the exception possibly, though not probably, of Nootka Sound,) which had not been already seen by Perez, Bodega, or Heceta; it must be repeated, however, that he had no knowledge of the discoveries effected by either of those navigators. After passing the 58th degree, he was, as he frequently acknowledges, aided, and in a measure guided, by the information gleaned from the accounts of the expeditions of Beering and other Russians who had explored that part of the Pacific before him. This is said without any desire to detract from the merits of the gallant English commander, whose skill and perseverance were as extraordinary as his honesty and magnanimity; but merely to show with what degree of justice his Government could advance claims to the exclusive possession of any part of Northwest America on the strength of his discoveries.

- Feb. 11. While the British ships under Clerke and Gore were, after the death of Cook, on their second tour through the northernmost parts of the Pacific, the Spaniards were engaged in another attempt to extend their knowledge of the west coasts of America. For this purpose two vessels, called the *Princesa* and the *Favorita*, sailed from San Blas on the 11th of February, 1779, under the command, respectively, of Lieutenants Ignacio Arteaga and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. The latter was the same officer who had in 1775 explored the Pacific to the 58th degree of latitude, as before related; and he was again accompanied by Antonio Maurelle as ensign, from whose journal nearly all the information respecting the expedition in question has been derived.

Of this voyage a very short account* will be sufficient. From San Blas the Spaniards sailed directly for Port Bucareli, the bay which had been discovered by Bodega and Maurelle near the 56th degree of latitude. This bay, as well as the shores in its vicinity, they surveyed with care; after quitting it, the point which they next saw was Mount Saint Elias, whence they proceeded along the coast towards the west, frequently landing and trading with the natives. In the beginning of August they entered a large gulf containing many islands, and surrounded by high mountains, which, from the descriptions given by Maurelle, must have been the same called by Cook Prince William's Sound. Here their researches terminated, for what reason we do not learn. La Pérouse says that Arteaga supposed himself to have then reached the coast of Kamschatka, and that he was fearful to proceed farther, lest he should be attacked and overpowered by the Russians. The ships departed from the great gulf on the 7th of August, and on the 21st of November following they arrived at San Blas, "where," says Fleurieu, with some justice, "they might have remained without our knowledge in geography having sustained any loss by their inaction." The voyage, in fact, produced little benefit in any way; it was the last made by Spaniards to the northwest coast of America before 1788.

1779.

Feb. 11.

May 4.

July 1.

July 9.

Aug. 1.

Aug. 7.

Nov. 21.

* The greater part of Maurelle's journal of this voyage may be found in the first volume of the Narrative of La Pérouse's Voyage. La Pérouse obtained it from Maurelle himself at Manilla in 1787, and has made some observations respecting the conduct of the Spaniards as therein related, which, though possibly just, are by no means generous. Fleurieu, the editor of La Pérouse's Journal, did not omit the opportunity of casting ridicule upon the Spaniards, whose efforts during this voyage were, in truth, not calculated to redeem their character for perseverance.

CHAPTER V.

Voyages and discoveries in the north Pacific, between 1779 and 1790—Commencement of the direct trade in furs from the northwest coasts of America to Canton—Voyage of La Pérouse—First voyages of citizens of the United States to the northwest coasts—Discovery of the Strait of Fuca—Attempt made by John Ledyard to cross the northern part of the American continent.

1776 WHILE Cook was engaged in his last expedition, Great Brit-
 to ain became involved in wars with the United States of America,
 1785. France, and Spain; and as there was no prospect of a speedy
 termination of the contests at the time when the ships sent out under that commander returned to Europe, the British Government considered it prudent to withhold from the world all information respecting their voyage. The regular journals of the ships, together with the private notes and memoranda of the officers and men which could be collected, were in consequence placed under the charge of the Board of Admiralty, and thus remained concealed until peace had been restored. Notwithstanding this care, however, many of the occurrences of the expedition became known, the importance or the novelty of which was such as to raise to the highest degree the curiosity of the public, not only in England, but in all other civilized countries.

1785. The wars having been at length concluded, the journals of the expedition were published at London in the winter of 1784-'5, under the care of a learned ecclesiastic, in three quarto volumes, accompanied by charts, tables, and all other illustrative appliances; and it is scarcely necessary to add, that the anticipations which had been formed with regard to the importance of their contents were fully realized.

The statements contained in this work respecting the great abundance of animals yielding fine furs in the vicinity of the north Pacific, and the high prices paid for their skins in China, did not fail immediately to arrest the attention of enterprising men; and preparations were commenced in various parts of Europe, in the East Indies, and in the United States of America, to profit by the information. At that period the trade in those articles was conducted almost wholly by the Russians and the British, between which nations, however, there was no competition in this particular. The Russians procured their furs chiefly in the northern parts of their own empire, and exported to China by land all which were not required for their own use. The British fur market was supplied entirely from Hudson's Bay and Canada; and a great portion of the skins there collected were sent to Russia, whence many of them found their way to China, though none had ever been shipped directly for the latter country. That the furs of Canada and Hudson's Bay could be sold advanta-

geously at Canton, appeared to be certain, even allowing for a considerable diminution of prices at that place in consequence of the increase in the supply; and it was supposed that still larger profits might be secured by means of a direct intercourse between China and the northern coasts of the Pacific, where the finest furs were to be obtained in greater quantities and more easily than in any other part of the world. There could be no doubt that this diminution of prices at Canton would take place immediately after the establishment of the trade, and it was probable that the expenses and difficulties of procuring the furs would also be augmented; therefore it was material that those who wished to reap the fullest harvests upon this new field, should commence their labors as speedily as possible.

1785.

The first expedition made to the northwest coasts of America from the south, for the purpose of collecting furs, was conducted by James Hanna, an Englishman, who sailed in a small brig from Canton in April, 1785, and arrived at Nootka Sound in August following. The natives of the surrounding country were in the beginning entirely opposed to all intercourse with the strangers, whom they endeavored to destroy; after a few combats, however, a trade was established between the parties, and the brig returned to Canton before the close of the year, with a cargo of the most valuable furs in place of the old iron and coarse manufactures which she had carried out in the spring.

In the same year an association of merchants, called the *King George's Sound Company*, was formed in London for the prosecution of this trade, by means of vessels sent directly from England to the northwest coasts, for which an exclusive license was granted to them by the South Sea Company; the furs there collected were to be carried for sale to Canton, and from that place, in virtue of a special permission conceded by the East India Company, cargoes of tea were to be brought back to London. This association immediately despatched to the north Pacific two ships, the *Queen Charlotte*, commanded by Captain Dixon, and the *King George*, by Captain Portlock, who arrived together in Cook's River in July, 1786. In the course of this and the two following years vessels were also sent to be employed in the fur trade of the Pacific—from Bombay and Calcutta by the East India Company; from Macao and Canton by various individuals, English and Portuguese; and from Ostend, by the Austrian East India Company, or rather under its flag.

1786
to
1788.

All these vessels appeared to have been owned and equipped wholly or principally by British subjects. The French made no commercial expeditions for the same purpose before 1790; their great navigator, La Pérouse, however, on departing for the last time from his country, in August, 1785, was instructed "particularly to explore those parts of the northwest coast of America which had not been examined by Captain Cook, and of which the Russian accounts gave no idea," with the view of obtaining information relative to the fur trade, as well as of learning "whether in those unknown parts some river or internal sea may not be found communicating with Hudson's or Baffin's Bay." The

1786. multiplicity of the affairs in every department of knowledge, to which La Pérouse was required to attend during this voyage, prevented him from devoting more than three months to the objects above specified; and of that time he passed one-third at anchor in a bay named by him *Port des Français*, near Mount Saint Elias, where he first made the land on the northwest coast of America. From the Port des Français he sailed along the western shores of the continent and of the great islands in its vicinity, which were then supposed to be parts of the main land, as far Monterey; and thence, after a few days spent in making observations and inquiries, he departed for the East Indies.

Sept. 16. The remarks and opinions of the gallant and accomplished French navigator, upon many subjects relative to the northwest coast, display great sagacity, and have been since generally confirmed; he, however, made no important discoveries, and the whole value of the information acquired by him was lost to the world in consequence of the delay in publishing it. The journals of his expedition did not appear in print until 1797, at which period the Pacific coasts of North America were almost as well known as those of its Atlantic side.

1786. The Spanish Government endeavored also to secure for itself a portion of the advantages to be derived from the fur trade. Agreeably to its usual policy in such cases, an agent was sent from Mexico to the western side of California, where he was charged to collect all the furs procurable at the different settlements, and thence to carry them for sale to Canton. The adventure, however, proved unprofitable. A few skins only, and those of inferior quality, could be collected in California; and ere the agent arrived with them in Canton, which was in the spring of 1787, the price of furs had been so much lowered that scarcely enough could be obtained from the sale of his stock to cover the expenses of its transportation. The Canton market was, indeed, already glutted with furs, which were, according to La Pérouse, actually cheaper there in that year than in Kamschatka.

The Russians were in the mean time extending their intercourse with the American coasts and their establishments upon them; even before the publication of Cook's journals, they had begun to avail themselves of the information respecting his discoveries, which had been obtained while the English ships were at Unalashka and Petro-Paulowsk, and an association had been formed among the principal fur-merchants of Eastern Russia for the more effectual conduct of their affairs. In August, 1783, three vessels which had been equipped by this association for a long voyage sailed for America from Ochotsk, under the direction of Gregory Shellikof, one of the chiefs of the company. Their expedition lasted four years, during which period the shores of the continent and islands between the southern extremity of Alaska and Prince William's Sound were explored, and several colonies and factories were established, particularly on the large *Island of Kuktak, or Kodiak*, situated near the entrance of Cook's Inlet. This Shellikof was a man of great intrepidity and perseverance, well acquainted with the business in which he was en-

gaged, and never troubled by any scruples with regard to the humanity of measures after their expediency had been demonstrated. He is said to have exhibited the most barbarous disposition in his treatment of the natives on the American coasts, of whom he often put to death whole tribes upon the slightest prospect of advantage.* 1787.

In 1788 two other vessels were sent out by this association, under Gerassim Ismyloff, one of the traders whom Cook had found at Unalashka, and Demitri Betschareff. They proceeded as far eastward as Mount San Jacinto, or Mount Edgcomb, trading with the natives and taking possession of the country in the name of the Empress of Russia. 1788.

The Russian Government became also desirous to have a scientific expedition made through these seas, for which purpose the Empress engaged Captain Joseph Billings, one of Cook's lieutenants, and some other English and Germans, as officers, astronomers, and naturalists. These persons were sent in 1786 to Ochotsk, where two vessels were being built for their voyage. The preparations were, however, conducted so slowly, that Billings did not get to sea until May, 1790, he and his party having been in the interval engaged in exploring the northern coasts of Siberia. An account of their expedition will be presented hereafter.

The citizens of the United States of America appeared in the north Pacific to claim a share of the advantages of the fur trade, within a short period after its commencement in that quarter of the ocean. All the accounts hitherto published of their early expeditions for this purpose are defective, and in general erroneous; very little information concerning them is, indeed, to be obtained at the present day, and that little must be in part collected from the journals of British and Spanish navigators, upon whose statements we cannot always rely. From the authorities here indicated, as well as from some others more worthy of credit,† have been compiled the slender notices of American voyages and discoveries in the Pacific, between 1786 and 1793, contained in this and the two next succeeding chapters. 1788 to 1793.

The first voyages from the United States to the northwest coasts of America were made by the ship *Columbia*, of 220 tons, and the sloop *Washington*, or *La by Washington*, of 90 tons, under the command, respectively, of John Kendrick and Robert Gray. They were fitted out by an association of merchants at Boston, 1789.

* Sauer's Account of the Russian Expedition, under Billings.

† The principal authorities to which reference will be made in these notices are: the statement of Charles Bulfinch, one of the owners of the *Columbia* and *Washington*, appended to the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations to the House of Representatives of the United States on the 4th of January, 1839, and published in many newspapers both before and since; the *Journal of the Voyages of Captain John Meade*, in the North Pacific in 1788, and his memorial and documents addressed to the British Parliament in the following year; the *Journal of the Voyage of Captain George Vancouver in the Pacific from 1791 to 1795*; the *Journal of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana*; and the manuscript *Journal of the Voyage of the Brig Hope of Boston, commanded by Joseph Ingraham, from 1790 to 1793, which is preserved in the library of the Department of State at Washington.*

1787. and, having been furnished with sea-letters from the Federal Government, and passports from the authorities of the State of Massachusetts, they sailed together from Boston on the 30th of September, 1787.*

The two vessels proceeded first to the Cape Verd Islands, where they obtained refreshments, and thence to the Falkland Islands, among which they passed a fortnight. They then doubled Cape Horn, and were immediately afterwards separated during a violent gale. The Washington, continuing her course northward, arrived at Nootka on the 17th of September, 1788. The Columbia received some damage in the storm, in consequence of which she on the 24th of May put into the principal harbor of the Island of Juan Fernandez, where she was treated with hospitality by the Spanish commandant, Don Blas Gonzales.† The damage having been repaired, Captain Kendrick set sail again on the 28th, and joined the Washington before the end of September at Nootka Sound, where both vessels spent the winter.

Nootka was, indeed, the place to which vessels sailing for the northwest coasts of America from the south generally directed their course at that time, and from which they took their departure on returning; as it appeared to offer greater facilities for obtaining water and provisions, as well as for repairs, than any other harbor in that part of the ocean. The sound is easily entered and quitted with the prevailing winds, and it affords secure and convenient anchorage for ships of any size, particularly in a small bay on the northwest side, called by the natives *Uquat* or *Uquall*, and by the English *Friendly Cove*. Although it lies between the 49th and 50th parallels, and thus corresponds in latitude with the mouth of the St. Lawrence, its climate appears from all accounts to be much milder, and more nearly resembling that of Halifax in Nova Scotia, which is situated five degrees farther southward. The grains, fruits, and vegetables, as well as the domestic fowls and quadrupeds of England and the northern States of the American Union, thrive there and produce plentifully; the surrounding country is covered with the finest timber, and the waters abound in fish, and in the animals yielding the most precious furs.

The aborigines of this part of North America are certainly among the most savage and treacherous of the whole human family; they are of a race entirely distinct from any of those which were found occupying the middle and eastern sections of the continent, and probably belong to that of the *Tschutsky*,

* The owners of these vessels were Joseph Barrell, Samuel Brown, Charles Bulfinch, John Darby, Crowel Hatch, and John M. Pintard; one of whom, C. Bulfinch, is still (1840) living at Boston. Each vessel took out, for distribution among the natives of the places which she might visit, a number of coins, struck for the purpose, bearing on one side a ship and a sloop under sail, with the words "*Columbia and Washington commanded by John Kendrick*," and on the reverse, "*Filled out at Boston, North America, for the Pacific Ocean by*"—encircling the names of the proprietors. A fac-simile of this medal will be found on the map.

† This officer was soon after deprived of his command and arrested, by his superior, the captain general of Chili, for thus disobeying the law of the Indies prohibiting the entrance of foreigners under any pretext into the American dominions of Spain.

inhabiting the northernmost regions of Asia. These barbarians evinced, at first, the utmost hostility to the fur-traders; they, however, soon acquired a taste for blankets, knives, and other foreign articles, to gratify which they became willing not only to tolerate the presence of the strangers, but also to hunt, fish, cut wood, and labor for them in various other ways.

1785
to
1790.

The king, or principal chief, of the tribes residing in the vicinity of Nootka Sound at that period, was named *Maquinna* or *Maquilla*; his relation *Wicannish* ruled over the districts next adjoining on the southeast, and bordering upon the Bays of *Olyquot* or Port Cox, and *Nittinat* or Berkley Sound. They were both courageous, artful, and ferocious savages, as was amply demonstrated by their many acts of blood and perfidy against each other, and against the foreigners who frequented their territories.

From Nootka, the shores of the continent, and those of the western sides of the outermost great islands in its vicinity, were explored by the English and American fur-traders northward as far as Cook's River, and southward nearly to Cape Mendocino. The vessels thus employed were in general commanded by experienced and intelligent mariners, well acquainted with the science of navigation, and provided with the best instruments for ascertaining geographical positions; and it being material for each, in order to obtain a cargo of furs speedily and cheaply, to find as many places as possible which had not been previously visited by the others, a great deal of tolerably precise information relative to these coasts was collected during the five years immediately following the commencement of the trade. This information was, indeed, in most cases, kept secret by those who had acquired it: interchanges of charts and notes, however, occasionally took place among them, and at length, in the course of 1789 and 1790, complete narratives of three commercial expeditions to the north Pacific were published in London by those who had respectively commanded in them.* These works are all tedious, on account of the minuteness of the details of personal and trifling matters, and the statements are often erroneous or false; they, however, afford the means of tracing with sufficient exactness the progress of discovery, and what may be called *the history* of the north-western portion of America, within the abovementioned period.

It will be proper here to give a sketch of some of the most remarkable discoveries effected by the British and American fur-traders between 1785 and 1790.

In the summer of 1787 Captain Berkely, in the ship *Imperial Eagle*, from Ostend, while examining the coast southeast from Nootka, entered a broad arm of the sea,† between the 48th and 49th degrees of latitude, which appeared to penetrate the American continent in an easterly direction; and as it corresponded almost exactly with the mouth of the passage through which the

1787.

* Portlock, Dixon, and Meares. The narrative of the last mentioned person will be frequently referred to in the sequel.

† It is singular that this important discovery should have been made under the flag of Austria.

1787. Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, declared that he had sailed into the Atlantic in 1592, it immediately received the name of *the Strait of Fuca*. Berkely did not, however, explore it to any considerable distance from the Pacific. Captain Meares in 1788 sent one of his mates in a boat up the passage, who reported, on returning, that he "had sailed thirty leagues in it from the sea, and that it was there about fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon stretching to the east about fifteen leagues further." Captain Gray, in the *Washington*, in 1789, proceeded fifty miles in the same passage, and found it nowhere more than five leagues in width. An exaggerated account of this part of Gray's voyage was carried to Europe by Meares in 1790, and it contributed materially to induce the Governments of Spain and England to order those expeditions, which were so successfully conducted during the three following years by the navigators of each nation. It was said that the *Washington* had sailed through the strait into an interior sea, from which she passed again into the Pacific about the 56th degree of latitude. The account that such a voyage had been made was incorrect; but Captain Gray collected information from the natives of the coasts, which left no doubt on his mind that the passage communicated, northward of Nootka, with the Pacific, by an opening to which he had in the summer of 1789 given the name of Pintard's Sound, but which is now generally called Queen Charlotte's Sound. This opinion was verified in 1792 by Vancouver, and Galiano and Valdes.

1787. About the time of the discovery, or rather the re-discovery, of the Strait of Fuca, Captain Dixon, of the *Queen Charlotte*, from London, conceived that the land which had been seen by the Spaniards in 1774 and 1775, between the 51st and the 54th parallels of latitude, was separated from the American continent by sea, and he accordingly bestowed upon it the name of *Queen Charlotte's Island*. This supposition was confirmed in the summer of 1789, first by Captain Gray of the *Washington*, and afterwards by Captain Douglass of the *Iphigenia*, who separately circumnavigated the island. Gray, believing himself to be the original discoverer of the territory, called it *Washington's Isle*; under which appellation, as well as the other and more common one, it will be found laid down on the map accompanying this memoir. In the same summer a group of small islands were found near the continent, between it and the eastern side of Queen Charlotte's Island, by Captain Duncan, of the *Princess Royal*, from London, who in like manner applied to them the name of his vessel; Fleuriu considers them as the same which were seen in 1786 by La Pérouse, and were called by him *Isles de Fleuriu*.

May.
July.

The discovery of these islands, together with other circumstances, led to the suspicion that the whole of the territories extending on the Pacific, between the Strait of Fuca and the vicinity of Mount Saint Elias, which had previously been considered as parts of the American continent, might be really a collection of islands; and, as this suspicion gained strength, the old account of the voyage of Admiral Fonté to the Atlantic began to receive some credit. The islands and reputed islands in

question were supposed to be *the Archipelago of San Lazaro*,¹⁷⁸⁵ which were described in that account as situated near the 53d degree of latitude; and this apparent confirmation of a part of the story gave encouragement for the hope that the *Rio de los Reyes*, and the other waters through which the Admiral was said to have sailed on his way to the Atlantic, in 1640, would also be found.

At this period, moreover, an attempt was made by Captain July. John Meares, in the *Felice*, from Macao, to discover a harbor or river, which was represented on the Spanish maps as communicating with the Pacific near the 46th degree of latitude, immediately south of a cape called *San Roque*. This opening had been first seen by Bruno Heeceta in August, 1775, and was called on the maps *Entrada de Heeceta*, or *Entrada de Ascencion*, and in some instances *Rio de San Roque*. The account given by Meares of his search is worthy of particular attention.

Meares says that he discovered a headland in the latitude of 46 degrees 17 minutes, which he called *Cape Shoalwater*; sailing thence along the coast, towards the south, "an high bluff promontory bore off us southeast" at the distance of only four July 6. leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoalwater we should find some sort of harbor. We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape Saint Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port. By half-past eleven we doubled this cape at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious easterly swell rolled on the shore, and the soundings gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms over a hard sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation.

"The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at July 7. a great distance, and a flat level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck right ahead, and from the mast-head they were observed to extend across the bay; we, therefore, hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port.

"The name of *Cape Disappointment* was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title of *Deception Bay*. By an indifferent meridian observation, it lies in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes north, and in the computed longitude of 235 degrees 34 minutes east. *We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of Saint Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts.*"

This assertion, though somewhat ungrammatically expressed,

* Meares's Account of his Voyage, printed at London in 1790, page 167.

1788. is yet sufficiently clear and explicit. Captain Meares was convinced by his observations that no great stream entered the Pacific from the American continent near the latitude and places described by him. How far this conclusion was correct will be shown hereafter.

In addition to the discoveries and examinations here specified, the British and American fur-traders, during the period between 1785 and 1790, explored many other parts of the American coast which had been seen by the Spaniards or by Cook, and made numerous corrections in the charts of those navigators; much, however, remained to be done in that way before the western shores of the continent could be accurately known, as may be seen by merely comparing the charts and accounts of Portlock and Meares with those of Vancouver published in 1797.

The fur trade between the northwest coasts of America and Canton was, for some years after its establishment, upon the whole, less profitable than had been anticipated, in consequence doubtless of the difficulty of forming new channels of commercial communication in China. Whilst the market at Canton was overstocked with those articles, they were in great demand in the northern parts of the empire, which continued to be, as formerly, supplied directly from Russia. The first adventure of the citizens of the United States in this trade was entirely unprofitable. The skins collected by the *Columbia* and *Washington* during the summer of 1789 did not exceed in number eight hundred; they were carried in the autumn of that year to Canton, by Captain Gray in the *Columbia*, (Kendrick remaining on the coast in the *Washington*;) and were there exchanged for teas to the value of about sixty thousand dollars, with which the ship arrived, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, at Boston, on the 9th of August, 1790. The proceeds of the sale of the teas did not cover the expenses of the outfit and voyage, and some of the owners, in consequence, sold out their shares; the others, however, determined to persevere, and the *Columbia* was accordingly soon after sent back to the Pacific.

It would be improper to omit to notice here the attempt made in 1788 by John Ledyard, a native of Connecticut, to traverse the northern portion of the American continent. Ledyard had accompanied Cook, in the capacity of sergeant of marines, in the last voyage made by that navigator; and, after its conclusion, he went to Paris in order to obtain the means of engaging in the fur trade of the north Pacific. Failing in that object, he undertook, at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, then Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in France, to make the attempt above mentioned, for which purpose it was arranged that he should go by land to Kamtschatka, thence by sea to Nootka, or some other place on the northwest coast of America, and thence across the continent to the United States. With this view, permission was obtained by Mr. Jefferson from the Empress of Russia for Ledyard to pass through her dominions; and, thus protected, he advanced on his way as far as Irkutsk in Siberia, near Ochotsk, where he expected to embark for America. At that place, however, he was arrested by order of

the Empress on the 24th of February, 1788, and, having been put into an open carriage, he was thence conveyed, without being allowed to stop, to the frontiers of Poland, where he was liberated with a warning not again to enter the Russian territory. On the 15th of November following he died at Cairo, just as he was preparing to set out on a journey in search of the source of the river Nile. 1788.

In the latter part of the period to which the present chapter relates, events occurred upon the northwest side of America, which rendered those territories for the first time the subject of dispute between the Governments of European nations. The seizure of two British trading vessels by a Spanish commandant at Nootka, in the spring of 1789, was near occasioning a general war in Europe; and the storm was only averted by the abandonment on the part of Spain of her claims to the exclusive navigation of the Pacific, and to the possession of the unoccupied territories of America bordering upon that ocean. The circumstances connected with this dispute will be detailed in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

Jealousy and alarm of the Spanish Government at the proceedings of the fur-traders in the north Pacific—Voyage of observation by Martinez and Haro in 1788—Remonstrances of the Court of Madrid to that of St. Petersburg—Voyages of Meares and Colnett—Occupation of Nootka, and seizure of vessels at that place by the Spaniards in 1789—Dispute between Great Britain and Spain ended by a treaty between those Powers relative to the navigation of the Pacific and the possession of the vacant coasts of America.

1785. THE movements of the fur-traders in the north Pacific were from the beginning regarded with uneasiness by the Spanish Government. The establishment of foreigners upon the coasts of that ocean adjacent to Mexico, the evil so long dreaded at Madrid, appeared imminent; and there were no means which could with prudence be employed to arrest it. Remonstrances upon such points, addressed to the Courts of London and St. Petersburg, would most probably be unavailing, while any attempt to enforce the exclusive regulations upon the coasts might involve Spain in wars which it was then material to avoid. Under such circumstances, all that could be done for the time was to watch the progress of the evil, in order that the most proper measures might be adopted for counteracting it, whenever opportunities should occur.

1788. In consequence of instructions to this effect, the Viceroy of
March 8. Mexico despatched from San Blas, in the spring of 1788, two armed vessels, the *Princesa* and the *San Carlos*, under the command of Estevan José Martinez, who was ordered to examine the northwest coasts of the continent, and to procure as accurate information as possible with regard to the views of the Russians and other foreigners in that quarter. These vessels sailed direct for Prince William's Sound, where they arrived in the latter part of May, and were received with civility by the superintendents of the Russian Trading Company's establishments. The summer was passed by Martinez in visiting the different factories and forts of that association on the continent, and islands between the sound and Unalashka; and the crews of his vessels beginning to suffer from scurvy as the cold season approached, he returned, by way of Monterey, to San Blas, without having seen any other parts of the northwest coast.

According to the report* addressed to the Viceroy of Mexico

* Of this report, Humboldt says: "I found in the archives of the Viceroyalty of Mexico a large volume in folio, bearing the title of *Reconocimiento de los quatro Establecimientos Rusos al norte de la California, hecho en 1788*. The historical account of the voyage of Martinez contained in this manuscript furnishes, however, very few data relative to the Russian colonies in the new continent. As no person among his crew understood a word of the Russian language, they could only communicate with the people of that nation by signs."

by Martinez, the Russian establishments in America were four in number, all of them situated west of Prince William's Sound; and their population, including soldiers and hunters, amounted to four hundred. Beyond (that is, eastward of the sound) they had not advanced; but it was understood that a large force was about to be sent from Asia, for the purpose of occupying Nootka Sound in the name of the Empress of Russia. The latter part of this account doubtless bore reference to the expedition of Isnyloff and Betschareff, which was commenced in the summer of that year. 1788.

Upon receiving this information of the intentions of the Russians with regard to Nootka, the Viceroy of Mexico determined to anticipate them, if possible, by immediately taking possession of the place for his own Sovereign. With this view he ordered Martinez to sail thither, with his vessels well armed and manned, and to occupy and defend the sound as a part of his Catholic Majesty's dominions; in case any British or Russian vessels should present themselves there, they were to be treated with civility and friendship, but their commanders were at the same time to be informed of the establishment of the Spanish authority over the territory.* With these instructions, Martinez quitted San Blas in February, 1789, and arrived at Nootka on the 6th of May following.

The report concerning the projected seizure of Nootka by the Russians was at the same time communicated by the Viceroy to his Government, and it was thereupon determined at Madrid that a memorial† should be addressed to the Empress of Russia, remonstrating against the encroachments of her subjects upon the territories of his Catholic Majesty. It is to be remarked, that in this memorial *Prince William's Sound is assumed as the limit between the dominions of the two Sovereigns; the first instance of an admission by the Spanish Government of the right of any other Power to occupy a part of America bordering upon the Pacific.* The Empress of Russia answered, that orders had been already given to her subjects to make no settlements in places belonging to other nations, and if those orders had been violated with regard to Spanish America, she hoped his Catholic Majesty would arrest the encroachments in a friendly manner. With this answer, which was more courteous than specific, the Spanish minister professed himself content; observing, however, that "Spain could not be responsible for what her officers might do at places so distant, while they were acting under general orders not to allow any settlements to be made by other nations on the Spanish American continent." 1789.

While this diplomatic correspondence was passing between the Courts of Madrid and St. Petersburg, events were occurring on May.

* For the instructions given to Martinez, see the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, which may be considered as an official work.

† See the memorial addressed by the Court of Spain to that of Great Britain on the 13th of June, 1790, in the London Annual Register for that year, page 294.

1780 the northwest coast of America, from which the most material consequences resulted. These events have been variously represented, or rather misrepresented, by the historians* to whom we usually look for information respecting them. It may, indeed, be asserted, without fear of disproof, that in all the accounts hitherto published of the immediate causes of the controversy between Great Britain and Spain in 1790, relative to the navigation of the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and the unoccupied portions of America bordering upon those seas, the most important circumstances are exhibited in a form and light entirely different from those which would be produced by a full and impartial review of the evidences.

With the object of endeavoring to correct these errors, a narrative of the events above mentioned will here be presented, drawn entirely from the original sources of information.† Many of the

* Viz: Bissett's Continuation of Hume and Smollett; Belsham's History of Great Britain; Wade's Chronological History of England; the History of Spain and Portugal, by Busk, published under the direction of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*; the History of Maritime and Inland Adventure and Discovery, forming part of Lardner's Encyclopædia; Brenton's Naval History of Great Britain; Gifford's Life of William Pitt; &c. The accounts of these British writers have been generally admitted and stated as correct in the reports respecting the northwest coast, presented by committees to the Congress of the United States; and no attempt seems to have been made to controvert or question them in the course of any negotiations between the United States and Great Britain.

† These sources of information are:

I. Journal of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean in 1788 and 1789, by John Meares. In the Appendix to the Journal of Meares is the

II. Memorial addressed to the House of Commons of Great Britain on the 13th of May, 1790, by John Meares, in behalf of the owners of certain vessels seized at Nootka Sound in 1789 by the Spanish commandant Martinez, praying that measures might be taken to obtain indemnification for those losses, as also for the seizure of certain lands and houses on the northwest coast of America, claimed by the petitioners as their property. An abstract of this memorial, *carefully* composed so as to exclude all circumstances which might weaken the claims of the petitioners, may be found in the Annual Register for 1790, page 287. The *Journal* of the voyages of Meares relates, in part, to the circumstances which form the subject of the *Memorial*; on comparing the two, it will be found that they are frequently at variance.

III. Account of Voyages in the Pacific, made between 1790 and 1794 by Captain George Vancouver of the British navy, who had been sent by his Government to explore that ocean, and also to superintend the delivery by the Spanish authorities of certain territories at and near Nootka Sound, in virtue of the treaty of October, 1790.

IV. Account of a Voyage in the Pacific, made in 1793 and 1794 by Captain James Colnett. The only parts of this work relating to the affairs in question are the Introduction and a note at page 96.

V. The Introduction by Navarrete to the Narrative of the Voyages of the Spanish Schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana* in 1791-2; which is here cited only to show that it has been consulted.

In addition to the abovementioned printed works, is the following, as yet unpublished:

VI. Letter written at Nootka Sound in August, 1792, by Joseph Ingraham, master of the American merchant brig *Hope*, and signed by himself and Robert Gray, master of the Ship *Columbia*, respecting the events at Nootka in 1789, of which one or both of them were witnesses; it was written in compliance with a request from Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commandant at Nootka, by whom a copy of it was delivered to Vancouver. In the first volume of the Narrative of Vancouver, page 389, may be found a synopsis of this letter, in which the evidence of the Americans is *carefully* garbled to suit the purposes of the British commander. A copy of the letter in full, extracted from the original Journal of Ingraham, is given in the appendix [D] to this memoir.

details may at first appear trifling and unworthy of note ; it is believed, however, that none have been introduced which are not indispensable for the attainment of the end proposed, while no circumstances have been omitted which might, if related, have led to different conclusions. This narrative must be preceded by some observations and statements, which are necessary in order that proper judgments may be formed upon the circumstances.

In the first place, it is certain that, *before the arrival of the Spanish commander Martinez at Nootka, in May, 1789, no settlement, factory, or commercial or military establishment whatsoever, had been founded or even attempted; and no jurisdiction had been exercised by the subjects or authorities of any civilized nation in any part of America bordering upon the Pacific, between Port San Francisco and Prince William's Sound.* The Spaniards, the British, the Russians, and the French had landed at various places on these coasts, where they had displayed flags and erected crosses and monuments in token of the claims of their respective sovereigns to the surrounding territories ; but such acts are, and were then, generally regarded as idle ceremonies, securing no effectual rights to those who engaged in them. Nor does it appear that any portion of the soil within these limits had become the property of a foreigner, notwithstanding that the British Government did in 1790 demand, and Spain engaged by treaty to restore, several pieces of land and buildings in the vicinity of Nootka Sound, which were claimed as belonging to John Meares and other British subjects at the time of the occupation of that place by the forces of his Catholic Majesty. Although this demand was thus formally urged and admitted, many circumstances, which will be related in the sequel, combine to prove conclusively that it was entirely destitute of foundation.

The right of sovereignty over this vast region was claimed by the King of Spain, and no other Power had formally contested his pretensions, notwithstanding the Russians were advancing upon the continent in the north, and the British ministry had, it is said, a short time previously deliberated upon the question whether New Albion or New Holland should be selected for the establishment of their contemplated penal colony. That the Spaniards were the first discoverers of the west coasts of America as far north as the 58th degree of latitude, with the exception of the small portion near the 56th parallel seen by the Russians in 1741, has been already demonstrated ; the fact is as indisputable as that the Portuguese discovered the south coasts of Africa. To assume that Spain thereby acquired the right of excluding all other nations from these coasts, whether her subjects settled on them or not, would be absurd ; but it would, at the same time, be unjust to deny that her title to occupy them was better than that of any other nation, not only in virtue of priority of discovery, but also from their continuity with her own undoubted possessions. It is unnecessary to indicate the various modes in which this *better right* might have been exercised by Spain without giving just cause of complaint to other Powers ; the object of these observa-

1789.

1789. tions being merely to show that her occupation of Nootka in 1789 was, *per se*, conformable with justice, and with the recognised principles of national law.

1788. In order to present a satisfactory view of the events attending
Jan. 1. that occupation, the account must commence from the month of January, 1788, when two vessels, the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia*, sailed from Macao,* for the northwest coast of America, to be employed in the fur trade, under the direction of John Meares, a lieutenant in the British navy, then on half-pay, who went in the *Felice*. The *Iphigenia* also carried a British subject, William Douglas, as supercargo; both vessels, however, were commanded by Portuguese, they were both furnished with Portuguese passports and other papers, showing them to be the property of Juan Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of Macao, and they quitted that place under the flag of Portugal. The instructions† for the conduct of the voyage were written in the Portuguese language, and contained nothing whatsoever calculated to afford a suspicion that any other than Portuguese subjects were engaged in the enterprise. These instructions conclude with the following injunction to the commanders of the vessels: "Should you meet with any Russian, English, or Spanish vessels, you will treat them with civility, and allow them, if they are authorized, to examine your papers; should they, however, attempt to seize you, or to carry you out of your way, you will prevent it by every means in your power, and repel force by force. In case you should in such conflict have the superiority, you will take possession of the vessel that attacked you, as also of her cargo, and bring both, with the officers and crew, to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes, and the crew punished as pirates."

Notwithstanding all these evidences of ownership and national character, it is asserted by Mr. Meares, in the memorial addressed by him to the British Government in 1790, that the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia* were actually and *bona fide* British property, employed in the service of British subjects only; that Cavallo had no concern or interest in them, his name being merely used for the purpose of obtaining permission from the Governor of Macao to navigate under the Portuguese flag, and thus to evade the excessive port charges demanded by the Chinese from all other European nations; and that Messrs. Meares and Douglas were really the commanders of the vessels, instead of the two Portuguese who appeared as such in their papers. These assertions may have been, at least in part, true; but the documents attached by Meares to his memorial amply prove that the deception was continued at Nootka, where there were no Chinese authorities, although no hint is given, in his account of the voyages of the ves-

* Macao is situated on the southern extremity of an island near the mouth of the River Tygris in China, about sixty miles below Canton. It was granted to the Portuguese by the Emperor of China in 1518, and has ever since remained in their possession, although the Chinese Government exercises considerable control over all their proceedings.

† Appendix, No. 1, to Meares's Account of his Voyage to the Pacific.

sels, that either of them was, or ever appeared to be, other than British. Greater discrepancies, positive as well as negative, between the *journal* and the *memorial*, remain to be noticed. 1788.

The truth with regard to the vessels probably was, that they were actually and *bona fide* Portuguese property, though some of the persons in whose service they were then employed might have been British subjects. The Portuguese flag at that time offered peculiar advantages for the prosecution of the fur trade, besides the freedom from the port charges of the Chinese; for no British vessel could engage in the business without becoming liable to confiscation, except those of the King George's Sound Company, which had obtained a privilege to that effect from the South Sea Company of London. The instructions to the commanders of the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia*, to seize and bring to Macao for trial any *English vessels* which might attempt to interrupt them in their voyage, were doubtless levelled at those of the King George's Sound Company, which were then expected in the Pacific, with orders and materials for establishing forts and factories on the northwest coast of America. With regard to these instructions it should be added, that, although they are remarkably precise and minute, no allusion whatsoever is made in them to the acquisition of land or the erection of buildings in America.

From Macao the *Iphigenia* sailed for Cook's River, while Meares in the *Felice* proceeded to Nootka Sound, which he entered on the 13th of May. There he immediately began to build a small vessel for coasting, and, being desirous during the progress of this work to take a trip to the southward, he made arrangements with King Maquinna, who, as related in Mr. Meares's *Journal of the Voyage*, page 114, "most readily consented to grant us a spot of ground in his territory, whereon an house might be built for the accommodation of the people we intended to leave behind, and also promised us his assistance and protection for the party who were destined to remain at Nootka during our absence. In return for this kindness, and to insure the continuance of it, the chief was presented with a pair of pistols, which he had regarded with an eye of solicitation ever since our arrival. Upon this spot a house sufficiently spacious to contain all the party intended to be left at the Sound was erected: a strong breastwork was thrown up around it, enclosing a considerable area of ground, which, with one piece of cannon placed in such a manner as to command the cove and village of Nootka, formed a fortification sufficient to secure the party from any intrusion." May 13.

That this *spot of ground* was granted by Maquinna, and was to be occupied by the strangers only for temporary purposes, is clear from the above statement, and Meares nowhere in the *journal* of his voyage pretends that he acquired permanent possession of it, or of any other land in America; on the contrary, he expressly states, page 130, "that, as a bribe to secure Maquinna's attachment, he was promised that when we finally left the coast he should enter into full possession of the house and all the goods thereunto belonging." In his *memorial to Parliament*, however, he declares that "immediately on his arrival at Nootka Sound, he

1788.
May. purchased from Maquilla, the chief of the district contiguous to and surrounding that place, a spot of ground whereon he built a house for his occasional residence, as well as for the more convenient pursuit of his trade with the natives, and hoisted British colors thereon." Among the documents attached to the memorial, no mention is made of this purchase, except in the information of William Graham, a seaman of the *Felice*, taken in London after the date of the memorial, who declares that "he saw Mr. Meares deliver some articles of merchandise to Maquilla, the sovereign Prince of the said sound, which he then understood and believed were given as consideration for lands required by Mr. Meares for an establishment on shore."* The British Government, as will be seen, went still farther, and claimed the whole territory surrounding Nootka as included within the terms of this asserted purchase.

Such is the evidence upon which the British historians of that period insist that *Meares purchased a large tract of land at Nootka, and established on it a factory defended by a fort under the British flag.*

Having completed his arrangements, Meares sailed in the *Felice* towards the south, leaving a part of his crew at Nootka, to which place he did not return until the latter part of July. During this period he endeavored to explore the Strait of Fuca, and to find the mouth of the great River San Roque, near the 46th degree of latitude, in both of which attempts he was, as before related, unsuccessful. He declares in his memorial that he likewise "obtained from Wiccanish, the chief of the district surrounding Port Cox and Port Effingham, (places thus named by himself, but otherwise known as *Clyoquot* and *Nittinat*), situated in the latitudes of 48 and 49 degrees, in consequence of considerable presents, the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district, as also permission to build any storehouses or other edifices which he might judge necessary; and that he also acquired the same privileges of exclusive trade from *Tatootche*, the chief of the country bordering upon the Strait of Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the said strait, which one of his officers took possession of in the King's name, calling the same *Tatootche*, in honor of the chief."

Of these purchases and cessions of territory there is no other evidence than the declaration of Mr. Meares in his *memorial*;† for

* The only statement besides this declaration, tending to confirm the assertion of Meares in his memorial, is that (hereafter noticed) made to Vancouver in 1792 at Nootka, by Robert Duffin, who had also been one of the crew of the *Felice* in 1788. He is represented by Vancouver (vol. i, page 405) as declaring that he witnessed the purchase by Meares "of the whole of the land which forms Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, in his Britannic Majesty's name, for eight sheets of copper and some trifles."

† It is probable, from the numerous discrepancies between Meares's *Journal* of his Voyage and his memorial, that the former was written and printed before the latter was drawn up. We may also suspect, from the silence of all the documents brought to London with regard to the purchases of lands on the northwest coast, that the idea of setting up this claim suggested itself, or was suggested, to Meares after his arrival in England.

they are not noticed either in the documents attached to that memorial, or in the Journal of his Voyage, which is tediously minute as to this trip, or any where else; yet his claim, based solely upon his own statement, was supported by his Government and admitted by that of Spain. 1788.

After the return of Meares to Nootka Sound, the sloop Washington, Captain Gray, arrived there from Boston; the small vessel which had been commenced by the crew of the Felice in the spring was completed, and received the name of *Northwest America*; and the Iphigenia came in from the northern coasts laden with furs. As a number of skins had also been obtained by the Felice during the summer, Meares determined to transfer to that vessel all those in the Iphigenia, and to sail with them immediately for Macao; which he accordingly did, leaving the sound on the 28th of September. In the course of the following month the Ship Columbia, Captain Kendrick, arrived from Boston, and the Iphigenia and Northwest America departed for the Sandwich Islands, leaving the two American vessels to winter at Nootka. Sept. 17. Sept. 24. Sept. 28. Oct.

Meares reached Macao in the Felice early in December, and soon afterwards two vessels, the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales, belonging to the King George's Sound Company, arrived at that place under the command of James Colnett, an officer of the British navy on half pay. In the latter vessels also came an agent of the said company, between whom and the proprietors of the Felice and Iphigenia an arrangement was made for uniting the interests of both parties. In consequence of this arrangement, the Felice was sold or dismissed, and the Princess Royal, together with a ship called the Argonaut, bought for the purpose by the association, were despatched to Nootka, under the direction of Colnett, who sailed in the Argonaut. These vessels appear to have been navigated under the British flag; Cavallo could not have acted as their owner, for he had become a bankrupt, and his failure was probably the cause of the formation of the new company. 1789. April.

The management of the affairs of the association at Macao appears to have been committed entirely to Meares, who drew up the instructions for Colnett. From these instructions, of which a copy is appended by Meares to his memorial, it is evident that there was really an intention to found a permanent establishment on some part of the northwest coast of America, although no spot is designated as its site, and no hint is given of any acquisition of territory having been already made at or near Nootka Sound; indeed, the only reference to that place, in the whole paper, is contained in the words "we recommend you, if possible, to form a treaty with the various chiefs, particularly at Nootka." Yet Meares, in his memorial, strangely enough says: "Mr. Colnett was directed to fix his residence at Nootka Sound, and, with that view, to erect a substantial house on the spot which your memorialist had purchased in the preceding year, as will appear by a copy of his instructions hereunto annexed."

While the Argonaut and Princess Royal were on their way to Nootka, the Iphigenia and Northwest America returned to that April 20.

1789. place from the Sandwich Islands in a most distressed condition.
 April 29. The *Iphigenia* was, indeed, a mere wreck. Her supercargo, or captain, Douglas, declares in his journal, attached to the memorial, that "she had like to have foundered at sea for want of pitch and tar to stop the leaks; she had no bread on board, and nothing for her crew to live on but salt pork; she was without cables," and, on attempting to secure her in the sound, "every rope gave way, so that we were obliged to borrow a fall from the American sloop *Washington*," which with the ship *Columbia* were found lying there. The *Washington* had already made a cruise to the southward, in the course of which she advanced some distance up the Strait of Fuca; a few days after the arrival of the other vessels, she took her departure for the north, and was immediately followed by the *Northwest America*, which had been hastily equipped and provided with articles for trade on a short voyage. The *Columbia* remained at Nootka the whole summer, and we are indebted to her mate, Joseph Ingraham, for the only account of the occurrences at the sound, during that period, proceeding from a disinterested witness.

May 6. On the 6th of May Martinez arrived at Nootka in the corvette *Princesa*, and immediately informed the officers of the *Columbia* and *Iphigenia* that he had come to take possession of the country for the King of Spain; he then examined the papers of the two vessels, and, appearing to be content with them, he landed artillery and materials, and began to erect a fort on a small island at the entrance of Friendly Cove. With this assumption of authority no dissatisfaction was expressed or entertained by either of the other parties present; on the contrary, the utmost good feeling seemed to subsist on all sides for several days. The officers of the different vessels visited and dined with each other; and Martinez readily supplied the *Iphigenia*, at the request of her commander, with articles of which she was in need, in order that she might go to sea immediately, accepting in return for them bills drawn upon Cavallo of Macao as her owner.

It is proper to remark here, that, on the arrival of the Spaniards at Nootka, no vestige remained of the house built, or said to have been built, by Meares, or of any other preparation for a settlement near the sound. This is expressly stated by Gray and Ingraham, who, moreover, declare their conviction that no house was ever erected by Meares at Nootka; and it is corroborated by the entire silence, on that head, of Douglas, Colnett, and every other person whose testimony is cited in conjunction with the memorial to Parliament.

May 13. Things remained thus at Nootka for a week, at the end of which time the other Spanish vessel, the *San Carlos*, arrived, under the command of Lieutenant Haro. On the following day, Martinez invited Viana and Douglas, the chief officers of the *Iphigenia*, to come on board the *Princesa*, where he immediately told them that they were prisoners, and that their vessel was to be seized; alleging in justification of his proceedings that their instructions contained a clause directing them to seize and carry to Macao any English, Russian, or Spanish vessels which they could overcome.

Douglas insisted that the instructions had been misinterpreted, and that, although *he did not understand Portuguese*,* in which they were written, *he had seen a copy of them at Macao*, and knew their sense to be otherwise. Martinez, however, adhered to his resolution; the *Iphigenia* was in consequence boarded by the Spaniards; her men, with her charts, journals, and other papers, were transferred to the ships of war, and preparations were commenced for sending her to San Blas. 1789. May 14.

While these preparations were in progress, the Spanish commandant altered his intentions, and proposed to release the *Iphigenia* and her crew, on condition that her officers would sign a declaration to the effect that she had not been interrupted, but had been kindly treated and supplied by him during her stay at Nootka. This proposition was at first refused; negotiations, however, took place, through the medium of Captain Kendrick of the *Columbia*, the results of which were that the declaration was signed by the officers of the *Iphigenia*, and she and her crew were liberated on the 26th of May. Messrs. Viana and Douglas, at the same time, engaged for themselves, as "*captain and supercargo respectively, and for Juan Caralla of Macao, as owner of the said vessel*," to pay her value, on demand, to the order of the Viceroy of Mexico, in case he should pronounce her capture legal. May 26.

The vessel having been completely equipped for sea by the Spaniards, she sailed on the 2d of June for the northern coasts, where seven hundred sea-otter skins were collected, by trading with the natives, before her departure for the Sandwich Islands and China. "This trade was so brisk," says Meares in his *Journal of the Voyage*, that "*all the stock of iron was soon expended, and they were under the necessity of cutting up the chain-plates and hatch-bars of the vessel*," in order to find the means of purchasing the skins offered. In the memorial, however, not only is all notice of this part of the *Iphigenia's* voyage omitted, but it is implicitly declared† that she sailed directly from Nootka to the Sandwich Islands. Meares insists that the conduct of the Spaniards towards the *Iphigenia* and her men was violent and rapacious; on the other hand, Messrs. Gray and Ingraham declare that her detention was in every respect advantageous to the owners, as she was completely repaired and supplied for her voyage, and she would otherwise have been obliged to remain inactive at Nootka, for at least two months longer, during the best season for trading. June 2.

The seizure of the *Iphigenia* by Martinez can scarcely be considered as unjust or unmerited, when it is recollected that if, in

* Extracts from the *Journal of Douglas*, annexed to the memorial of Meares.

† "During the time the Spaniards held possession of the *Iphigenia*, she was stripped of all the merchandise which had been prepared for trading, as also of her stores, provisions, nautical instruments, charts, &c., and in short of every article, *except twelve bars of iron*, which they could conveniently carry away. . . . On leaving Nootka Sound, the *Iphigenia*, though in a very unfit condition for such a voyage, proceeded from thence to the Sandwich Islands, and, after obtaining there such supplies as they were enabled to procure with the iron before mentioned, returned to China, and anchored there in the month of October, 1789."—Memorial addressed to Parliament by Meares.

1789.
June. attempting to enforce, with regard to her, the orders of his Government, (orders perfectly conformable with the principles of national law, as universally recognised, and with treaties between Spain and all other Powers,) he had been resisted and overcome, he, with his officers and men, would have been carried as prisoners to Macao, to be tried for piracy. Moreover, he had been informed that Meares was daily expected to arrive at Nootka, with other vessels belonging to the same concern; and it was his duty to provide against the possibility of being overpowered, and of having his flag insulted, by lessening the forces of those from whom he had every reason to apprehend an attack. Indeed, the only ground upon which he could have excused himself to his Government for releasing the *Iphigenia* must have been, that at the time when the instructions to her officers were written, it was not anticipated that Spain would take possession of any part of the northwest coast of America.

June 8. At the end of a week from the departure of the *Iphigenia*, the Northwest America returned to Nootka, and was immediately seized by Martinez. On what grounds or pretexts this seizure was based, there are no means of ascertaining. Gray and Ingraham understood that it was in consequence of an agreement between the Spanish commandant and the officers of the *Iphigenia*; this is, however, expressly denied by Douglas, who declares that both threats and promises had been used in vain to induce him to sell the small vessel at a price far below her value. A few days afterwards, the *Princess Royal* (one of the vessels sent from Macao by the associated companies) arrived in the sound, under the command of William Hudson, and was received and treated, during her stay, with respect and attention by the Spaniards. She brought information of the failure of Juan Cavallo, the Portuguese merchant, upon whom, as owner of the *Iphigenia*, the bills given by the commander of that vessel in payment of the supplies were drawn; and upon learning this, Martinez announced his determination to hold the Northwest America, which belonged to the same concern, in satisfaction for the amount of those bills. She was, in consequence, immediately equipped for a trading-voyage, and sent out under the direction of one of the mates of the *Columbia*; her officers and men being set at liberty, and receiving nearly all the furs found on board of her at the time of her capture.

July 2. The *Princess Royal*, after remaining some days at Nootka undisturbed by the Spaniards, sailed from that place on a cruise. As she was leaving the sound, her companion, the *Argonaut*, came in from Macao under the command of Captain Colnett, who had been, as before stated, charged by the associated companies with the direction of all their affairs on the American coasts, and with the establishment of a fort and factory for their benefit. What followed with regard to this vessel has been variously represented, or rather has been represented under various colors, for the principal facts are admitted by all to have been these:

July 4. As soon as the *Argonaut* appeared at the entrance of the sound, she was boarded by the Spanish commandant, who invited her

captain to come into the port, and supply the ships of war with some necessary articles; presenting, at the same time, a letter from Hudson, in which the good treatment of the Princess Royal and her crew were acknowledged in flattering terms; Barnett, the mate of the Northwest America, Ingraham, the mate of the Columbia, and some other persons, likewise came on board, and communicated what had occurred with regard to the Iphigenia and the small vessel. Colnett, upon this, informed Martinez that he had come to take possession of Nootka, and to erect a fort there under the British flag. The Spaniard replied, that the place was already occupied by the forces of his Catholic Majesty; but that if the Argonaut should enter the sound, she should be treated with civility and attention, and be allowed to depart without hindrance. After some debate, the Englishman agreed to go into the harbor; and before midnight, his vessel was anchored in Friendly Cove between the Princessa and the San Carlos.

1789.
July 2.

July 3.

On the following day, Colnett, having supplied the Spanish ships with some articles, announced his intention to go to sea in the evening; whereupon, Martinez requested him first to come on board the Princessa and exhibit his papers. The captain accordingly went, in uniform and with his sword, to the cabin of the commandant, where an altercation took place between the parties; the results of which were, the arrest of Colnett, and the seizure of the Argonaut by the Spaniards. From the moment of his arrest, Colnett was delirious or insane, and Robert Duffin, the mate of the Argonaut, became in consequence the representative of the owners of that vessel.

July 4.

On the 13th of July the Princess Royal appeared at the mouth of the sound, and her captain, Hudson, having entered Friendly Cove in a boat, was there arrested with his men; after which, the vessel was boarded and brought in as a prize by the Spaniards. On the following day the Argonaut sailed for San Blas, carrying nearly all the British subjects taken at Nootka as prisoners, under the charge of a Spanish lieutenant and crew. Those who were captured in the Northwest America were, however, embarked as passengers in the Columbia for Macao; one hundred of the otter skins found in the Princess Royal being allowed by Martinez in payment of their wages and transportation.

The Columbia left Nootka in August; soon afterwards she met the Washington, which had just returned from her voyage up the Strait of Fuca; and it was agreed between the captains, that Gray should take command of the ship, and proceed to China and the United States, with all the furs which had been collected, while Kendrick should remain on the coast in the Washington. Finally, in November, Martinez quitted Nootka Sound, and sailed with all his vessels for Mexico, leaving Maquinna again in quiet possession of his dominions.

If the statements of Meares, in his memorial, and of Colnett, in the account published by him respecting the capture of the Argonaut and Princess Royal, and the treatment of their officers and men by the Spaniards, be admitted as conveying a full and correct view of the circumstances, the conduct of Martinez must be

1789. considered as nearly equivalent to piracy. From these statements it would appear that the vessels were treacherously seized, without any reasonable grounds, or even pretexts, and with the sole premeditated object of plundering them; and that the most cruel acts of violence, insult, and restraint, were wantonly committed upon the officers and men, during the whole period of their imprisonment. Colnett relates* that when he presented his papers to Martinez in the cabin of the *Princesa*, the commandant, without examining them, pronounced them to be forged, and immediately declared that the *Argonaut* should not go to sea; that, upon his "*remonstrating* (in what terms he does not say) *against this breach of good faith and forgetfulness of word and honor pledged*," the Spaniard rose in apparent anger, and introduced a party of armed men, by whom he was struck down, placed in the stocks, and then closely confined; that he was afterwards carried from ship to ship like a criminal, threatened with instant execution as a pirate, and subjected to so many injuries and indignities, as to throw him into a violent fever and delirium, which were near proving fatal; and that his officers and men were imprisoned and kept in irons, from the time of their seizure until their arrival at San Blas, where many of them died in consequence of ill treatment. Meares, in his memorial, confirms the assertions of Colnett; and he adds, with regard to the capture of the *Princess Royal*, that her commander, Hudson, after his arrest at Friendly Cove, was forced (by means of threats of immediate execution) to send written orders to his mate, to deliver up the vessel without resistance to the Spaniards.

- Many of these statements are supported by the deposition of the officers and seamen of the Northwest America, taken in China, which is appended to the memorial; some of them, however, are directly contradicted, while the greater part are invalidated, not only by the declarations of Gray and Ingraham, but even by the admissions of Duffin, the mate of the *Argonaut*, in his letters, also attached to the same petition. Thus the American captains understood, "from those whose veracity they had no reason to doubt," that Colnett, at his interview with Martinez in the cabin of the *Princesa*, denied the right of the Spaniards to occupy Nootka, and endeavored to impose upon the commandant by representing himself as empowered by his Government to erect a fort and settle a colony at that place under the British flag, and that he afterwards insulted the Spaniard by threatening him and drawing his sword. Colnett himself says that he attempted to draw his sword on the occasion, but that it was in order to defend himself against those who assailed him; and it must be allowed to be very difficult to "*remonstrate*" with a man upon "*his breach of faith, and forgetfulness of his word and honor pledged*," without insulting him. Duffin, writing to Meares from Nootka, ten days after the seizure, gives nearly the same account of the interview, adding that the misunderstanding was most probably oc-

* See Colnett's Account of a Voyage in the Pacific in 1793; note at page 96.

casioned by the interpreter's ignorance of the English language. 1780.
He says that Martinez appeared to be very sorry for what had happened, and had "behaved with great civility, by obliging his prisoners with every liberty that could be expected;" and he complains of no violence, either to the feelings or to the persons of any of the crews of the vessels seized, although he charges the Spaniards with plundering both openly and secretly. Moreover, Duffin declares, and Meares repeats in his memorial, that the disease with which Colnett was afflicted after his arrest was a fit of insanity occasioned by fear and disappointment operating upon a mind naturally weak and hereditarily predisposed to such alienation. This assertion is indignantly repelled by Colnett, in his account of the affair, to which he annexes a letter of apology and retraction from Meares.

No other evidence has been presented on the part of Spain, respecting these proceedings, than what is contained in the notes and memorials addressed by the Court of Madrid on the subject to various European Governments in 1790, and in the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*; all of which statements, though made officially, are, without doubt, erroneous on many of the most material points.

Upon reviewing all the circumstances as they are presented to us, there is little doubt that Colnett acted towards the Spanish commandant in a manner so extravagant and intemperate as to render his arrest perfectly justifiable; the detention of his vessel, however, cannot be defended on the same grounds, and the seizure of the *Princess Royal* appears to have been totally unauthorized and inexcusable. The commanders of Spanish American posts were, indeed, ordered by their general instructions to seize all foreign vessels entering or cruising in the vicinity of the territories under their control; and the enforcement of these orders was directly or tacitly admitted by all the nations with which Spain had made treaties relating to those dominions. But it could not have been reasonably intended by the Spanish Government, or allowed by other Powers, that such regulations should be enforced at a new settlement, in a region so remote, before the people of any other country could be informed of the fact of the establishment. We know, moreover, from the highest authority, that Martinez was specially instructed to treat all British or Russian vessels which might arrive at Nootka with civility; and, although he might have with propriety disarmed Colnett's ships, if he apprehended any attack from them, he certainly had no right to take possession of them, and to appropriate their cargoes, as he did, to his own uses, merely because their commander had refused to recognise the supremacy of Spain in that region.

Meares, Vancouver, and other British writers, in alluding to these occurrences, endeavor to cast blame on the commanders of the two American vessels, which were at the time in or near Nootka Sound, by representing them as aiding and supporting the Spaniards in their oppressive proceedings. Upon examining the facts, we find that the Americans never pretended to ques-

1789. tion the right of Spain to the country; and the conduct of the British towards them was not such, if we may judge from the expressions of Meares, as to excite any friendly feelings on their part. All that can be alleged against Captains Kendrick and Gray seems to be that they profited, as they were entitled to do, by the quarrels between the other two parties, naturally inclining towards that which seemed to be the more friendly disposed towards themselves.

Upon the arrival of the Argonaut at San Blas, Colnett was liberated from confinement, and he proceeded to the city of Mexico, where he was received with kindness by the Viceroy, Count de Revillagigedo. The cases of the Argonaut and Princess Royal having been then examined, it was decided*—that the conduct of Martinez had been entirely conformable with the laws and ordinances of Spain, and with the terms of treaties existing between that kingdom and other nations, by which it is understood that aliens frequenting, trading, or endeavoring to establish themselves "on the coasts of the South Sea in either America" shall be regarded and treated as enemies, without any presumable breach of faith on the part of Spain; that consequently the said two vessels might be retained as lawful prizes; but that, in consideration of the apparent ignorance of their owners and officers respecting the rights and laws of Spain, as well as for the sake of preserving peace and harmony with Great Britain, they should be released, on condition of their not entering any bay or port in Spanish America without pressing necessity.

1790. In virtue of this decision, Colnett returned to San Blas, where he found that several of his men had died, during his absence, of the fever endemic on those coasts. With the remainder he sailed in the Argonaut to Nootka, for the purpose of reclaiming the Princess Royal; but the sound had been, long before he arrived there, evacuated by Martinez and his forces, who from some cause, however, did not reach Mexico until after the departure of Colnett. From Nootka the Argonaut, having taken in a cargo of furs, sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where the Princess Royal was found lying; Colnett there received possession of her, and arrived with both vessels at Macao in the latter part of 1790.

The Columbia, under the command of Gray, reached Macao in December, 1789, bringing as passengers the officers and crew of the Northwest America, who first communicated the news of the seizure of the Argonaut and Princess Royal to their owners. The latter immediately resolved to apply to the British Government for redress; and Meares accordingly departed for London, where he arrived in March, 1790, carrying with him various depositions and other papers in substantiation of the claims.

- Feb. 10. Meanwhile the Court of Spain, having been informed of what had occurred at Nootka in the summer of 1789, addressed a note to the British ministry, stating the circumstances, and requiring that the parties who had planned the expeditions should be pun-

* Vancouver's Account of his Voyages, vol. iii, page 497; Memorial of the Court of Spain, Annual Register for 1790.

ished, in order to deter others from making settlements on territories occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for a number of years. The British ministers answered, that they had not received exact information as to the facts stated by the Spanish Government, but that *the acts of violence* towards British subjects and property, mentioned in the communication from the latter, necessarily suspended any discussion of claims which *either party* might advance to the possession of the northwest coasts of America, until adequate atonement should have been made for those outrages against the flag of Great Britain; the answer was concluded by a demand for the immediate restoration of the vessels seized at Nootka. Simultaneously with the despatch of this answer, orders were issued at London for the arming of two large fleets; and the Spanish Government, taking alarm at this measure, caused similar preparations to be commenced in all the naval arsenals of the kingdom.

Several weeks after the receipt of this answer, the Court of Madrid informed the British ministry that one of the vessels seized at Nootka (the *Argonaut*) had been released, and orders had been given by the Viceroy of Mexico for the restitution of the other, in consideration of the ignorance of their owners and captains with regard to the rights and laws of Spain; that the affair might, therefore, be regarded as at an end, and that his Catholic Majesty would be satisfied if the King of England would restrain his subjects from trespassing upon the Pacific coasts of America, to which the Crown of Spain had indubitable right, founded upon treaties and immemorial possession. Ere the correspondence proceeded farther, the matter had been submitted by the British ministry to the nation; and a fever had, in consequence, been excited throughout the kingdom, which was not to be easily allayed. This measure was the result of the presentation by Meares of his Memorial, praying that reparation should be obtained for himself and his associates for their losses, actual and probable, occasioned by the seizure and detention of their vessels at Nootka; the amount of which was estimated at no less a sum than *six hundred and fifty-three thousand dollars*.

The correspondence above noticed was kept profoundly secret by both parties until the 5th of May, when the circumstances were communicated by the King of England, through a message addressed to Parliament. In this message, it is stated that "two vessels belonging to his Majesty's subjects, and navigated under the British flag," (meaning the *Argonaut* and *Princess Royal*), "and two others," (the *Iphigenia* and *Northwest America*), "of which the description is not hitherto sufficiently ascertained, have been captured at Nootka Sound by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war; that the cargoes of the British vessels have been seized, and their officers and crews have been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port." That, in reply to a demand for satisfaction, addressed to the Court of Madrid, it had been declared that one of the British vessels was liberated by the Viceroy of Mexico, "on the supposition that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain encouraged the individuals of other nations to

1790

Feb. 26.

May 5.

1790. come on those coasts, for the purpose of making establishments
May 5. or carrying on trade;" but that "no satisfaction was given or offered, and a direct claim was asserted by the Court of Madrid to the exclusive right of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coasts, and seas of that part of the world." In consequence of all which, "his Majesty had directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on the subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently required. And under these circumstances, his Majesty, having also received information that considerable armaments were carrying on in the ports of Spain, had judged it necessary to give orders for such preparations as might put it in his power to act with vigor and effect in support of the honor of his Crown and the interests of his people; and he recommended that Parliament would therefore enable him to take such measures, and to make such augmentations of his forces, as might be eventually requisite for that purpose."

In this message, it will be remarked that no mention is made of the seizure of any *lands or buildings* belonging to British subjects at Nootka; and it will be found, on examining the documents attached to the memorial of Meares, that no notice of such possessions is contained in any of them, except in "*the information of William Graham*," one of the seamen of the *Felice*, taken at London, on the very day in which the message was read in Parliament, five days after the date of the memorial. It may also be observed, in anticipation, that the reports of the debates in Parliament, and the published correspondence between the two Governments, prior to the signature of the treaty by which the dispute was terminated, are equally free from allusions to any claims of British subjects to *territories or houses* on the northwest coast of America.

The recommendations in the King's message were received with every demonstration of concurrence in Parliament, and throughout the British dominions; and the supplies required
May 5. were immediately voted. On the day in which the message was read, a note was addressed by the ministry to the Spanish Court, insisting upon immediate satisfaction for the outrages complained of; and declaring that, until it were received, the question of the rights of Spain would not be discussed. The British representative at Madrid also presented formal demands to the Government
May 10. for restitution of the other vessel (the *Princess Royal*) seized at Nootka—for complete indemnification of all losses sustained by British subjects trading under the British flag, from the acts of Spanish officers on the northwest coast of America—and for "a distinct acknowledgment that British subjects have an indisputable right to the enjoyment of free and uninterrupted commerce, navigation, and fishery, and to the possession of such establishments as they might form, with the consent of the natives, on any part of the American coasts not previously occupied by some European nation."

June. To these demands, the Spanish minister, Count de Florida Blanca, gave an evasive reply on the 13th of June; after having

addressed a circular, protesting against them, to all the other Courts of continental Europe. He likewise solicited the French monarch to comply with the terms of the Family Compact of 1761, by which the Sovereigns of France and Spain were bound to support each other, in cases similar to that actually existing. These measures, however, producing no favorable results, he was obliged to yield to the demand of Great Britain for indemnification to her subjects; which was promised * on the 24th of July, with the understanding that the concession was not to affect, in any way, the question as to the right of his Catholic Majesty to form an exclusive establishment at Nootka. 1790
June 21

The negotiation had thus far proceeded in a course almost precisely like that of the dispute between the same parties respecting the Falkland Islands, twenty years previous; and the Spanish minister probably expected that it would end there. But Mr. Pitt, who then directed the affairs of Great Britain, had ulterior objects in view, which induced him to persist in his exactions relative to the unoccupied coasts of America; and as naval armaments on the most extensive scale were in progress of equipment in both countries, a rupture of the peace between them was daily anticipated.

In the mean time, the National Assembly of France was deliberating upon the solicitation for aid addressed by Charles IV. of Spain to his cousin, Louis XVI., which had been referred by the latter to that body, then all-powerful in his kingdom. The resolutions,† finally adopted in the Assembly, as proposed by the celebrated Mirabeau, were very vague with regard to Spain, while they were very clear and positive as to the necessity of immediately arming a vast naval force for the security of the French dominions. That these resolutions must have materially affected the nature of the negotiation between the Courts of London and Madrid there can be no doubt, although no means have been as yet afforded of learning in what manner and to what precise extent. It, however, appears probable that the warlike attitude assumed by the National Assembly, together with the rapid advance of revolutionary anti-monarchical principles at the same period, rendered the disputing parties willing to compromise their differences, in order that they might, if there should be need, act in unison against their dangerous neighbor. Possibly, indeed, the exactions of the British minister were, from the commencement, intended for no other purpose than to secure such co-operation. Certain it is, that the conditions subscribed by the two Powers, at the conclusion of their dispute, were far less onerous or humiliating to Spain, than those upon which the Court of London had at first announced its determination to insist. Aug.
Aug. 26
Oct. 28

* See *declaration*, by Count de Florida Blanca, and *counter-declaration*, by Mr. Fitzherbert, the British envoy at Madrid, in the Annual Register for 1790, page 300. It may be here mentioned, that the amount payable by Spain as indemnification was finally settled in February, 1793, by agreement between the commissioners of the two Governments, at two hundred and ten thousand dollars. See Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv, page 209.

† See Annual Register for 1790, page 303. The resolutions in the original, and the interesting debates in the Assembly, may be found in the *Moniteur*.

1790. The conditions above mentioned are contained in a treaty, signed at the Palace of San Lorenzo, or the Escorial, in Spain, on the 28th of October, 1790, and ratified on the 22d of the following month; of which it will be proper here to insert all the articles without variation from the original text.*

“ARTICLE 1. The buildings and tracts of land situated on the northwest coast of the continent of North America, or on the islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of his Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

“ART. 2. A just reparation shall be made, according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence or hostility which may have been committed subsequent to the month of April, 1789, by the subjects of either of the contracting parties against the subjects of the other; and, in case any of the said respective subjects shall, since the same period, have been forcibly dispossessed of their lands, buildings, vessels, merchandise, and other property, whatever, on the said continent, or on the seas and islands adjacent, they shall be re-established in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for the losses which they have sustained.

“ART. 3. In order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve in future a perfect harmony and good understanding, between the two contracting parties, it is agreed that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating, or carrying on their fisheries, in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of those seas in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions specified in the three following articles.

“ART. 4. His Britannic Majesty engages to take the most effectual measures to prevent the navigation and the fishery of his subjects in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and, with this view, it is moreover expressly stipulated that British subjects shall not navigate, or carry on their fishery, in the said seas, within the space of ten sea-leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

“ART. 5. As well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, by virtue of the first article, as in all other parts of the northwestern coasts of North America, or of the islands adjacent, situate to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two Powers shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation.

* See Annual Register for 1790, page 304; Parliamentary History for same year, page 916; Herslett's Collection of British Treaties, vol. ii, page 257.

"ART. 6. With respect to the eastern and western coasts of South America, and to the islands adjacent, no settlement shall be formed hereafter, by the respective subjects, in such part of those coasts as are situated to the south of those parts of the same coasts, and of the islands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain: provided that the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated, for the purposes of their fishery, and of erecting thereon huts and other temporary buildings, serving only for those purposes. 1790.

"ART. 7. In all cases of complaint or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves previously to commit any violence or act of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumstances, to their respective Courts, who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner.

"ART. 8. The present convention shall be ratified and confirmed in the space of six weeks, to be computed from the day of its signature, or sooner if it can be done."

This treaty was submitted to Parliament by Mr. Pitt on the 3d of December, and became the subject of discussion in both Houses. By the friends of the ministry it was extolled and defended in general terms, as vindicating the honor of the nation, as securing reparation for injuries committed against British subjects, and as affording important advantages to them in future, by opening the navigation of the Pacific and South Seas, and establishing the question of the southern fisheries on such grounds as must prevent all dispute. The opposition, on the other hand, contended that the advantages derivable from it were in no respect commensurate with the costs at which it had been obtained; nay, it was insisted by Fox, Grey, Lansdowne, and other eminent whigs, that the rights of British subjects had been materially abridged by the new stipulations. They observed that, whereas the British formerly possessed the right, "*whether admitted or contested by Spain was of no consequence,*" to navigate and fish in any part of the Pacific or South Seas, and "*to settle wherever the subjects of no other civilized nation had previously settled,*" they were by this treaty prohibited from going nearer than thirty miles to a Spanish territory, and from establishing themselves on a large portion of South America, as well as from forming any permanent or useful settlement on the northwest coast of the northern continent. "In every place in which we might settle," said Grey, "access was left for the Spaniards. Where we might form a settlement on one hill, they might erect a fort upon another. A merchant must run all the risks of a discovery, and all the expenses of establishment, for a property, which was liable to be the subject of continual dispute, and which could never be placed upon a permanent footing." Mr. Fox denied "that the southern whale fishery was of the great importance it was stated to be," and declared that it was mere "dross" in comparison with what had been renounced in order to obtain it. "To remove all possibility," said that gentleman, "of our ever forming a settlement to the south of her American colonies, was an Dec. 3.

1790. object for which Spain would have been willing to pay a liberal price." Of the truth of this assertion, there was sufficient proof in the efforts made by the Government of Spain to prevent other nations from planting colonies in the Falkland Islands; from which islands, it may be remarked, both parties to the convention appear to have been excluded by the terms of the sixth article.

It was also noticed by Mr. Fox, as a curious and inexplicable incongruity in the treaty, that "*about the month of April, 1789,*" should have been inserted as the date of what was known to have taken place, agreeably to all the evidence produced, in *May* of the same year; and that although, by the first article, the lands and buildings declared to have been taken from British subjects by a Spanish officer "*about the month of April, 1789,*" were to be restored, yet, by the second article, the lands, buildings, and other property, of which the subjects of either party had been dispossessed "*subsequent to the month of April, 1789,*" were to be restored, or compensation was to be made to the owners for the losses which they might have sustained. Now, as the Spaniards did not arrive upon the northwest coast of America until May, 1789, it is clear that their Government might, at its own option, either restore the lands and buildings claimed by British subjects, or make compensation for the loss of them to their owners.

Upon this point it will be seen, that if the word *or* in the concluding part of the second article were replaced by *and*, the incongruity would disappear; but then, also, the first article would become entirely superfluous. It would, however, be idle to suppose that any *error* could have been committed, with regard to matters so essential, or that the want of accordance between the different provisions of the convention, noticed by Mr. Fox, should have been the result of accident or carelessness. The ministers, when pressed for explanations on this head, answered indirectly that the Spanish Government would make the restitutions as agreed in the first article; to the other objections raised against the convention, they gave only general or evasive replies. By means of their majorities in both Houses of Parliament, which were so great as to render any expenditure of argument unnecessary, they negatived every call for papers relative to the negotiation; and, having triumphantly carried their address of thanks to the Sovereign, they were left at liberty to execute the new stipulations agreeably to their own constructions, for which ample space had been certainly provided.*

* An analysis of the convention will be found in the ninth chapter of this memoir, among the observations on the Florida Treaty.

CHAPTER VII.

Execution of the first article of the treaty of 1790, between Great Britain and Spain—Surrender of Nootka to the British—Voyages and discoveries of the Spanish navigators, Fidalgo, Malaspina, Caamaño, Galiano, and Valdes; of Billings, in the service of Russia; of Marchand; of Vancouver; and of the American fur traders, Ingraham, Gray, and Kendrick—Discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, by Gray—Examination of the Strait of Fuca, and of the great Northwest Archipelago—Formation of the Northwest Fur-trading Company—Expeditions of Rodman and Mackenzie through the interior of the North American continent.

THE convention of 1790 having been thus concluded, the British Government prepared immediately to assume possession of the lands and buildings on the northwest coast of America, which were to be surrendered by Spain agreeably to the first article. For this purpose, it was determined that two frigates should be sent to Nootka, under the command of Captain Trowbridge; the ministry, however, afterwards committed the business to Captain George Vancouver, who had been one of Cook's lieutenants, and who was then about to sail to the Pacific with two ships, on a voyage of discovery. There were, doubtless, some difficulties between the parties to the convention respecting this surrender, for the order of the Spanish Minister of State to that effect was not delivered at Madrid until the 12th of May, 1791, more than a month after the departure of Vancouver, to whom it was despatched by a store-ship. The order was addressed to the Commandant of the port of San Lorenzo, of Nootka, directing him "to deliver to his Britannic Majesty's commissioner the buildings and tracts of land which were occupied by the subjects of that Sovereign in April, 1789, as well those in the port of Nootka, as also those in the other, called Port Cox, said to be situated about sixteen leagues further southward."* The same order was communicated, with the convention, to the Viceroy of Mexico, who was charged with its execution on the part of Spain; but it does not appear that any means were afforded to the commissioners, by either of the Governments, for ascertaining precisely what lands or buildings were to be surrendered.

Vancouver was instructed to proceed directly to Nootka, and, after having completed the business of the transfer there, to commence the examination of the American coasts included between the 35th and the 60th parallels of north latitude. The objects of these researches were especially to acquire accurate information with regard to the nature and extent of any water communication, which might tend to facilitate commercial intercourse between the northwest coasts and the territories on the opposite

* Introduction to the Journal of Vancouver's Voyage.

1791. side of the continent, inhabited or occupied by British subjects, and to ascertain with precision the number, extent, and situation of any settlements made by civilized nations within those limits. He was directed particularly "to explore the supposed Straits of Fuca, said to be situated between the 48th and 49th degrees of latitude, through which the American sloop Washington was reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again north of Nootka;" after which, he was, if there should be time sufficient, to survey the Sandwich Islands and the southernmost coasts of America. With these instructions, Vancouver sailed from England on the 1st of April, 1791, and just a year afterwards he arrived on the northwest coast, in sight of Cape Mendocino.

1790.
Mar. 4. In the mean time, Nootka had been again occupied by Spanish forces, which were sent for that purpose from Mexico, in the spring of 1790, under the command of Don Francisco Elisa; and Spanish navigators were again exploring the northwest coasts of America, in order to observe the proceedings of the Russians, and also to determine the question as to the practicability of a northern voyage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. That question was then exciting considerable attention in Europe, where every thing relating to it was carefully studied, and the old stories of the discovery of northern passages were dragged forth from obscurity, and subjected to critical analyses, by scientific individuals and commissions. Three of these stories, of which Maldonado, Fuca, and Fonté, were severally the heroes, were pronounced, after such trials, to be not wholly destitute of probability; and the commanders of all the expeditions to the north Pacific were instructed to endeavor to ascertain how far each statement might be confirmed or disproved.

The Spaniards were, indeed, beginning seriously to direct their efforts to the security of their dominions northwest of Mexico; and with this view, a special branch of the administration in that kingdom had been created, under the title of the *Marine Department of San Blas*, which was charged with superintending and fostering the establishments on the coasts of the north Pacific. The port of San Blas in Mexico, situated near the entrance of the Californian Gulf, was made the centre of the operations for these purposes; arsenals, ship-yards, and warehouses were constructed at that place; all expeditions for the northern coasts were made from it; and all orders relative to the abovementioned objects passed through the chief of the department, who resided there.

Of the voyage of Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo to the northernmost coasts of the Pacific, in the summer of 1790, it is unnecessary here to present the details. The geographical information obtained by him was of little value, although he thought proper to affix Spanish names to a number of points between Mount St. Elias and Cook's Inlet, nearly all of which had been long before known and described.

1791.
June 23
to
Aug. 13. Those coasts were in the following year more minutely examined by Captain Alexandro Malaspina, in the course of his voyage around the world, with the Spanish corvettes *Atréviga* and *Descubierta* under his command. He, however, made no dis-

coveries worthy of mention at present, and he effected nothing of greater importance than the determination of the positions of some places already known. Navarrete, in his Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, gives a long account of this expedition, and bestows the utmost praise on those who conducted it; yet, will it be believed that the name of Malaspina does not appear in that work? Such is, nevertheless, the fact. The unfortunate navigator, an Italian by birth, having fallen under the displeasure of the Spanish Government, or rather of Godoy, was arrested immediately after his return to Europe, in 1794, and was for seven years kept closely confined in a dungeon at Corunna. Navarrete, writing under the eye of that Government, and for its purposes, did not dare inscribe on his pages the name of the unhappy victim of its injustice.

1791

While Malaspina was thus engaged on the coasts north of Nootka, Elisa, the commandant of that port, endeavored to explore the Strait of Fuca; he, however, penetrated only a few leagues within it, and was then forced to return by the appearance of scurvy among his crew. One of his lieutenants, Quimper, had previously attempted, with little better success, to trace this passage to its termination; from the slight account given of his voyage by Navarrete, it appears that he examined the whole southern shore, at the eastern extremity of which he discovered a harbor called by him *Port Quadra*, probably the same afterwards named *Port Discovery* by Vancouver.

The visit made to the northwest coast of America, in 1791, by Captain Etienne Marchand, in the French merchant ship *Salide*, is here mentioned, only because the Introduction, by Fleurieu, to the Journal of his Voyage, has been already several times quoted. Marchand landed on one of the islands of the group now called King George the Third's Archipelago, near Mount San Jacinto or Edgcomb, and remained there a fortnight engaged in trading with the natives; after which, he sailed along the coasts southward to the entrance of Clioquot bay, a little east of Nootka, occasionally landing and making observations, and thence took his departure for China. Respecting the places thus seen, or any other places, indeed, very little information is to be obtained from this journal, although hundreds of its pages are devoted to philosophical speculations on the origin and capabilities of the northwest Americans, their languages, and political and religious institutions, and on languages and institutions in general.

August
and
Sept.

Sept. 7.

In the course of this year, also, no less than seven vessels from the United States arrived in the north Pacific, in search of furs. Among them were the ship *Columbia*, which returned from Boston under Captain Gray, and the brig Hope, commanded by Joseph Ingraham, the former mate of the *Columbia*. The Journal of Captain Ingraham, to which reference has been so often made, contains minute accounts of occurrences and observations, which

* The others were, the *Washington*, Captain Kendrick, which had remained in the Pacific since 1788; the *Eleonora*, Captain Metcalf; the *Margaret*, Captain Magee; the *Hancock*, Captain Crowell; and the *Jefferson*, Captain Roberts.

1791. are recorded in a clear and simple manner; and it is illustrated by many charts and drawings, all serving to prove that the world is indebted to the efforts of the American fur-traders for much information relative to the north west coasts, which is usually supposed to have been procured originally by the British and Spanish navigators. Of Captain Gray's second voyage to the Pacific, we know but little; that little, however, comes from authentic sources, and is worthy of being carefully preserved.

Ingraham sailed from Boston on the 16th of September, 1790: in January following he doubled Cape Horn, after stopping at Soledad or Port Egmont, in the Falkland Islands, where he found a Spanish garrison; and, in April, he discovered the group of six small islands, situated nearly in the centre of the Pacific, which are now called the *Washington Islands* by all geographers except the British. On the 20th of May the *Hope* reached Owyhee, and on the 29th of June she was anchored in a harbor on the southwest side of Queen Charlotte's Island, to which Ingraham gave the name of *Magee's Sound*. About this island, and the coasts of the continent immediately east of it, he remained during the whole summer; and having collected a large cargo of furs, he carried them to Canton in the autumn.

May 20. The *Columbia* quitted Boston on the 27th of September, 1790, and in May of the ensuing year she reached the northwest coast of America, a little northward of Cape Mendocino. Sailing along the coast towards Nootka, Captain Gray observed an opening, in the latitude of 46 degrees 16 minutes, from which issued a current so strong as to prevent his entrance, although he remained nine days in its vicinity endeavoring to effect that object. Being at length fully convinced that he had discovered the mouth of a great river, he continued his course towards the north, and on the 5th of June arrived in the harbor of *Clyoquot*, near Nootka.

From this place the *Columbia* soon sailed for Queen Charlotte's Island, near which she fell in with the *Hope*, on the 23d of July. On the 15th of August she entered an inlet under the parallel of $54\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, up which she proceeded more than eighty miles towards the northeast; the passage was found to be wide and deep throughout this whole distance, and appeared to extend much farther in the same direction. Gray, however, was unable to pursue the examination of it, and returned with the persuasion that he had discovered the *Rio de los Reyes*, through which Admiral Fonté was said to have sailed on his way to the Atlantic, in 1640. The passage is that now called the *Portland Canal*. On leaving it, the *Columbia* returned to *Clyoquot*, at the entrance of which she met the French ship *Solide*, commanded by Captain Marchand, just as the latter was shaping her course for China. Here Gray and his crew passed the winter in a fortified habitation on the shore, to which he gave the name of Fort Defiance. Here, also, he built and launched a schooner, called the *Enterprise*, the first vessel constructed on the northwest side of the continent by citizens of the United States. While remaining at this place, "Wiccannish, the chief of that district, had concerted a plan to capture his ship, by bribing a native of Owyhee, whom

Sept.

Gray had with him, to wet the priming of all the fire-arms on board, which were constantly kept loaded; upon which the chief would easily have overpowered the ship's crew by a number of daring Indians assembled for the purpose. This project was happily discovered; and the Americans being on their guard, the fatal effects of the plan were prevented."*

1791.

Captain John Kendrick, who commanded the *Columbia* in her first voyage to the Pacific, had remained in that ocean with the sloop *Washington* since 1789. In August of 1791, while lying in Nootka Sound, he had reason to suspect that the Spaniards would seize his vessel, in case he should endeavor to proceed to sea; and under this impression, he determined to make his way, if possible, through a passage which he believed to exist, from the extremity of the harbor northwestward into the Pacific. His effort proved successful; and he bestowed upon the channel thus found the name of *Massachusetts Sound*. This passage, called by the natives *Masset*, is not laid down upon Vancouver's maps; an account of it, however, appears in the *Journal of the Stille* and *Mexicana*, where it is called the *Passage of Buena Esperanza*, and its discovery is attributed to the officers of Malaspina's ships, who surveyed it in the latter part of the same month, after Kendrick had passed through it. August.

About the same time, Kendrick purchased from Maquinna, Wicannish, and other chiefs, several large tracts of land near Nootka Sound, for which he afterwards exhibited deeds signed, or rather marked, by the savages, and witnessed by many of the officers and crew of the *Washington*. These deeds were authenticated by a notary at Macao; and attempts were made at London, in 1795, to sell the lands supposed to have been thus legally acquired. No lately, indeed, as 1838, a memorial was presented to the Congress of the United States by the representatives of the owners and captain of the *Washington*, praying that their title to these territories might be confirmed or purchased by the Govern-

* Vancouver's Journal, vol. i, page 215.

† The purchase of these lands is mentioned by Wadstrom, in his work on Colonization, published at London in 1795; and by Macpherson, in his *Annals of Commerce*. The circular issued by Messrs. Barrell & Co., in 1795, (of which one of the originals is now before the writer,) is a curious document; it is in four languages, and is couched in terms the most unspecific which could have been chosen. *The inhabitants of Europe* are informed that, "in 1787, Captain J. Kendrick, while prosecuting an advantageous voyage with the natives for furs, purchased of them, for the owners, a tract of delightful country comprehending four degrees of latitude, or 240 miles square;" and "that such as may be inclined to associate for settling a commonwealth, on their own code of laws, on a spot of the globe nowhere surpassed in delightful and healthy climate and fertile soil, claimed by no civilized nation, and purchased under a sacred treaty of peace and commerce, and for a valuable consideration, of the friendly natives, may have the best opportunity of trying the result of such an enterprise." Where these four degrees of latitude, or 240 miles square, are situated, is no otherwise stated than that they are in America. The deeds for the lands are declared in the circular to have been registered in the office of the American consul in China. These deeds, or some of them, which have been recently published, relate only to the territories about Nootka and Glynnott; and although they embrace the whole of the dominions of Maquinna and Wicannish, they do not amount to one twenty-fourth part of 240 miles square. Moreover, the whole island in which these territories are situated extends through only two and a half degrees of latitude; so that other lands must have been purchased by Kendrick.

1791. ment; and the same claim is now being urged before Congress. That the transactions here described between Kendrick and the savage chiefs did really take place, there is no reason to doubt; it is, however, scarcely probable that the validity of the purchases will ever be recognised by the civilized nation which may hereafter possess the country adjacent to Nootka Sound.

After purchasing these lands, Kendrick sailed to the Sandwich Islands, and there engaged in a new branch of commerce, of which he was the originator. It was the collection and transportation to China of the odoriferous wood called *sandal*, which grows in all the islands of the centre of the Pacific, and is in great demand throughout the Celestial Empire. Vancouver considered the scheme chimerical; the result, however, has proved that it was founded on just calculations, as the trade thus opened has ever since been prosecuted, and at the present day affords employment to many vessels. Kendrick did not live long to profit by it; he was killed at Owyhee, in 1793, by the natives.

1790. The Russians likewise endeavored, at this time, to carry into effect their long contemplated voyage of discovery through the north Pacific. After four years of preparations, one of the ships, built for the purpose at Petro-Paulowsk, sailed from that place in May, 1790, under Captain Joseph Billings, an Englishman, who had accompanied Cook in his last voyage, and had been engaged by the Empress to direct this expedition. Billings advanced no farther than the vicinity of Mount Saint Elias, which he reached in the latter part of July; there his provisions began to fail, and he was in consequence obliged to return to Kamschatka. In the following year, two vessels were sent from Petro-Paulowsk, with the same objects, under Captains Hall and Saretscheff; neither of which proceeded beyond Unalashka. A melancholy picture of the sufferings experienced in these vessels has been presented by Martin Sauer, a German, who acted as secretary to the expedition, in his narrative published ten years afterwards. Another account of these voyages has been given by Saretscheff, who imputes the failure of the undertaking to the incapacity of Billings.

1792. In 1792, many discoveries were made on the northwest coasts of America by the British, the Spaniards, and the citizens of the United States.

- May 13. In the spring of that year Captain Jacinto Caamano, commanding the corvette *Aranzazu*, and Lieutenants Dionisio Alcala Galiano and Cayetano Valdes, with the small sloops *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, arrived at Nootka from Mexico, with orders to examine certain parts of the coast which had not been visited by Malaspina. Galiano and Valdes soon after departed together for the Strait of Fuca, of which their survey will be hereafter described; while Caamano proceeded to examine the numerous openings in the land, which had been observed immediately north and north-east of Queen Charlotte's Island.

- May 23
Sept. 7. In the discharge of this duty, Caamano displayed great skill and activity, as appears from the account of his voyage* given by

* Introduction to the Journal of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, page 123.

Navarrete, and as indirectly testified by Vancouver. Without 1792.
presenting the details of his researches, suffice it to say that he explored many of the bays and intricate channels which lie between the 52d and the 56th parallels of latitude, and minutely surveyed the northern side of Queen Charlotte's Island. Some of these channels were traced by him to their terminations in the land; others being ascertained to be straits, separating islands from each other and from the continent. From his observations, added to those of the fur-traders and of the natives, little doubt was left of the existence of many other islands in that part of the Pacific, occupying the position assigned to the *Archipelago of San Lazaro*, in the story of Admiral Fonté's voyage.

It should be observed, however, with regard to the accounts of Caamano's expedition, that several of the places visited and named by him had been surveyed in the preceding year, by the fur-traders of the United States, who had also bestowed appellations upon them. Thus the ports of *Estrada* and *Mazarado*, on the northern shore of Queen Charlotte's Island, were already familiarly known to the Americans frequenting those coasts as *Hancock's river* and *Craft's Sound*. Ingraham has inserted charts and descriptions of both harbors in his journal, where he pronounces Hancock's river to be better adapted for a settlement than any other place on the northwest side of America.

An attempt was likewise, about this time, made by the Spaniards to form a settlement on the southern side of the Strait of Fuca, near its mouth, at a place to which they gave the name of *Port Nuñez Guano*; but they were soon obliged to abandon it, in consequence of the insecurity of the anchorage and the difficulty of obtaining provisions. This place and Nootka Sound were the only spots north of Port San Francisco on which any establishment was formed or attempted by the Spaniards; and, as each settlement was founded after the month of April, 1789, Port San Francisco, in the latitude of 37 degrees 49 minutes, became, by virtue of the fifth article of the convention of 1790, the northern limit of the section of the American coast exclusively belonging to Spain.

In the middle of April Captain Vancouver arrived on the coast, April 18 near Cape Mendocino, with his two ships, the *Discovery*, commanded by himself, and the *Chatham*, by Lieutenant William Broughton. Proceeding northward along the shore of the continent, he carefully observed the part near the 43d degree of latitude, where Martin de Aguilar was said to have found a large river in 1603, and that near the 46th, where an opening was laid down on the Spanish charts, bearing the names of *Rio de San Roque* and *Entrada de Hecceta*. Under the parallel of 42 degrees and 52 minutes he passed a promontory, which he ungenerously called *Cape Orford*, although it corresponds precisely in situation with the *Cape Blanco* of Aguilar; the river* which that navi-

* The Umqua and the Klamet, which enter the ocean near the position assigned by Torquemada to the mouth of Aguilar's river, are both inconsiderable streams.

1792. gator was supposed to have seen could not be found by the English, and there is now little doubt that the account of its discovery, given by Torquemada, is erroneous.

Vancouver was equally convinced that no great stream entered the Pacific in the position assigned to the mouth of the San Roque; in describing his search for it he says, (vol. i, page 209.)

- April 27. "On the 27th of April, noon brought us up with a very conspicuous point of land, composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high and projecting into the sea. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet or small river, the land not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues farther south. On reference to Mr. Meares's description* of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first induced to believe it was *Cape Shoalwater*; but, on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be that which he calls *Cape Disappointment*, and the opening south of it *Deception Bay*. This cape was found to be in latitude 46 degrees 19 minutes, longitude 236 degrees 6 minutes. The sea had now changed from its natural to river-colored water, the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean north of it, through the low land. *Not considering this opening worthy of more attention*, I continued our pursuit to the northwest, being desirous to embrace the advantages of the now prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to an examination of the coasts."

- April 29. He accordingly sailed onwards, and, on the afternoon of the next day but one, he met at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca the American ship Columbia, which had just quitted her wintering place at Clioquot; her captain, Gray, informed the English "of his having† entered an inlet to the northward, in latitude of 54½ degrees, in which he had sailed to the latitude of 56 without discovering its termination;" and, also, of "his having been off the mouth of a river, in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes, where the outset, or reflux, was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. This was probably," continues Vancouver, "the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the 27th, and was apparently inaccessible, *not from the current*, but from the breakers that extend across it."

- April 30. On the following day, after parting with the Columbia, he writes in his journal: "We have now explored a part of the American continent, extending nearly two hundred and fifteen leagues, *under the most fortunate and favorable circumstances of wind and weather*. So minutely has this extensive coast been inspected, that *the surf has been constantly seen to break on its shores*, from the mast-head: and it was but in a few small intervals only where our distance precluded its being visible from the deck. It must be considered as a very singular

* See Meares's Journal, page 167; and page 93 of this memoir.

† Vancouver's Journal, vol. i, page 215.

circumstance, that, in so great an extent of sea-coast, we should not until now have seen the appearance of any opening in its shores, which presented any certain prospect of affording shelter; the whole coast forming one compact, solid, and nearly straight barrier against the sea. The river mentioned by Mr. Gray should, from the latitude he assigned to it, have existence in the bay south of Cape Disappointment. This we passed in the forenoon of the 27th; and, as I then observed, if any inlet or river should be found, it must be a very intricate one, and inaccessible to vessels of our burthen, owing to the reefs and broken water, which then appeared in its neighborhood. Mr. Gray stated that he had been several days attempting to enter it, which at length he was unable to effect, in consequence of a very strong outset. This is a phenomenon difficult to account for, as in most cases, where there are outlets of such strength on a sea-coast, there are corresponding tides setting in. Be that, however, as it may, *I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbor, or place of security for shipping, on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the promontory of Classet, [Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca;] nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert in that space the existence of arms of the ocean communicating with a mediterranean sea, and extensive rivers with safe and convenient ports.*"

1792.
May.

From the above extracts, it is evident that Captain Vancouver placed no reliance on the correctness of Gray's account of the discovery of a great river immediately south of Cape Disappointment; being satisfied, from his own observations, that no such stream emptied into the ocean, and that no harbor or place of security for shipping would be found between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca. The British commander was, moreover, as his work abundantly shows, always disinclined to regard with credit or favor any thing which might be calculated to advance the reputation or interests of the people of the United States. Under these impressions, he commenced his survey of the Strait of Fuca; while Gray, confident that he had not been mistaken, was on his way to the mouth of the great river, which he resolved, if possible, to enter with his ship.

While proceeding² southward along the coast, after parting

* Extract from the log-book of the ship *Columbia*, Captain Robert Gray, taken from the original by Charles Bulfinch, one of the owners of the *Columbia*.

/ May 7, 1792, A. M.—Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-bont, and went in search of an anchoring place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather-current. At 1 p. m. the boat returned, having found no place where the ship could anchor with safety; made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw, from our mast head, a passage in between the sand bars. At half-past 3, bore away, and run in northeast by-east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At 5 p. m. came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well shel-

1792. with Vancouver, the captain of the *Columbia* found and entered, on the 7th of May, a harbor near the 47th degree, which he pronounces to be "safe, and well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits." Here he remained four days, and, on leaving the place, he bestowed on it the name of *Bulfinch's Harbor*, in compliment to one of the owners of the ship. It is generally distinguished on maps by the appellation of *Gray's Harbor*; Arrowsmith and other British geographers, with their usual injustice towards citizens of the United States, call it *Whidbey's Harbor*, because it was afterwards, as will be shown, surveyed by Lieutenant Whidbey, the commander of one of Vancouver's vessels.

May 11. From *Bulfinch's Harbor* the *Columbia* departed on the 11th, and, after a few hours sail, she arrived opposite the Deception Bay of Meares, immediately south of his Cape Disappointment.

tered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude, observed this day, was 46 degrees 58 minutes north.

May 10.—Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives alongside; at noon, all the canoes left us. At 1 p. m. began to unmoor, took up the best bower-anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half-past 4, (being high water,) hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.

May 11.—At half-past 7 we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore. At 8 p. m. the entrance of *Bulfinch's harbor* bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-southeast half east, and the northern north-north-west; sent up the main top-gallant yard and set all sail. At 4 a. m. saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-southeast, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At 8 a. m., being a little to windward of the entrance of the harbor, bore away, and ran in east-northeast between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At 1 p. m. came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore west-southwest, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles distance; a village on the north side of the river west-by-north, distant three-quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water-casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

May 12.—Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the best bower-anchor, and veered out on both cables; sent down the main top gallant yard; filled up all the water-casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales and rainy dny weather.

May 13.—Fresh winds and rainy weather; many natives alongside; hove up the best bower anchor; seamen and tradesmen at their various depar ments.

May 14.—Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon weighed and came to sail, standing up the river northeast by-east; we found the channel very narrow. At 4 p. m. we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom. At half-past 4 the ship took ground, but she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedg and hawser. The jolly boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable any further up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends, with rainy weather; many natives alongside.

Tuesday, May 15.—Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from different tribes came alongside. At 10 a. m. unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring place: smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

May 16.—Light airs and cloudy. At 4 a. m. hove up the anchor, and towed down about three miles with the last of the ebb tide; came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly-boat sounding the channel. At 10 a. m. a fresh breeze came up river. With the first of the ebb-tide we got under way and beat down river. At 1, (from its be-

The breakers extending across this bay presented, as they always do, a formidable appearance; Gray, however, dashed undauntedly forward, and soon found himself on a broad and rapid river, the water of which was so perfectly fresh that the casks of the ship were filled within ten miles of the Pacific. On the 14th he ascended the stream by a channel near its northern bank, to the distance of about twenty miles from its mouth, beyond which the Columbia could not advance on account of the shallowness of the water. At this point he anchored, and remained employed in trading with the natives and making repairs until the 18th; he then sailed down the river, and on the 20th passed the breakers, at its entrance, by beating through them, against a head wind, into the ocean.

1792.

May 14.

May 18.

May 20.

On leaving the river, Captain Gray bestowed upon it the name of his ship; the extremity of the land, at the southern side of its entrance, was called by him *Cape Adams*, and the appellation of *Cape Hancock* was substituted for that of *Cape Disappointment*, which had been given by Meares to the opposite promontory, in token of the unsuccessful result of his own search. Neither *Cape Adams* nor *Cape Hancock* is to be found on our maps at present; and the Columbia is not unfrequently termed the *Oregon*,

ing very squally,) we came to, about two miles from the village, (*Chinook*;) which bore west-southwest; many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.

May 17.—Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside; calkers calking the pinnace; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smiths and carpenters at their departments.

May 18.—Pleasant weather. At 4 in the morning began to heave ahead; at half-past came to sail, standing down river with the ebb tide; at 7 (being slack water and the wind fluttering) we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore southwest-by west, distance three miles. The north point of the harbor bore northwest, distant two miles; the south bore southeast, distant three and a half miles. At 9 a breeze sprang up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again; came to with the kedge and bawser; veered out fifty fathoms. Noon pleasant. Latitude observed, 46 degrees 17 minutes north. At 1 came to sail with the first of the ebb-tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three-quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship and stood into the river again. At 4 came to in six fathoms; good holding-ground about six or seven miles up; many canoes alongside.

May 19.—Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments.

Captain Gray gave this river the name of *Columbia's River*, and the north side of the entrance *Cape Hancock*; the south, *Adams's Point*.

May 20.—Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At 1 p. m. (being full sea) took up the anchor and made sail, standing down river. At 2 the wind left us, we being on the bar with a very strong tide which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide, so we were obliged to bring up in three and a half fathoms, the tide running five knots. At three-quarters past 2 a fresh wind came in from seaward; we immediately came to sail and beat over the bar, having from five to seven fathoms water in the channel. At 5 p. m. we were out, clear of all the bars, and in twenty fathoms water. A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to the best advantage. At 8 *Cape Hancock* bore southeast, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north-by-west. At 9 in steering and top-gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

May 21.—At 6 a. m. the nearest land in sight bore east-southeast, distant eight leagues. At 7 set top gallant sails and light stay sails. At 11 set steering-sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant agreeable weather. The entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore southeast-by-east half east, distant five leagues.

1792. upon the strength of some vague and erroneous rumors which Captain Carver collected, or pretended to have collected, in 1766, among the Indians near Lake Superior, respecting a river Oregon, rising in the vicinity of the sources of the Mississippi and Red Rivers, and emptying into the Pacific near the Strait of Fuca. It must, however, be acknowledged that Oregon is, in all respects, a more convenient and distinctive name than the other; and it has, moreover, the merit of euphoniousness.

Such were the principal circumstances attending the discovery of the great river of Northwest America, a discovery far more important in its results than any other one relating to that part of the world, inasmuch as it has afforded the means of communication between the ocean and every section of one of the most fertile and valuable regions west of the Rocky Mountains. It has already been shown that the opening in the coast, by which Gray entered the stream, was first seen in 1775 by the Spanish navigator Heceta; that it was examined in 1788 by Meares, who quit it with the conviction that no river passed through it into the ocean; and that this last opinion was adopted without qualification by Vancouver, after he had minutely explored that part of the coast, "under the most favorable conditions of wind and weather." Had not Gray returned to the search, after meeting with the English ships, the existence of the great river would doubtless have remained unknown for a much longer time, as the assertions of Vancouver that *no opening, harbor, or place of refuge for vessels, was to be found between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca*, and that *the coast within those limits "formed one compact, solid, and nearly straight barrier against the sea,"* would have prevented any attempt from being made to examine the shores, or even to approach them.

With regard to the originality of Gray's discovery, Mr. Irving says, in his *Astoria*: * "The existence of this river, however, was known long before the visits of Gray and Vancouver; but the information concerning it was vague and indefinite, being gathered from the reports of the Indians. It was spoken of by travellers as the Oregon, and as the Great River of the West. A Spanish ship is said to have been wrecked at its mouth, several of the crew of which lived for some time among the natives." Upon these assertions no remark will be made, except by expressing a hope that they may be omitted in future editions of *Astoria*, or that the author will state more particularly what traveller before 1792 has described a great river in Northwest America, which can be identified with the Columbia; and when the Spanish ship was wrecked at the mouth of that stream.

The plenipotentiaries of the British Government, in a *Statement*† presented by them to the minister of the United States, during a negotiation relative to Northwest America in 1826, have endeavored to secure the merit of the discovery of the Columbia

* Vol. i. page 35.

† See documents in relation to the boundary of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains, accompanying the President's message of December 12, 1827.

to—*Meares!* Their account of the circumstances is worthy of being extracted, as affording a specimen of the manner in which facts are related, and deductions are drawn from them. In that statement the plenipotentiaries say: 1792

“Great Britain can show that in 1788, that is, four years before Gray entered the mouth of the Columbia River, Mr. Meares, a lieutenant of the royal navy, who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the northwest coast of America, had already minutely explored that coast, from the 49th to the 45th degree of north latitude; had taken formal possession of the Straits of De Fuca, in the name of his Sovereign; had purchased land, trafficked, and formed treaties with the natives; and had actually entered the Bay of the Columbia, to the northern headland of which he gave the name of Cape Disappointment—a name which it bears to this day.

“Dixon, Scott, Duncan, Strange, and other private British traders, had also visited these shores and countries several years before Gray; but the single example of Meares suffices to quash Gray’s claim to prior discovery. To the other navigators above mentioned, therefore, it is unnecessary to refer more particularly.

“It may be worth while, however, to observe, with regard to Meares, that his account of his voyages was published in London in August, 1790; that is, two years before Gray is even pretended to have entered the Columbia.

“To that account are appended, first, extracts from his log-book; secondly, maps of the coasts and harbors which he visited, in which every part of the coast in question, including the Bay of the Columbia, (into which the log expressly states that Meares entered,) is minutely laid down, its delineation tallying in almost every particular with Vancouver’s subsequent survey, and with the description found in all the best maps of that part of the world, adopted at this moment; thirdly, the account in question actually contains an engraving, dated in August, 1790, of the entrance of De Fuca’s Straits, executed after a design taken in June, 1788, by Meares himself.

“With these physical evidences of authenticity, it is as needless to contend for, as it is impossible to controvert, the truth of Meares’s statement.

“It was only on the 17th of September, 1788, that the Washington, commanded by Mr. Gray, first made her appearance at Nootka.

“If, therefore, any claim to these countries, as between Great Britain and the United States, is to be deduced from priority of the discovery, the above exposition of dates and facts suffices to establish that claim in favor of Great Britain on a basis too firm to be shaken.

“It must, indeed, be admitted, that Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river; a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares, when in 1788, four years before, he entered the same bay.”

1792. In reply, to which, it will be unnecessary to do more than refer to the words of Meares himself, as contained in his Journal, and as previously quoted in this memoir, page 93, where he declares that he sought for the River Saint Roc, laid down on the Spanish maps as entering the Pacific about the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes; that he entered a bay in that latitude, and became convinced from his examinations that no such river existed; and that, in token of the unsuccessfulness of his search, he had called the bay *Deception Bay*, and the headland on its northern side *Cape Disappointment*. That "Mr. Gray was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river," is all that is claimed for him; for that *ascertainment* constituted the discovery of the Columbia, which had undoubtedly "*escaped*" Lieutenant Meares, when in 1788, four years before, he entered the same bay."

May. From the Columbia river, Gray sailed to the part of the sea between Queen Charlotte's Island and the continent, the coasts of which were then much frequented by the fur-traders, particularly by those from the United States. In the northern part of this sea, his ship suddenly struck upon a rock, while she was under full sail, and was near foundering in consequence; she, however, succeeded in reaching Nootka Sound on the 21st of July, where the damage was soon repaired. At Nootka, Gray found in command of the Spanish establishment Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, who had arrived from Mexico in the capacity of commissioner, to surrender to Vancouver the lands and buildings designated in the first article of the convention of October, 1790. To this officer the American captain immediately communicated the results of his examinations, which were substantiated by charts of Bulfinch's harbor and of the Columbia river; and he thus fortunately secured an unimpeachable witness in support of his claims to the discovery of those places.

Meanwhile the surveys of the Strait of Fuca were in progress. From Cape Flattery, the point at the southern side of its entrance, Vancouver took his departure on the 1st of May, and sailed along its southern shore eastward, to the distance of about a hundred miles, where he found a secure harbor, named by him *Port Discovery*, and a little farther on a wide bay, with passages extending from it in various directions. He first entered a passage opening towards the south, which he named *Admiralty Inlet*, and explored it to its termination, about a hundred miles from the strait, in a bay called by him *Puget's Sound*, in compliment to one of the lieutenants of the *Discovery*. After surveying this arm completely, the officers of both ships landed at a spot near its entrance, on the 4th of June, the birthday of their Sovereign, and in his name took possession, "with the usual formalities, of all that part of New Albion, from the latitude of 39 degrees 20 minutes south, and longitude 236 degrees 26 minutes east, to the entrance of the inlet of the sea, said to be the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, as also of all the coasts, islands, &c., within the said strait, and both its shores;" to which region they gave the appellation of *New Georgia*. With regard to this ceremony it

may be observed, that, although naval officers are not expected to be minutely acquainted with diplomatic affairs, yet Captain Vancouver, who was sent to the north Pacific to enforce the convention of October, 1790, should have recollected that, by the stipulations of that convention, every part of the northwest coast of America was rendered free and open for trade or settlement to Spanish as well as British subjects; and that, consequently, no claim of sovereignty on the part of either of those nations could be valid over any section of the territory. 1792.

After exploring to their terminations, in like manner, many inlets on the eastern and southern sides of the bay, the British passed by an opening towards the northwest, into another extensive arm of the sea, where they unexpectedly met with two other vessels. These were the Spanish schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, commanded by Lieutenants Galiano and Valdes, who had, as before mentioned, left Nootka on the 4th of June, and had advanced thus far on their survey of the strait, along its northern shores. The meeting between the two parties was doubtless vexatious to both; they, however, treated each other with great civility, mutually exhibiting their charts, and comparing their observations; and having agreed to unite their labors, they continued in company nearly a month, during which they minutely explored the shores of the extensive arm of the sea above mentioned, called by the Spaniards *Canal del Rosario*, and by the English the *Gulf of Georgia*. From the northwestern extremity of this gulf, the British, taking leave of their Spanish friends, passed through a long and intricate channel, called by them *Johnstone's Strait*, westward into the Pacific, which they entered on the 10th of August, near the 51st parallel, by *Queen Charlotte's* or *Pintard's Sound*, about one hundred and twenty miles north of Nootka. June 13. July 15. August.

On the 28th of the same month Vancouver arrived at Nootka, where he communicated to the Spanish commissioner, Quadra, the fact thus established by him, that the supposed Strait of Fuca was merely an arm of the Pacific, separating from the American continent a great island, on the western side of which the territory then occupied by the Spaniards, and claimed by the British, was situated. The fact being admitted by Quadra, the two officers agreed that the island should bear the names of them both; and it has accordingly ever since been distinguished on maps by the long and inconvenient appellation of *Quadra and Vancouver Island*, which it will scarcely be allowed to retain when that part of the world becomes settled by a civilized people. In justice to the British navigator, it should be *Vancouver's Island*.

The *Sutil* and *Mexicana* likewise entered the Pacific by the same channel through which Vancouver's ships had penetrated, and on the 30th of August they arrived at Nootka, whence they sailed for Monterey on the 4th of September. The *Journal** of their voyage, to which references have been so frequently made

* In one vol. octavo of 340 pages, with an atlas of seventeen plates.

1792. in the foregoing pages, was published at Madrid in 1802, by order of the Spanish Government, under the direction of Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, the chief of the Hydrographical Department, who prefixed to it an Introduction containing an historical sketch of the discoveries of the Spaniards upon the west coast of North America. This Introduction, occupying nearly the half of the work, is the only part of it which has any value; the meagre and uninteresting details furnished by Galiano and Valdes being entirely superseded by the ample and luminous accounts of Vancouver. The statements of Navarrete, in his historical sketch, are derived from original sources; and he has conveyed to the world information on various points relating to the northwest coasts, which would otherwise have remained buried in the archives of the Council of the Indies. The work should, however, be read with much caution, as it abounds in errors, the greater number of which are evidently not the results either of ignorance or of accident; while false impressions are attempted to be made in almost every page, by the studied silence of the writer with regard to facts contrary to the views or objects of those by whose orders it was published.

Aug. 30. Immediately after the arrival of Vancouver at Nootka, negotiations were commenced between him and Quadra respecting the transfer of the territories claimed by Great Britain. The whole object of the business was to ascertain *what lands on the north-west coast of America were in the possession of British subjects, and what buildings were standing on those lands in May, 1789, when the Spaniards first occupied Nootka.* For the determination of these questions the commissioners were, or appeared to be, as before said, entirely unprovided with instructions from their Governments; and they were thus left to form their own conclusions, upon such evidence as they could collect.

Sept.

With this view Quadra had first applied to Maquinna and his principal men, who denied that any lands had been bought, or any houses had been built, by the English at Nootka, in 1789, or at any other time. As the testimony of the savages, however, could not be considered of much value, the Spaniard addressed his inquiries, as above mentioned, to Messrs. Gray and Ingraham, and to Viana, the Portuguese captain or mate of the *Iphigenia*, all of whom happened to be at Nootka in the summer of 1792. The American captains sent in reply a long and circumstantial account* of all the occurrences connected with the subject of the discussion, which they had themselves witnessed. In it they declare, that although they had remained at Nootka nine months, (including the period of the arrival of Martinez,) during which time they were in habits of constant intercourse with Maquinna and his people, they had never heard of any purchase of land on the coast by British subjects; and that the only building seen by them, when they reached the sound, was a hut consisting of rough posts, covered with boards made by the Indians, which

* See Appendix—[D.]

had been entirely destroyed before the entrance of the Spaniards. These statements were in all points confirmed by those of Viana; and the Spanish commissioner was thereupon led to the conclusion, *that no lands were to be restored, and no buildings to be replaced, by Spain.* A communication to that effect was in consequence addressed by him to Vancouver, soon after the arrival of the latter at Nootka, accompanied by copies of the letters received from Gray and Ingraham and Viana. He, however, at the same time offered, for the sake of removing all causes of disagreement between the two nations, to surrender to the English the small spot of ground on Friendly Cove, which had been temporarily occupied by Meares, to give up for their use the houses and cultivated lands, and to retire to the Strait of Fuca; with the understanding, that this cession was not to affect the rights of his Catholic Majesty to the dominion of the territory, and that Nootka was to be considered as the most northern settlement of the Spaniards, to whom the whole coast and country lying south of it belonged exclusively.

Vancouver, on the other hand, had thought proper to construe the first article of the convention of 1790 as giving to his countrymen *possession of the whole territory surrounding Nootka and Clayoquot*; and he therefore refused to receive what was offered by Quadra, declaring, with regard to the concluding part of the Spaniard's proposition, that he was not authorized to enter into any discussion as to the rights or claims of the respective nations. In this conviction he was supported by the evidence of Robert Duffin, the former mate of the Argonaut, who happened to arrive at Nootka while the negotiation was in progress. This person, in a letter of which Vancouver gives a synopsis in his journal, stated—that he had himself been present in May, 1788, at the purchase by Meares, from Maquinna, of the whole of the land forming Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, for eight sheets of copper and some trifling things; that the purchase was made in his Britannic Majesty's name, and under the British flag; and that houses and sheds were built on the spot by Meares, who left them in good repair on his departure for China; though he (Duffin) understood that no vestige of these buildings remained when the Spaniards took possession of the sound.

Upon the strength of this evidence, Captain Vancouver pronounced the assertions of Messrs. Gray and Ingraham to be entirely false; and he takes occasion, in several parts of his journal, to animadvert in severe language upon what he is pleased to term “the wilful misrepresentations of the Americans, to the prejudice of British subjects.” Means have already been afforded in the preceding chapter for judging with regard to the probability of the truth of Duffin's assertions; and some idea may be formed of the extent of Captain Vancouver's candor, by comparing the letter of Gray and Ingraham, as given in the Appendix, [D.] with the synopsis of it contained in the journal of the English navigator. It will thus be seen, that in Vancouver's synopsis the evidence of the Americans is garbled in the most unfair manner; and that whatever could tend to place the British or their cause in an un-

1792. favorable light, is made to disappear by artful suppressions and
 Septemb. alterations. The bitterness of Vancouver towards Gray and Ingraham may, perhaps, be accounted for, in part at least, by the circumstance, that on his arrival at Nootka he learned the success of Gray's search for a great river, on the very coast which he had himself, diligently, as he thought, but vainly, explored with the same object.

The negotiations* between the commissioners were continued during the greater part of September; until at length, finding it impossible to effect any arrangement of the business intrusted to them, they agreed to submit the whole affair, with such additional information as they had been able to obtain, to their re-

* The preceding sketch of the negotiation between Vancouver and Quadra is derived from the journals of Vancouver, Galiano and Valdes, and Ingraham. Ingraham obtained his information principally from Mr. Howel, the supercargo of the American brig Margaret, (previously a clergyman of the Church of England,) who acted as translator for the Spanish commissioner, and saw the whole of the correspondence. He drew up for Ingraham a written statement, which is given at length in the journal of the American captain, and of which the following is an extract:

"The indefinite mode of expression adopted by Messrs. Fitzherbert and Florida Blanca did not affix any boundaries to the cession expected by Great Britain; what the buildings were, or what was the extent of the tract of land to be restored, the plenipotentiaries did not think proper to determine. Don Juan Francisco, having no better guide, collected the best evidence he could procure, and that could enable him to determine what were the lands and buildings of which the British subjects were dispossessed, and which the tenor of the first article of the convention alone authorized him to restore. The result of this investigation, in which he was much aided by your communication, supported by the uniform declarations of Maquinna and his tribe, sufficiently evinced that the tract was a small corner of Friendly Cove, and, to use the words of Captain Vancouver, little more than a hundred yards in extent any way; and the buildings, according to your information, dwindled to one hut. Señor Quadra, having ascertained the limits usually occupied by Mr. Meares or his servants, was ever ready to deliver it in behalf of his Catholic Majesty to any envoy from the British Court. Captain Vancouver arrived at Nootka Sound in the latter end of August; and Señor Quadra wrote to him on the subject of their respective orders, and enclosed your letter, together with one from a Captain Viana, a Portuguese, who passed as captain of the *Iphigenia*, when she was detained by the Spaniards. Don Juan Francisco, in his letter, avowed his readiness to put Captain Vancouver in possession of the tract of land where Mr. Meares's house once stood, which alone could be that ceded to Great Britain by the convention. Señor Quadra offered, likewise, to leave for his accommodation all the houses, gardens, &c., which had been made at the expense of his Catholic Majesty, as he intended leaving the port immediately. In the same letter, he tendered Captain Vancouver offers of every service and assistance which hospitality or benevolence could dictate. Captain Vancouver, in reply, gratefully acknowledged the intended favors, but entirely dissented from the boundaries affixed by Señor Quadra to the tract of land, of which he was to receive the possession and property; and in pursuance of his directions, interpreted the first article as a cession of this port, viz: Nootka Sound, *in toto, together with Chiquat or Port Cox*. He disclaimed all retrospective discussion of the rights, pretensions, &c., of the two courts, and also of the actual possessions of British subjects in Nootka Sound, deeming it irrelevant to the business he was authorized to transact, and only to be settled by the respective Monarchs. The letters which followed on both sides were merely a reiteration of the foregoing proposals and demands. Señor Quadra invited to a discussion of the boundaries, &c., and supported his evidence with well-grounded reasoning; yet Captain Vancouver steadily adhered to the demands he first made, and refused every kind of discussion. The definitive letter from Señor Quadra was transmitted on the 15th of September; but it being of the same nature with the preceding ones, Captain Vancouver only replied by a repetition of his former avowal, and informing the Spanish commandant that he could receive on the part of his master, the King of Britain, no other territories than those he had pointed out in his other letters, with which, if Señor Quadra did not comply, he must retain them for his Catholic Majesty until the respective Courts should determine what further proceedings they might deem necessary."

spective Governments, and to await further instructions; Nootka 1792.
 being, in the mean time, considered as a Spanish port. Van-
 couver accordingly despatched one of his lieutenants to England
 with accounts of the transactions; and in the early part of October Oct. 12.
 he sailed towards the south, with three vessels—the Discovery;
 his own ship, the Chatham, commanded by Lieutenant Brought-
 on; and the Dædalus, which had recently joined him under
 Lieutenant Whidbey. About the same time Captain Quadra de-
 parted for Monterey, leaving the settlement at Nootka under the
 charge of Fidalgo; and the American ship Columbia and brig
 Hope directed their course homeward by way of Canton.

Vancouver quitted Nootka on the 13th of October, taking with Oct. 13.
 him charts and descriptions of the harbor and river discovered
 by Gray in the preceding April, of which he had received copies
 from the Spanish commissioner, Quadra. On the 18th he reached
 the entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor, to explore which he detached
 Lieutenant Whidbey in the Dædalus, while he himself proceeded
 with the other vessels to the mouth of the Columbia. Into that
 river the Chatham, with great difficulty, penetrated on the 20th.
 The Discovery was unable to cross the bar, and Vancouver, be-
 ing convinced from his observations that the stream was inaccess-
 ible to large ships, "except in very fine weather, with moderate
 winds and a smooth sea," he sailed to the bay of San Francisco,
 where he had ordered the other officers to join him in case of
 separation. In December following the whole squadron was re-
 united at Monterey, where Whidbey and Broughton presented
 the reports of their observations.

Whidbey's account of Bulfinch's Harbor was less favorable
 than that of Gray. From the statements of both, however, it
 appears that the place possesses advantages which must render it
 important, whenever the surrounding region becomes settled. It
 affords a safe retreat for small vessels, and there are several spots
 on its shore where boats may land without difficulty; moreover,
 it is the only harbor on the coast, between Cape Mendocino and
 the Strait of Fuca, except the mouth of the Columbia; and under
 such circumstances, labor and ingenuity will certainly be em-
 ployed to correct and improve what nature has offered. It has
 been already remarked, that the place is generally distinguished
 on British, and even on American maps, as *Whidbey's Harbor*,
 although Vancouver himself has not pretended to withhold from
 Gray the merit of discovering it.

Broughton, as before mentioned, entered the Columbia with Oct. 20.
 the Chatham on the 20th of October: and he there, to his sur-
 prise, found lying at anchor the brig Jenny, from Bristol, which
 had sailed from Nootka Sound a few days previous. Scarcely
 had the Chatham effected an entrance, ere she ran aground; and
 the channel proved to be so intricate, that Broughton determined
 to leave his vessel about four miles from the mouth, and to pro- Oct. 21.
 ceed up the stream in his cutter. A few words will suffice with
 regard to his survey, of which a long and detailed account is
 given in the second volume of Vancouver's Journal.

The portion of the Columbia near the sea was found by the

1792. explorers to be about seven miles in width; its depth varied from
 Oct. 24. two fathoms to eight; and it was crossed in every direction by shoals, which must always render the navigation difficult, even
 Oct. 26. by small vessels. Higher up, the stream became narrower, and at the distance of twenty-five miles its breadth did not exceed a thousand yards. These circumstances were considered by Broughton and Vancouver as authorizing them to assume that the true entrance of the *river* was at the last-mentioned point, and that the waters between it and the ocean constituted an *inlet* or *sound*. From the extremity of this *inlet*, the party rowed eighty-four miles up the *river*, in a southwest course, to a bend, where
 Oct. 30. the current being so rapid as to prevent them from advancing without great labor, they abandoned the survey and returned to their vessel. The angle of land around which the river flowed, and where their progress was arrested, received the appellation of *Point Vancouver*; the part of the *inlet* where the ship *Columbia* lay at anchor during her visit, was called *Gray's Bay*; and that immediately within Cape Disappointment was named *Baker's Bay*, in compliment to the captain of the *Jenny*. On the 10th of November the *Chatham* quitted the *Columbia*, in company with the *Jenny*, and arrived at the Bay of San Francisco before the end of the month.

The distinction which Vancouver and Broughton have thus endeavored to establish between the upper and the lower parts of the *Columbia* is entirely destitute of foundation, and at variance with the principles upon which our whole geographical nomenclature is formed. *Inlets* and *sounds* are arms of the sea, running up into the land; and their waters, being supplied from the sea, are necessarily salt. The waters of the *Columbia* are, on the contrary, fresh and potable within ten miles of the Pacific; their volume, and the impetuosity of their current, being sufficient to prevent the farther ingress of the ocean billows. The question appears, at first, to be of no consequence; the following extract from Vancouver's Journal will, however, serve to show that the quibble was devised by the British navigators, with the unworthy object of depriving Captain Gray of the merits of his discovery: "Previously to his [Broughton's] departure, he formally took possession of the river, and the country in its vicinity, in his Britannic Majesty's name, *having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation or State had ever entered this river before*. In this opinion he was confirmed by Mr. Gray's sketch, in which it does not appear that Mr. Gray either saw, or ever was within five leagues of its entrance." Comments on this passage are needless.

1793. From the Bay of San Francisco, Vancouver despatched Lieutenant Broughton to Europe, by way of Mexico, with further communications to his Government respecting the transfer of Nootka; and he then proceeded with his vessels to the Sandwich Islands, the importance of which, as places of resort for obtaining repairs and refreshments, began by that time to be properly estimated. He there succeeded in effecting a peace, and reciprocal recognitions of independence, between Tamahamaha, the celebrated

chief of Owyhee, and Titeree, the sovereign of the other islands; and he also caused the execution of several of the natives, who had been delivered up to him as the murderers of two officers of the *Dædalus* in the preceding year, but who were afterwards ascertained to have been guiltless of the crime imputed to them. Having performed these acts of justice, he sailed towards the northwest coast, and arrived at Nootka in May, 1793.

The following summer was passed by the British navigators in exploring the passages north and northeast of Queen Charlotte's Islands, which had been partially examined by Caamano in 1792. It would be needless to present the particulars of these researches, which were conducted in the most masterly manner. The results were, the discovery and survey of a number of islands, situated at short distances apart, between the 54th and the 58th parallels of latitude, in a space which had been previously regarded as occupied by a portion of the American continent. The inlet found by Gray, and supposed by him to be the *Rio de los Reyes* of Fonté, was traced to its termination in the land near the 56th parallel; and whilst a part of the story of that admiral's voyage appeared to be confirmed by the discovery of the Archipelago, the remainder was believed to have been completely disproved, inasmuch as no great river was found entering that part of the Pacific.

The islands, straits, bays, and capes thus discovered, were nearly all named in honor of the members of the royal family, the ministry, the peerage, and the other branches of the Government of Great Britain. Thus we find on Vancouver's map of the northwest Archipelago, the islands or groups of *King George the Third, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Admiralty, and Pitt*; one small group, which had been partially surveyed by Caamano, received the appellation of *Ricelagjigedo Islands*, in compliment to the Viceroy of Mexico. Between these islands run the *Duke of Clarence's Strait, Prince Frederick's Sound, Chatham Canal, Greenvile Canal, Burke's Canal, and Stenbock's Passage*; the capes and bays being distributed among the *Windhams, Dundases*, and other high tory families of that day. It is, however, improbable that any one of these names will ever be employed by the inhabitants of the region in which the places so called are situated. The Russians, who now occupy the whole west coast of America and the adjacent islands north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, appear to have excluded, as far as possible, the appellations bestowed by the subjects of other States. Thus, on their charts of the north Pacific, *Cook's Inlet* is termed the *Bay of Kenay*; *Prince William's Sound* is the *Gulf of Tschagatsch*; *Admiralty Bay* is the *Bay of Yakutat*; and *Norfolk Sound*, the *Port Guadelupe* of the Spaniards, is the *Gulf of Nitea*. The territory called by Vancouver *King George the Third's Island*,

* For the particulars of the trial and execution of these unfortunate savages, see Vancouver's Journal, vol. ii, page 204. Captain Broughton, when he visited the Sandwich Islands in 1795, was assured of their entire innocence, as may be seen in his Journal, page 42.

1793. has been since found to be divided by channels into four islands, which are severally distinguished by the names of *Chichagof*, *Baranof*, *Jacobi*, and *Krooze*. The *Prince of Wales's Islands* are *Tschirikof's Islands*; *Admiralty Island* is *Hoosnoof*; and *Stephen's Passage* is the *Strait of Acco*.
- Feb. 25. 1794. These surveys having been completed, the British ships retired on the approach of cold weather to the Sandwich Islands, where Vancouver contrived to obtain from King Tamahamaha the cession of the sovereignty of Owyhee to his Britannic Majesty, with the understanding, however, that the native chief and his officers, as well as the priests, "were to continue to officiate in their respective stations, and that no alteration in those particulars was in any degree thought of or intended." In return for the present, the British navigators built a vessel of war for the King, by the aid of which he soon after brought several other islands of the group under his dominion.*
- Mar. 14. In the spring of 1794 Vancouver sailed from the Sandwich Islands to the bay called Cook's River, which he minutely explored; and having ascertained that no considerable stream emptied into it, as had been previously supposed, he changed its name to *Cook's Inlet*. Thence he proceeded to Prince William's Sound, which he also examined carefully; and from that place he continued his survey eastwardly, until he reached the Archipelago discovered by him in 1793. Through this Archipelago he again sailed for the purpose of completing his observations; and on the 2d of August he arrived at Nootka, satisfied that "the precision with which his survey of the coast of Northwest America had been conducted, would remove every doubt, and set aside every opinion of a northwest passage, or any water communication navigable for shipping between the north Pacific and the interior of the American continent, within the limits of his researches." We now know that no such communication exists east of Beering's Strait; but when we take into consideration the intricate character of the shores between Mount Saint Elias and the southern part of the Strait of Fuca, it must be admitted that many passages by which vessels could thus penetrate the continent might have long escaped the notice of the most careful navigators. In fact, a river called the *Stikine*, which is three miles wide at its mouth, and a mile wide at the distance of thirty miles from the sea, has been, within a few years, discovered emptying into the Pacific, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes.
- Sept. 2. At Nootka the Spaniards were found still in possession, under the command of Colonel Alava, who had been, moreover, appointed commissioner of his Government, in place of Captain Quadra, lately deceased. No orders had been received from Europe relative to the surrender of the territory, and the British ships accordingly proceeded to Monterey, where the long expected instructions arrived during their stay. The Court of Madrid had agreed to abandon Nootka; and on the part of Great Britain, another

* This justly celebrated man died in 1819, having some years previous established his authority over all the islands of the group.

commissioner was despatched to the Pacific to receive possession of the place, if Vancouver should have quitted that ocean. Under these circumstances Vancouver resolved to return to England, where he arrived in August, 1795.

The Journals of Vancouver's voyage were published in 1798, before which period the navigator had sunk into the grave. The work is invaluable, notwithstanding the illiberal spirit which pervades its pages. In none other can be found so much clear and precise information with regard to the northwest coasts of America; and it is only to be lamented that one endowed with such courage, capacity, and professional skill, as the author evidently possessed, should have been so far governed by unworthy prejudices as he evidently was. Towards the Spaniards he appears to have been inclined, generally, to act with justice, or at least with courteousness; but against all citizens of the United States, and their country, he cherished the most bitter animosity, which was in many instances too powerful to be controlled by his sense of honor. Whenever an opportunity presented itself, or could be contrived, for exhibiting the character or conduct of Americans in an unfavorable light, it was eagerly seized by Vancouver; and that which he would have pardoned or commended in an Englishman or a Spaniard, became criminal in his eyes when committed by a citizen of the hated Republic.

The observations of Vancouver form the basis of our best maps of the west coast of America, from the 30th degree of latitude to the northern extremity of Cook's Inlet, as also of those of the Sandwich Islands, which he surveyed with care. The maps contained in the atlas annexed to the Journal of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana, are nearly all copied from those of the British navigator.

Whilst these surveys of the Pacific coasts of North America were in progress, Alexander Mackenzie, a Scotchman in the service of the celebrated fur-trading association, called the *North-west Company*, was exploring the unknown regions of the continent bordering upon that part of the ocean. The association by which he was employed had been formed in 1787, among the principal fur-merchants of Canada, for the purpose of carrying on the trade between the posts of that country and such of the British territories of the interior as were supposed to be not included in the grant to the *Hudson's Bay Company*; and within two years afterwards, its establishments had been advanced as far as *Lake of the Hills*, or *Athabaska Lake*, near the 59th parallel of latitude, about eight hundred miles beyond Lake Superior.

From *Fort Chipewyan*, the trading-station on this lake, Mackenzie departed on his first journey in June, 1789, and proceeded in a boat down the *Slave River*, which flows out of the lake, directly northward, into the *Great Slave Lake*, discovered by Hearne in 1770. Thence he continued northwestward, down another and much larger stream, on which he bestowed his own name, to its termination in a sea near the 69th degree of latitude; and having thus fulfilled the objects of his expedition, he returned to *Fort Chipewyan*. The mouth of the *Mackenzie* was situated

1791.

1795.

1789.

1789. much farther west than that of the *Coppermine*, which Hearne had reached; and the probability of the existence of a northern navigable communication between the Pacific and the Atlantic, east of Beering's Strait, was thus considerably lessened; while, on the other hand, stronger grounds were afforded for the belief that the northernmost parts of America were bathed by an open sea.
1792. In his second expedition, begun in October, 1792, Mackenzie
Oct. 10. ascended the *Unjigah*, or *Peace River*, (which empties into the Athabasca Lake,) westward to its sources, among the Rocky
1793. Mountains. Having crossed this chain, he embarked upon another large stream called the *Tacoutchee*, which he descended to a short distance; and then marching directly westward, he reached
July 22. the Pacific on the 22d of July, 1793, at the mouth of one of the in-
Aug. 21. lets near the Princess Royal Islands, in the latitude of 52 degrees and 20 minutes.* By this second journey, he ascertained that no passage existed through the North American continent, opening into the Pacific south of the parallel above mentioned; which fact had been already, though less decisively, proved by Vancouver in the preceding year. The Tacoutchee was for some time supposed to be the principal branch of the Columbia; it has, however, been subsequently found to be a much smaller stream, emptying into the Strait of Fuca, and it is now known as *Frazer's River*.

The journals of Mackenzie's two expeditions were published together, at London, in 1802, accompanied by a history of the Canada fur trade, and by observations on the mode of conducting the commercial intercourse between America and China advantageously to the interests of Great Britain. He there recommends that the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest Companies, which had been at war with each other ever since the formation of the latter, should be united; that the British Government should favor the establishment of communications across the continent, for which the Tacoutchee, supposed by him to be the Columbia, would afford great facilities; and that the East India Company should throw open to their fellow-subjects the trade between the northwest coasts and Canton, which was then, as he says, "left to the adventurers of the United States, acting without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, and looking only to the interest of the moment." Experience has proved the justice of Mackenzie's observations; and nearly all his suggestions have been adopted, to the manifest advantage of Great Britain.

It is proper to notice here an account of an expedition across the American continent, made between 1791 and 1794, by a party of citizens of the United States, under the direction of Julius Rodman, whose journal has been recently discovered in Virginia, and is now in course of publication in a periodical magazine† at

* On the day of Mackenzie's arrival on the shore of the Pacific, Vancouver was examining another inlet situated about one hundred and fifty miles farther north.

† Burton's Magazine and American Monthly Review, edited by William E. Burton and Edgar A. Poe. Mr. Rodman's journal is commenced in the number for January, 1840, and is continued in those for the next following months.

Philadelphia. The portion which has yet appeared relates only to the voyage of the adventurer up the Missouri during the summer of 1791; and no idea is communicated of their route beyond that river, except in the Introduction by the editor, where it is stated that they traversed the region "west of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the 60th parallel, which is still marked upon our maps as unexplored, and which, until this day, has been always so considered." From what has been published, it is impossible to form a definitive opinion as to the degree of credit which is due to the narrative, or as to the value of the statements, if they are true; and all that can be here said in addition is, that nothing as yet appears, either in the journal or relating to it, calculated to excite suspicions with regard to its authenticity.

To conclude with regard to the delivery of Nootka.

The commissioner appointed by the British Government to receive possession of that place, provided Vancouver should have left the Pacific, was Captain Robert Broughton, the former commander of the Chatham. He sailed from England in the ship Providence in October, 1794, and in April, 1796, he reached Nootka, which he found occupied only by the natives. He there learned from a letter, presented to him by Maquinna, dated March, 1795, that "the Spaniards had delivered up the port of Nootka, &c., to Lieutenant Pierce, of the marines, [who had been despatched from England, by way of Mexico, in order to hasten the termination of the business,] agreeably to the mode of restitution settled between the two Courts."*

This is the account given by Broughton.† On the other hand, Belsham, an historian whom no one can suspect of want of attachment to the honor and interests of his country, says:‡ "It is nevertheless certain, from the most authentic subsequent information, that the Spanish flag flying at the fort and settlement of Nootka was never struck, and that the whole territory has been virtually relinquished by Great Britain; a measure, however politically expedient, which involves in it a severe reflection upon the minister who could permit so invidious an encroachment upon the

* In the library of Congress at Washington is an interesting Spanish manuscript, presented by General Tornel, during his residence in the United States as minister from Mexico, entitled *Instrucción Reservada del Rey de Nueva España que el Excmo. Señor Virrey Conde de Revillagigedo da á su sucesor el Excmo. Señor Marqués de Branciforte en el año de 1794*; that is to say—Secret Instructions, or rather notes on the Kingdom of New Spain, given in 1794 by the Viceroy, Count de Revillagigedo, to his successor, the Marquis de Branciforte. This work, which abounds in curious details relative to the administration of affairs in Mexico, has been carefully examined, with reference to the objects of the present memoir. Nothing, however, has been collected from it, except in confirmation of statements elsewhere made. The paragraphs from 703 to 713, inclusive, are devoted to the *Marine Department of San Blas*, to which, as already mentioned, the care of the Spanish colonies in California was committed. The Count recommends to his successor the maintenance of those colonies, as the best means of preserving Mexico from foreign influences; advising him, at the same time, however, not to extend the establishments beyond the Strait of Fuca. With regard to Nootka, it is merely stated, in paragraph 713, that orders had been sent to the commandant to abandon the place, agreeably to a royal *dictamen*.

† Broughton's Journal of his Voyage, page 50.

‡ Belsham's History of Great Britain, vol. viii, page 337.

1796. ancient and acknowledged rights of the Crown of Spain." The probability is, that the Spaniards merely abandoned the place.

Since that period, no attempt has been made by any civilized nation to form an establishment at Nootka or in its vicinity, although the sound continued to be, and probably still is, occasionally visited by the fur-traders. The most recent accounts of it which have been published, are of no later date than 1807, when King Maquinna was enjoying the fulness of health and of power; and although his manners appeared to have then become more refined, he was still at heart a cruel and treacherous savage.*

In this and the next preceding chapters, an endeavor has been made to present an impartial view of the circumstances connected with the occupation of Nootka by the Spaniards in 1789; and it is believed that the erroneousness of the statements of the British political and historical authorities respecting those circumstances has been conclusively demonstrated. It has been shown that—

No part of "*the northwest coasts of the continent of North America, or of the adjacent islands*," was, or ever had been, occupied by British subjects prior to the formation of the Spanish post at Nootka, in 1789:

That, consequently, no "*buildings or tracts of land*" in that quarter were "*to be restored to British subjects*," agreeably to the convention of October 28, 1790: and, as a farther consequence,

That the abandonment of Nootka by the Spaniards, in 1795, gave to Great Britain no other rights at that, or any other place in Northwest America, than those derived from the third and fifth articles of the abovementioned convention, by which her subjects were at liberty to navigate and fish in the north Pacific, to trade or settle in unoccupied parts of its American coasts north of the parts occupied by the Spaniards before April, 1789, (that is to say, north of the Bay of San Francisco;) and to have free access to any Spanish settlement on the coasts thus designated.

* Narrative of the Destruction of the ship Boston, of Boston, and of the murder of all her men except two, by the savages at Nootka Sound, in March, 1803, with accounts of that country and of its inhabitants: by John R. Jewitt, one of the survivors of the crew, who remained three years in captivity among the Indians—a simple and unpretending narrative, which will, no doubt, in after centuries, be read with interest by the enlightened people of Northwest America.

CHAPTER VIII,

Comprehending the period between 1796 and 1815—Commerce between the northwest coasts of America and Canton conducted exclusively by vessels of the United States—Formation of the Russian American Company; account of its system and establishments—Complaints of the Russians against the traders of the United States—Cession of Louisiana to the United States; supposed extent of Louisiana in the north and northwest—Expedition of Lewis and Clarke to the mouth of the Columbia—First enterprises of British and American fur-traders in Northwest America—Astoria enterprise—Mouth of the Columbia occupied by the Americans, who are dislodged by the British.

IN October, 1796, Spain declared war against Great Britain; and, for nearly twenty years afterwards, the Governments and people of both nations were too much engrossed by events daily occurring in their immediate vicinity to have any leisure to bestow on matters so comparatively unimportant as those connected with the northwest coasts of America. 1796

During this whole period, the direct trade between those coasts and Canton was carried on *exclusively* by the vessels, and under the flag, of the United States. The British merchants were prevented from engaging in this commerce by the refusal of their own East India Company to allow it; the Russians were not admitted into the Chinese ports, and few ships of any other nation were seen in the north Pacific.

Until 1811 the Americans had formed no establishment on the western shore of the continent. Their vessels sailed from the United States, or from Europe, to the north Pacific, laden with spirits, wine, sugar, tobacco, fire-arms, gunpowder, iron, and coarse manufactures of various sorts, which were exchanged for furs with the natives on the coasts, or with the Russians at their settlements; or sometimes the American captain would hire from a Russian agent a number of hunters and fishermen, with their boats and implements, for the season, and would thus obtain a cargo. The furs were thence carried to Canton, where the proceeds of their sale were invested in teas, porcelain, silks, and nankeens, for the markets of the United States or of Europe. When a sufficient quantity of furs could not be collected in the north Pacific, their place was supplied by sandal-wood, pearl shells, and tortoise shells, which were procured at little expense in the Sandwich and other islands, and always commanded high prices at Canton.

The persons engaged in this trade were constantly exposed to the most dreadful hardships and dangers, against which nothing but extraordinary courage and skill on their parts could have enabled them to struggle successfully. These circumstances were not calculated to soften the feelings or to improve the morals of the traders; and as they were actually subject to no other

1796. laws or restrictions, during their voyages in the Pacific, than such as they themselves chose to adopt or observe, it could not have been expected that their conduct should at all times be conformable with the principles of justice. They have been charged by British reviewers and British naval officers—authorities always to be distrusted on matters pertaining to the United States or its citizens—with practising every species of fraud and violence towards the natives of the coasts and islands of that ocean. It does not, however, appear, upon examining the facts brought forward in support of these accusations, that the American fur-traders were guilty of other or greater improprieties than have ever been, and must ever be, committed by shrewd and intelligent civilized people, when unrestrained by laws, in their transactions with brutal, ignorant, and faithless savages. These latter, in their turn, availed themselves of every occasion to rob and murder the strangers who came to their shores. More than one American ship has been seized, and all on board massacred by the natives of the Pacific coasts; and seldom, indeed, did a vessel from the United States complete her voyage in that ocean, without losing some part of her crew by the treachery of those with whom they were dealing. Thus in March, 1803, the ship *Boston*, of Boston, commanded by John Salter, was surprised at Nootka, by Maquinna and his followers, and all her men were put to death except two, who, after remaining in slavery three years, effected their escape.* In like manner, the *Tonquin*, Captain Thorn, of New York, fell into the hands of Wiccanish and his subjects at Nittinat, or Berkely Sound, in June, 1811; nearly the whole of her crew perished in a moment, under the clubs and knives of the assailants, and the remainder, with the exception of the Indian interpreter, were soon after destroyed, together with a large number of savages, by the explosion of the powder magazine, which was fired probably by one of the officers.†

In the mean time the Russians, though excluded from the direct trade with Canton, were continually increasing and enlarging their establishments in America.‡ The association formed in 1785, among the merchants of eastern Siberia, for carrying on the fur

* Narrative of John R. Jewitt, already mentioned at page 142.

† A minute and graphic account of the destruction of the *Tonquin*, collected from the evidence of the interpreter, who afterwards found his way to the Columbia River, is given by Ross Cox, in his account of his residence on the Columbia River, and has been thence transferred by Mr. Irving to his *Astoria*.

‡ The following sketch of the Russian establishments in the north Pacific, during the first years of the present century, is derived chiefly from—

I. Narrative of a Voyage around the World, in the years 1803–1806, in the Russian ships *Nadeshda* and *Neva*, under the command of Captain A. J. Von Krusenstern. The original edition of this work is accompanied by a large atlas, containing charts and other engravings.

II. Narrative of a Voyage around the World in the Ship *Neva*, by her captain, Urey Lisiansky.

III. Narrative of a Voyage in the Pacific, by G. H. Von Langsdorf, the physician of the Russian ship *Nadeshda*.

IV. Narrative of a Voyage around the World, in 1815 and 1816, in the Russian ship *Kurick*, commanded by Lieutenant Otto Von Kotzebue. And from—

V. Various documents existing in the archives of the Department of State, at Washington.

trade of the north Pacific, was protected and encouraged by the Empress Catherine, who bestowed upon it many valuable privileges. Her son and successor, Paul, was, at the beginning of his reign, inclined to withdraw these advantages, and even to break up the association, on account of the cruel conduct of its agents towards the natives and the Russians who were employed in its service. Reasons of state, however, induced him to abandon this resolution; and he at length, by a decree of the 8th of July, 1799, granted to the united merchants a charter, assuring to them, under the title of the *Russian American Company*, the exclusive use and control, for twenty years, of all the coasts of America on the Pacific, and the islands in that ocean, from Beering's Strait to the 55th degree of south latitude, together with the right of occupying any other territories not previously possessed by some civilized nation. The residence of the directors of the company was at first fixed at Irkutsk, in Siberia, the great depository of the China trade; it was afterwards transferred to St. Petersburg, and their affairs were placed under the superintendence, or rather the directors were placed under the *surveillance*, of the Imperial Department of Commerce.

1796.

1799.
July 8.

The privileges thus accorded by Paul, were confirmed and extended by Alexander; and, under these favorable auspices, the power and influence of the Russian American Company rapidly advanced. In 1803, its establishments on the north Pacific coasts extended eastward, as far as Port Guadelupe, or Norfolk Sound, called by the Russians the *Gulf of Sitca*, which separates the small Island of Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumbe, or Krooze, from *Baranoff's Island*, the largest of the group named by Vancouver King George the Third's Archipelago. The settlement on the Gulf of Sitca was destroyed by savages in 1804; another was, however, soon founded in the vicinity of the same spot, which received the appellation of *New Archangel*, and has ever since been the capital of Russian America.

1800.

1803.

1804.

In 1806 preparations were made for occupying the mouth of the Columbia River, but the plan was abandoned; although that part of the coast, and all north of it, was then, and for many years afterwards, represented on the maps of the Russian American Company as included within the limits of its possessions.

1806.

The Government of Russian-America was arranged and conducted in the most despotic manner possible, nearly resembling that of a Turkish Pashalik; each factory was superintended by a Russian overseer, who, with the aid of a small number of Russians, maintained absolute control over all the natives in his district, compelling them constantly to labor for the benefit of the company. The overseers were under the superintendence of agents, one of whom resided in each group of settlements; and all were subject to the authority of a chief agent, or governor-general, appointed by the directors, whose powers, though nominally defined and limited by regulations drawn up at St. Petersburg, were, in fact, absolute and unrestricted. The person who filled the office of governor-general at the beginning of this century, and for many years afterwards, was Alexander Baranoff, a bold, shrewd, enter-

1800.

1800. prising, and unfeeling man, under whose iron rule the affairs of the company prospered, and its stock rose proportionally in value; his proceedings were, therefore, always approved by those to whom he was accountable, and complaints against his tyranny were always disregarded.

The Russians engaged in the service of the company, under the direction of the overseers, were distinguished by the general name of *Promuschleniks*, (meaning *speculators*,) and were employed as hunters, fishermen, seamen, soldiers, or mechanics, as their superiors might command. In the best of these situations, their lot appears to have been more wretched than that of any other class of human beings, with the exception, perhaps, of the natives, whom they aided in keeping under subjection; and it therefore is not surprising that none but vagabonds and adventurers should ever have become *promuschleniks*. The gallant and humane Krusenstern, in the narrative of his expedition to the Pacific in 1804 and 1805, presents a number of dreadful pictures of the sufferings of these unfortunate persons from want of food, from the severity of the climate, and from too much labor. According to the most recent accounts, it appears that their situation, while they are on land at least, has not been materially improved.*

The greater part of the furs collected on the northwest coasts of America continued to be, during the period mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, transported to Petro-Paulowsk and Ochotsk, from which places were brought nearly all the articles required for the use of the settlements; the remainder of the supplies being obtained from American vessels in the manner already described. The Russian Government, however, soon became desirous to exclude the vessels of the United States from the north Pacific, not only from a wish to monopolize the fur trade, but also in order to prevent the natives of the coasts from procuring arms and ammunition, with which they were furnished by the Americans, to the great detriment of the authority and interests of the Russian company. For this purpose, it would be necessary to maintain a naval force in the vicinity of the settlements, and to establish regular communications, by ships, between them and Europe; and, with the view of inquiring how those measures might be best executed, as well as of opening, if possible, some intercourse with Japan and the ports of China, it was determined that a scientific and political expedition should be made to the north Pacific.

1803. Two ships, the *Nadeshda*, commanded by Captain Krusenstern, and the *Neva*, by Captain Lisiansky, were accordingly despatched from Cronstadt in August 1803, carrying out the chamberlain, Von Resanoff, as ambassador to Japan, and plenipotentiary of the Russian-American Company, together with a large body of officers and men of science. These were the first vessels, under the Russian flag, which crossed the equinoctial

* It will be recollected that these accounts are derived from *Russian* authorities.

line; they passed around Cape Horn, and, touching at the Washington and the Sandwich Islands, they reached the coasts of the north Pacific in the summer of 1804. Without detailing the subsequent occurrences of the expedition, which lasted until the summer of 1806, it will be sufficient to say, that none of the political or commercial objects proposed were attained. The Japanese, as usual, refused peremptorily to allow any intercourse to be carried on between their dominions and those of Russia; nor would the Chinese admit the commercial ships of the latter Power into Canton. The plans of Von Resanoff (who appears to have been a ridiculous and incompetent person) for the management of the affairs of the company proved wholly inapplicable; and the propriety of immediately expelling the Americans from the north Pacific, even could it be done, was rendered very questionable by the fact that the garrison and inhabitants of Sitka would have all infallibly perished from famine, in the winter of 1805-'6, had they not been fortunately supplied with provisions by the ship *Juno* from Rhode Island.* Finally, whatever may have been the conclusions formed upon the information acquired during the expedition, as to the practicability of maintaining a direct commercial intercourse, by sea, between the Russian ports in Europe and their settlements on the Pacific, certain it is that no attempt for that purpose was again made until 1814.

1803.

1806.

The expedition above mentioned was, however, in all respects, highly honorable to those who conducted it. The accounts separately published by Krusenstern, Lisiansky, and Langsdorf, particularly those of Krusenstern, are among the most instructive works which have appeared relating to the north Pacific and its coasts. They exhibit, indeed, frightful pictures of the misery endured by the persons in the service of the Russian-American Company; but they, at the same time, present instances of fortitude, perseverance, and good feeling, on the part of the Russians, calculated to counteract any unfavorable impressions which might otherwise have been formed with regard to the general character of that people.

After the return of Krusenstern's ships, representations were addressed by the Russian Government to that of the United States, with regard to the improper conduct of American citizens in trading in arms and ammunition with the natives on the coasts of the north Pacific; and endeavors were made to procure the passage by Congress of some act, or the conclusion of some convention between the two nations, by the effect of which such commerce might be prevented. These representations producing no results, Count Romanzoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed to Mr. Adams, the American Envoy at St. Petersburg, an arrangement by which the vessels of the United States should be allowed to transport furs from the Russian settlements to China, on condition that they should abstain from all

1808.

1810.

* Langsdorf, vol. ii, page 89.

1810. trade with the natives on the northwest coasts. Mr. Adams, in his answer to this proposition, desired to know—within what latitudes the restriction would be expected to be observed? and the reply being, that the Russian-American Company claimed possession of the whole coasts extending from Beering's Strait to the southward of the Columbia River, the correspondence was not continued. An arrangement conformable with the views of the
1812. Russians was, in 1812, concluded between their American company and a citizen of the United States, but circumstances prevented it from being carried into execution.

Before 1812, Sitka was the most southern portion on the western side of America occupied by the Russians. In that year they formed an establishment in California, which deserves particular notice. The chief agent, Baranoff, obtained from the Spanish Governor of Monterey permission to erect some houses, and to leave a few men on the shore of the small Bay of Bodega, near Port San Francisco, in order to procure and salt the meat of the wild cattle, which overrun that country, for the supply of the settlement at New Archangel. In the course of two or three years after this permission was granted, the number of the persons thus employed had become so great, and their dwelling-place had assumed so much the appearance of a fortress, that the Governor thought proper to remonstrate on the subject; and his representations being disregarded, he formally commanded the Russians to quit the territories of his Catholic Majesty. The command was treated with as little respect as the remonstrance; and when it was repeated, the Russian agent, Kuskoff, replied by denying the right of the Spaniards over the country, which he asserted to be vacant and open for occupation by the subjects of any civilized Power. The Governor was unable to enforce his orders; and as no assistance could be afforded to him from Mexico, which was then ravaged by civil wars, the intruders were left in undisturbed possession of the ground, where they have ever since remained, in defiance alike of the Spaniards and of their republican successors.*

The Russian-American Company, about the same period, made another effort to create a direct commercial intercourse by sea between its settlements on the Pacific and the European ports of the Empire. With this object, the American ship *Hannibal* was purchased from Mr. Astor, of New York; and her name having been changed to the *Suwarrow*, she was despatched from Saint Petersburg, in 1814, under the command of Lieutenant Lazaref, laden with goods for New Archangel. She returned in 1816 with a cargo of furs, valued at a million of dollars; and the adventure having been pronounced successful, others of the same nature were undertaken.

In 1815 Baranoff endeavored to obtain possession of Atooi, one

* The Russians have now several establishments in that part of California, of which the principal, called *Ross*, is situated immediately on the Pacific, in latitude of 38 degrees and 33 minutes, about thirty miles north of Port Bodega, or Port Romanzoff, as the Russians have named it.

of the Sandwich Islands. For that purpose about a hundred men, nearly all Aleutians, were sent in two vessels from Sitka, under the direction of Dr. Sheffer, a German, who had arrived in the Pacific as surgeon to the ship Suwarrow. They landed on the island, which they ravaged, without subduing it, for more than a year, and were then obliged to depart for Owyhee, where they entered the service of some American whalers, by whom they were finally restored to their country. The Russian Government appeared to disapprove this act of Baranoff; and no attempt has been since made by subjects of that or any other foreign nation to invade those islands.

The Government of the United States had before this period begun to assert claims to the possession of the territory drained by the Columbia river, the origin and extent of which claims will now be traced.

The discovery of the Columbia by Gray attracted very little attention in the United States for more than ten years after it had been effected. None but persons concerned in the fur trade of the north Pacific, and the curious in geographical matters, were acquainted with the fact; and no one imagined that any thing connected with that river would ever be considered important to the Americans in a political point of view. The territories of the United States were then bounded on the west by the river Mississippi, and on the north by the dominions of Great Britain; beyond the Mississippi lay the vast region called *Louisiana*, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northward and northwestward to an undefined extent; so that all communication, except by sea, between the Federal Republic and the Pacific side of America, was completely barred by the intervention of countries belonging to foreign and rival Powers. Louisiana, originally settled by the French, had been ceded, in 1762, to Spain, which held it until October 1, 1800, and then retroceded it to France, "the same in extent," says the treaty of retrocession, "as it now is in the hands of Spain, as it was when France formerly possessed it, and as it should be, according to the treaties subsequently made between Spain and other nations."

Under such circumstances, any claims of the United States to territories bordering upon the Pacific, would have been nominal and barren, and all attempts to realize them must have proved abortive. But the position of the Americans, and the views of their Government towards the northwestern section of the continent, were materially changed after the 30th of April, 1803, when Louisiana came into their possession by purchase from France, "with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully, and in the same manner, as it had been acquired from Spain" in 1800. Before relating the dispositions made in consequence of this cession, some observations will be necessary respecting the northern and northwestern limits of the country which thus became the property of the United States.

The earliest attempt, either real or ostensible, to define the boundaries of Louisiana, was made by Louis XIV, in 1712, in the patent by which he granted to Antoine Crozat the exclusive

1815

1792
to
1800.1803.
April 30.

1803. trade of that country. The patent declares it to be the will of the King, that "all the territories by him possessed, bounded by New Mexico, and by the lands of the English in Carolina, and all the establishments, ports, harbors, rivers, especially the port and harbor of Dauphin Island, formerly called *Massacre Island*, the river Saint Louis, formerly called the Mississippi, from the seacoast to the Illinois country, together with the rivers Saint Philip, formerly called the Missouri, and the Saint Jerome, formerly called the Wabash, [the Ohio,] with all the lands, countries, lakes in the land, and the rivers falling directly or indirectly into that part of the river Saint Louis, shall be and remain comprised under the name of the Government of Louisiana, which shall be subordinate to the General Government of New France; and that all the lands by him possessed on this side of the Illinois, shall be reunited to, and form part of, the General Government of New France; the King, nevertheless, reserving to himself the privilege of increasing the extent of Louisiana, as he may judge proper." Agreeably to this exposition of its limits, Louisiana extended, in 1712, northward to about the 42d parallel of latitude, and westward to New Mexico; between which latter country and the Pacific, California intervened. What portion of the continent northward of that parallel, and west of the great lakes, the Illinois country thus attached to New France was supposed to comprehend, there are no means of ascertaining. The French maps of the early part of the last century represent as included in *New France* many rivers flowing towards the Pacific, none of which, however, exist as there described; while the Spaniards, on the other hand, regarded the whole unoccupied region north-west of New Mexico as forming part of their own *California*; and the British geographers recorded the claims of their nation to the same territory, by constantly applying to it the name of *New Albion*.

In 1713 the celebrated peace of Utrecht was concluded. In the tenth article of the treaty between Great Britain and France, "it is agreed on both sides to determine within a year, by commissaries to be forthwith named by each party, the limits which are to be fixed between the said Bay of Hudson," (then secured, with its adjacent territories, to Great Britain,) "and the places appertaining to the French: which limits both the British and French subjects shall be wholly forbid to pass over, or thereby to go to each other by sea or by land. The same commissaries shall also have orders to describe and settle, in like manner, the boundaries between the other British and French colonies in those parts." That commissaries were appointed agreeably to this provision, there is reason to believe; but there is no sufficient evidence that any boundaries were determined by them. Two distinct lines may, however, be found traced on different maps published in the last century, each purporting to be the limit between the Hudson's Bay territories on the north, and the French possessions on the south, fixed by commissaries according to the treaty of Utrecht. One of these lines follows the course, or supposed course, of the highlands which separate the waters

flowing into Hudson's Bay from those emptying into the great lakes and the Saint Lawrence. The other is drawn irregularly from the Atlantic to a point in the 49th parallel of latitude, south of the southernmost part of Hudson's Bay, and thence westward along that parallel to Red River; and in some maps still farther west. This latter line is generally considered in the United States, and has been assumed by their Government,* as the true boundary settled by the commissaries, agreeably to the treaty above mentioned; but this opinion is at variance with the most accredited authorities, as will be seen by reference to the Appendix, [E,] containing a review of all the works from which exact information could be expected.

In 1717, Crozat relinquished his exclusive privileges with regard to Louisiana; after which, the Illinois country was added to that province by a royal arret, and the whole territory was granted to the *Compagnie d'Orient*, generally known as Law's Mississippi Company. In 1763, France gave up to Great Britain all her possessions east of the Mississippi, except a small tract near New Orleans, having, a short time previous, ceded the remainder of Louisiana to Spain.† By these arrangements, the middle of the Mississippi, from its source, to the river Iberville, near New Orleans, became the dividing-line between the British possessions on the east and those of Spain on the western side, nothing being fixed with regard to territories north of the said source; and from that period to 1803, when Louisiana became the property of the United States, its extent towards the north or northwest could not have been affected by any treaty hitherto made public, unless by the convention of October, 1790, between Spain and Great Britain, which applied to all American territories claimed by Spain upon the Pacific, north of the 38th degree of latitude.

From the preceding review, it will be seen that history fur-

* The earliest official assertion to this effect, on the part of the Government of the United States, which has been found, is contained in the following sentence extracted from a letter addressed by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, at Madrid, on the 20th of April, 1805, to Don Pedro Cevallos, the Spanish Minister of State: "In conformity with the tenth article of the first mentioned treaty, [treaty of Utrecht,] the boundary between Canada and Louisiana, on the one side, and the Hudson's Bay and Northwestern Companies on the other, was established by commissaries, by a line to commence at a cape or promontory on the ocean in 58 degrees 31 minutes north latitude; to run thence southwestwardly to latitude 49 north from the equator, and along that line indefinitely westward."

† The act by which France ceded Louisiana to Spain was signed at Fontainebleau by the French minister, the Duc de Choiseul, and the Spanish ambassador, the Marques de Grimaldi, on the 3d of November, 1762. It was ratified by the King of Spain on the 13th of the same month, and by the King of France on the 23d. These documents were kept secret until 1836, when copies of them were obtained from the Departments of Foreign Affairs of France and Spain, by the late J. M. White, of Florida; and translations of them by the writer of this memoir were submitted to the Senate of the United States, and published by its order, in 1857. The act of cession throws no light on the question as to the limits of Louisiana. The words of the original, describing the territory ceded, are: "Sa Majesté très-Chrétienne cède en toute propriété, purement et simplement, et sans aucune exception, à sa Majesté Catholique, et à ses successeurs, à perpétuité, tout le pays connu sous le nom de la Louisiane, ainsi que la Nouvelle Orléans, et l'île dans laquelle cette ville est située."

1803. nishes no means of determining what were the precise limits of Louisiana on the north or northwest, when that country came into the possession of the United States. The customs of civilized nations in such cases, however, authorize the assumption that those limits comprehended the whole region west of the Mississippi drained by that river and its tributary streams; while the same customs prohibit the supposition that any territory west of the Rocky Mountains should be considered as part of Louisiana.

Even before the cession of Louisiana to the United States had been completed, the prompt and sagacious Jefferson, then President of the Republic, was preparing to have that part of the continent examined by American agents. On the 18th of January, 1803, he addressed to the Congress of the United States a confidential message, recommending that means should be taken for that purpose without delay; and his suggestions having been approved, he commissioned Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke to carry his plan into execution. Those officers were instructed to explore the river Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, and then to seek and trace to its termination in the Pacific, some stream, "whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other, which might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce."*

A few days after the delivery of these instructions to Lewis, as commander of the expedition, the news of the cession of Louisiana reached the United States, and he immediately set off for the west. Some difficulties, however, prevented his party from crossing the Mississippi in that year; and it was not until the 1804. 14th of May, 1804, that they entered the Missouri, and began its ascent in boats. Their progress was necessarily slow; yet, before the end of October, they arrived in the country of the Mandan Indians, where they remained until the following April, encamped at a place situated sixteen hundred miles from the mouth of the Missouri. 1805. In the summer of 1805, they explored that river to its head-waters, among the Rocky Mountains, and, having crossed the great dividing-ridge, they found immediately beyond it a number of streams flowing westward. Upon one of these they embarked in canoes on the 7th of October, and were soon carried by its current into a river, which they called the *Lewis*, and which proved to be a principal branch of the Columbia. In a few days they reached the confluence of the Lewis with the other great branch named by them the *Clarke*; and on the 15th of November they landed at Cape Disappointment, or Hancock's Point, on the northern side of the entrance of the Columbia into the Pacific, after a journey of more than four thousand miles from their place of departure.

1806. The winter of 1805-'6, was passed by Lewis and Clarke, and

* These instructions may be found at length in the biographical sketch of Captain Lewis, written by Mr. Jefferson, and prefixed to the journal of the expedition, printed at Philadelphia in 1814. The message above mentioned is contained in the executive proceedings of the Senate, vol. i, page 429.

their followers, in an encampment on the south side of the Columbia, near its mouth, which they called *Fort Clatsop*. The savages, who were already accustomed to the presence of strangers, conducted themselves peaceably; and there was no want of food, such as could be procured from the river or sea. On the 13th of March, 1806, the Americans began their return to the United States, in canoes, which they rowed up the Columbia to its falls, situated about one hundred and twenty-five miles from the Pacific. Thence they continued their journey by land to the Rocky Mountains, which they crossed in two bodies by separate routes; the one under Lewis striking directly eastward to the falls of the Missouri, while the other, conducted by Clarke, made a southern march to the sources of the Yellow Stone, and descended that river to the Missouri. The parties were again united just below the point of junction of those streams, and on the 23d of September they arrived at Saint Louis. 1806.
July.
Aug. 12.

The above sketch will serve to show the general course of the expedition of Lewis and Clarke; a more extended account of which would be either insufficient or superfluous. With regard to the priority of their discoveries, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, in the *statement* presented by them to the American minister, during the negotiation in 1826, make the following observations:

“In reply to the allegations, on the part of the United States, that their claim to the country in question is strengthened and confirmed by the discovery of the sources of the Columbia, and by the exploration of the course of that river to the sea, by Lewis and Clarke, in 1805-6, Great Britain affirms, and can distinctly prove, that, if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years, her Northwest Trading Company had, by means of their agent Mr. Thompson, already established their posts among the Flat-head and Kootanie tribes, on the head-waters or main branch of the Columbia, and were gradually extending them down the principal stream of that river; thus giving to Great Britain in this particular, as in the discovery of the mouth of the river, a title of parity at least, if not of priority of discovery, as opposed to the United States. It was from these posts that, having heard of the American establishment forming in 1811 at the mouth of the river, Mr. Thompson hastened thither, descending the river to ascertain the nature of that establishment.”

As the words “*in the same and subsequent years*” are rather indefinite, the dates of the occurrences above mentioned will be stated somewhat more exactly. Lewis and Clarke reached the Pacific Ocean, after exploring the Columbia River from one of its most eastern head-waters in the Rocky Mountains to its mouth, on the 15th of November, 1805. In the spring of 1806, as will hereafter be shown, Mr. Simon Frazer, and other persons in the employment of the Northwest Company, crossed the Rocky Mountains, through the great gap near the 56th degree of latitude, and established the first British trading-post west of that chain, on Frazer’s Lake, about two degrees farther south; but no evidence has been obtained that British subjects had ever visited any part

1806. of the country drained by the Columbia, above the falls of that river, before the summer of 1811. In that year, Mr. Thompson, astronomer of the Northwest Company, and his party, on their way down the stream, for the purpose of anticipating the Americans at its mouth, did build some huts on the northern branch, and did there open trade with the Flat-head and Kootanie Indians; and from those posts Mr. Thompson did indeed hasten down to the ocean, where he, however, found the citizens of the United States in full possession.

1807. Soon after the return of Lewis and Clarke, an effort was made by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain to fix the boundary between the possessions of the two Powers in America west of the Mississippi and the lakes. By the fifth article of the convention, agreed on at London in April, 1807, between Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, on the one part, and the Lords Holland and Auckland, on the other, it was stipulated that "a line drawn due north or south (as the case may require) from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, until it shall intersect the 49th parallel of north latitude, and, from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with the said parallel, shall be the dividing-line between his Majesty's territories and those of the United States, to the westward of the said lake, as far as their said respective territories extend in that quarter; and that the said line shall, to that extent, form the southern boundary of his Majesty's said territories and the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America, or to the territories belonging to or claimed by either party on the continent of America to the westward of the Stoney Mountains." This article was approved by both Governments; President Jefferson, nevertheless, wished that the *proviso* respecting the northwest coast should be omitted, as it * "could have little other effect than as an offensive intimation to Spain that the claims of the United States extend to the Pacific Ocean. However reasonable such claims may be, compared with those of others, it is impolitic, especially at the present moment, to strengthen Spanish jealousies of the United States, which it is probably an object with Great Britain to excite, by the clause in question." The convention, however, was not concluded; and no other negotiation, relative to boundaries west of the great lakes, took place between the British and American Governments until 1814.

A narrative of the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, compiled from the journals of those officers and of some of their men, was published at Philadelphia in 1814; the most material circumstances and discoveries, however, became generally known immediately after the return of the exploring party, and the information led to commercial enterprises on a large scale in the United States and in British America. Before noticing these enter-

* Letter of July 30th, 1807, from Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State of the United States, to Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney.

prises more particularly, it should be mentioned, that ever since the conclusion of the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1791, between the United States and Great Britain, a considerable trade had been carried on by Americans with the Indians inhabiting the countries about the Upper Mississippi and Lake Superior. The returns from this traffic were made exclusively in furs, which were transported to New York, and thence shipped for London or Canton; the business was conducted chiefly under the direction and by means of the funds of John Jacob Astor, a German merchant of large capital residing in New York; though many individuals in the western States and Territories of the republic were engaged in it on their own account, especially after the acquisition of Louisiana, which opened a much wider field for their exertions. Still, the greater portion of the furs sent from America were those collected by the British trading companies, which were continually extending their establishments westward, and even southward, within the supposed limits of the United States, to the annoyance of the citizens of that republic. To all these individuals and associations the discoveries of Lewis and Clarke presented new views of advantages, which each endeavored without delay to appropriate.

The British fur-traders made their first establishment beyond the Rocky Mountains in 1805. An expedition for this purpose had been contemplated by them in the preceding year, in consequence of information respecting the views of the American Government, obtained while Lewis and Clarke were spending the winter of 1804-5 at the Mandan town on the Mississippi; but it

* The statements in this paragraph are derived principally from D. W. Harmon's *Journal of his Voyages and Travels in the northern parts of America*, published at Andover, in Vermont, in 1820. Harmon was first a clerk, and afterwards a partner, in the Northwest Company, and for several years presided over all its establishments west of the Rocky Mountains. Some extracts from his journal may be here inserted.

Saturday, November 24, 1804.—Some people have just arrived from Montagne la Bispe, with a letter from Mr. Chaboullez, who informs me that two captains, Clarke and Lewis, with one hundred and eighty soldiers, have arrived at the Mandan village, on the Missouri River, which place is situated about three days' distance from the residence of Mr. Chaboullez. They have invited Mr. Chaboullez to visit them. It is said that, on their arrival, they hoisted the American flag, and informed the natives that their object was not to trade, but merely to explore the country; and that, as soon as the navigation shall open, they design to continue their route across the Rocky Mountains, and thence descend to the Pacific Ocean.

Wednesday, April 10, 1805.—While at Montagne la Bispe, Mr. Chaboullez induced me to consent to undertake a long and arduous tour of discovery. I am to leave that place about the beginning of June, accompanied by six or seven Canadians and two or three Indians. The first place at which we shall stop will be the Mandan village, on the Missouri River; thence we shall steer our course towards the Rocky Mountains, accompanied by a number of the Mandan Indians, who proceed in that direction every spring, to meet and trade with another tribe of Indians, who reside on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. [This journey I never undertook; a Mr. La Roque attempted to make this tour, but went no farther than the Mandan village.]

At page 281 he says: "The part of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, with which I am acquainted, has ever since the Northwest Company first made an establishment there, which was in 1805, gone by the name of New Caledonia," &c. In many parts of his work he speaks of Mr. Simon Frazer as having led the first party of traders beyond the Rocky Mountains in 1806.

A review of the work may be found in the *London Quarterly Review* for January, 1822.

1806. was not carried into effect until the spring of 1806, when Mr. Simon Frazer, a partner of the Northwest Company, established a trading-post on *Frazer's Lake*, near the 54th parallel, in the country since called *New Caledonia*.

The earliest attempts made by citizens of the United States, for similar purposes, were those of an association formed at St. Louis in 1808, called the *Missouri Fur Company*; at its head was an enterprising Spaniard, named Manuel Lisa, through whose exertions, chiefly, several trading-posts were, within the two ensuing years, established on the Upper Missouri, and one beyond the Rocky Mountains, on the head-waters of the Lewis, the southern branch of the Columbia. The post on the Lewis appears to have been the first ever formed by white men in the country drained by the Columbia; the enmity of the savages in its vicinity, and the difficulty of procuring a regular supply of food, however, obliged Mr. Henry, the superintendent, to abandon it in 1810.

1810. Another association, for the prosecution of the fur trade on the northwestern side of the continent, which was formed at New York in 1810, requires particular notice, as the transactions connected with it have assumed a character decidedly political. This association was called the *Pacific Fur Company*.* Its originator was John Jacob Astor, the German merchant above mentioned, on whose commercial sagacity and efficiency it would be needless to dilate. He was, in fact, the company; one-half of its shares were held, nominally at least, by other persons, but every measure was dictated by him, and carried into effect by means of his capital. His plan was to establish trading-posts on the Columbia and its branches, as well as on the Pacific coasts and the head-waters of the Missouri, which were to be supplied with the necessary articles, either by way of the latter river, or from a principal factory, to be founded at the mouth of the Columbia, whither all the furs collected at the other places were, at stated periods, to be brought. The principal factory was to receive goods by ships sent out annually from New York, which, having discharged their cargoes at the mouth of the Columbia, were to be reladen with furs for Canton, whence they would carry back to New York teas, silks, and other Chinese productions. It was also contemplated that the Russian settlements on

* The sketch of the history of the Pacific Company, which follows, has been derived from—

I. Letter from J. J. Astor to Mr. Adams, then Secretary of State, dated January 23, 1823, with documents annexed, published with President Monroe's message to Congress, of the 27th of the same month. Other letters, unpublished, from Mr. Astor, have also been examined, and many curious details have been received from him verbally.

II. *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains*: by Washington Irving; compiled chiefly from the papers of Mr. Astor. The work is too well known to require farther observations respecting it.

III. *Adventures on the Columbia River*: by Ross Cox. The author had been employed as a clerk in the Pacific Company, which he quitted for a similar situation under the Northwest Company; his book contains many details relative to the fur trade and its establishment in the region of the Columbia.

the Pacific should be furnished by the company's vessels with such foreign articles as they required, furs being taken in exchange; and, in order to effect this more completely, as well as to prevent the occurrence of difficulties, which might otherwise be anticipated, an agent was despatched to St. Petersburg, who concluded an arrangement securing to the Pacific Company, under certain conditions, the exclusive privilege of trading with the Russian American possessions. 1810.

For the execution of these plans, Mr. Astor engaged, as partners in the concern, a number of persons, nearly all Scotchmen, who had been long in the service of the Northwest Company, together with some Americans and Canadians, who were acquainted with the fur trade. These partners were to conduct the business in the west, under the direction of a general agent, chosen by them for five years; and they were to share among themselves one half of the profits, the other half being retained by Mr. Astor, who advanced all the funds, and superintended the affairs at New York. The persons required for the inferior offices and employments having been also engaged, the first party quitted New York for the Columbia in September, 1810, in the ship *Tonquin*, commanded by Jonathan Thorne; in January following, the second detachment set out from St. Louis, on its way across the continent, under the direction of Wilson Price Hunt, of New Jersey, who had been appointed general agent by the board of partners. The ship *Enterprise*, Captain Ebbetts, had also been sent in 1809 to the North Pacific, to make preparatory researches and inquiries among the Russian settlements, and on the coasts which were to be the scenes of the new company's operations.

The *Tonquin* arrived at the mouth of the Columbia in March, 1811; and, her goods and passengers having been there landed, she sailed towards the north in search of furs. Before her departure, a spot was chosen on the south bank of the river, eight miles from the ocean, as the site of the principal factory, which, in compliment to the originator of the enterprise, was named *Astoria*. In the course of the ensuing summer, the most essential buildings were erected, gardens were planted, trade was begun with the natives, a small vessel was built and launched, and every thing appeared to promise success to the establishment. 1811. March 23.

In July a detachment of persons in the service of the North-West Company arrived at Astoria, under the direction of Mr. Thompson, the astronomer of that association, who had left Montreal in the previous year, with the object of anticipating the new company in occupying the mouth of the Columbia. On their way down, they built huts and hoisted flags, and bestowed names on various spots, by way of *taking possession*, as they considered it, of the territory for their sovereign. They, however, arrived too late at the most important point; and were obliged to retrace their course to the northward, having been received and treated with great attention at the factory by their old friends, Messrs. McDougall, Mackay, and Stuart, the partners of the Pacific Company, then directing its affairs in the west. From the in-

1811. formation which has been obtained, it appears to be certain that by this party were established the first British trading-posts on the Columbia; and that they were, indeed, the first white men who ever navigated the northern branch of that river.

In the course of this summer, also, several trading-posts were established by the Pacific Fur Company in the interior of the country; of which, the principal was one situated at the confluence of a river, called the Okanagan, with the Columbia, about four hundred miles from the mouth of the latter. During the winter which followed, the people of Astoria were subjected to many discomforts, but nothing occurred calculated to lessen their hopes as to the ultimate success of the undertaking.

Meanwhile, the other party of the Pacific Company's men, proceeding from St. Louis, under Mr. Hunt, ascended the Missouri, to the country of the Arickara Indians, near the Great Bend of the river, and thence pursued their journey by land to the Rocky Mountains. After passing this ridge, near the 45th degree of latitude, they descended one of the branches of the Lewis, (probably that now called *Salmon River*;) to the Columbia, and reached Astoria in the spring of 1812, having undergone innumerable difficulties from cold, fatigue, and want of food. Scarcely had they arrived at the factory, when news was received of the destruction of the ship *Tonquin* and her whole crew, with the exception of the Indian interpreter, at one of the inlets near Nootka Sound: the crew were overpowered by the savages, who killed the greater part of them immediately, and the vessel was then blown up by the clerk and others who had taken refuge in the hold. This disaster was calculated to depress the hopes of the persons engaged in the enterprise; their courage, however, appears to have been undiminished, and they pursued their labors diligently, being confident that the company (that is to say, Mr. Astor) could bear much heavier pecuniary losses without injury to its credit.

1812. In May, 1812, the Astorians were still farther encouraged, by
May 9. the arrival of the ship *Beaver* from New York with supplies and reinforcements; and it was determined (unfortunately for the cause, as will afterwards appear) that Mr. Hunt should sail in her to the northern coasts, and visit the Russian settlements, in order to see what commercial intercourse could be carried on with them. He accordingly took his departure in that vessel in August, leaving the affairs of the factory under the direction of Mr. Duncan McDougall, one of the Scotch partners, who had been so long in the service of the Northwest Company.

1813. In January, 1813, the news of the declaration of war by the
January. United States against Great Britain reached Astoria, where it was brought by persons sent for the purpose from New York; and, in the course of June following, Mr. McTavish, one of the partners of the Northwest Company, arrived at the factory from Canada, bringing rumors of the approach of a British naval force to take possession of the mouth of the Columbia. These announcements appear to have been received with satisfaction by Mr. McDougall and his brother Britons, three of whom (including

Ross Cox, the author of *Six Years on the Columbia*, immediately quitted the service of the Pacific Company, and entered that of the rival association; while the others almost unanimously agreed to abandon the enterprise, unless they should speedily receive assistance and supplies from New York. 1813

From New York, however, nothing came. The ship *Lark* had been despatched by Mr. Astor with articles and men for Astoria; but she was wrecked near the coast of one of the Sandwich Islands, in the latter part of 1813. The Government of the United States had also determined, in consequence of Mr. Astor's representations, to send the frigate *Adams* to the north Pacific, for the protection of the infant settlement; but, just as she was about to sail from New York, it became necessary to transfer her crew to Lake Ontario, and the blockade of the American ports by British fleets rendered all farther efforts to convey succors to Astoria unavailing.

Soon after the partners of the Pacific Company had formed the resolution, as above mentioned, to abandon the concern unless they should receive assistance, Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, re- Aug. 30
turned to Astoria in the ship *Albatross*. He had spent the summer of 1812 in visiting the Russian settlements at Sitka, Unalashka, and Kodiak, and had collected a valuable cargo of furs, which were carried to Canton in the *Beaver*. Hunt, however, accompanied that ship no farther than to the Sandwich Islands, where he was informed of the war between the United States and Great Britain; and, being anxious to convey the news without delay to Astoria, he chartered the ship *Albatross* of Boston, which was then lying at Wahoo, and proceeded in her to the Columbia. He was at first astounded at the resolution adopted by the other partners, but he was at length induced to concur with them as to its propriety; and, after remaining a few days, he again sailed to the south Pacific, in the *Albatross*, for the pur- Aug. 30
pose of finding some ship to convey the furs, then stored in the factory, to Canton. At Nooahevali, (one of the Washington Islands, discovered by Ingraham in 1791,) he learned that a Nov.
British squadron, under Commodore Hillyer, was on its way to the Pacific, in order to occupy the mouth of the Columbia; upon receiving this news, he hastened to the Sandwich Islands, and, having there chartered the American brig *Pedlar*, he sailed in her for Astoria, where he arrived on the 28th of February, 1814.

The fate of the Pacific Company, and of its establishments in Northwest America, had, however, been decided ere the arrival of the *Pedlar* in the Columbia.

On the 7th of October a body of men in the service of the Oct. 7
Northwest Company came down the river to Astoria, under the direction of Messrs. McTavish and Stuart. They arrived without either ammunition or provisions, while the people of the factory, who nearly equalled them in number, were well supplied in every respect, and their fortifications and heavy guns would have enabled them to withstand any attacks which might have been anticipated under ordinary circumstances. The new comers, however, brought information, upon which the partners

1813. at Astoria could depend, and which proved to be perfectly correct, that a large armed ship, the *Isaac Todd*, had been fitted out at London, by the Northwest Company, and was on her way to the Columbia, under convoy of a frigate, *with the object of taking and destroying every thing American* in that quarter. Messrs. McTavish and Stuart, on communicating this news, to which they added accounts of the complete blockade of the coasts of the United States by British squadrons, at the same time proposed to purchase the whole of the establishments, furs, and other property of the Pacific Company, in the territory of the Columbia, at prices to be fixed by common consent: they also offered to engage in the service of the Northwest Company any of the persons attached to the American concern, at the same wages which they were then receiving, and to send back to the United States such as might not choose to be thus employed. To these propositions the partners at Astoria resolved to assent; and an agreement was accordingly signed, between them and the chiefs of the other
- Oct. 16. party, on the 16th of the month, by which "*all the establishments, furs, and property,*" above mentioned, were sold to the Northwest Company, for about forty thousand dollars, given in the shape of bills on Montreal.*

The business appears to have been managed, on the side of the Pacific Company, almost entirely by Mr. McDougall, whose conduct on many occasions, during the transaction, as well as afterwards, was such as to induce suspicions that he was actuated by improper motives of self-interest. It is, however, difficult to determine what other course ought to have been pursued by him and the other partners, under existing circumstances. They might, indeed, have held out their stockaded fort against the enemy, or have effected a retreat with their property to some place in the interior; but this would have been to no purpose, while they could expect neither to receive supplies of goods for trading from the United States, nor to send their furs for sale to Canton. Mr. Astor declares that he would have preferred the loss of the place and property by a fair capture to a sale which he considered disgraceful; and those who know him well are convinced that he speaks as he feels. But mercantile men are, in general, supposed to consider discretion among their agents as the better part of valor; and McDougall may have reasonably considered himself bound to act rather for the interests than for the glory of the Pacific Company.

- Dec. 1. While the business of the transfer of the furs and merchandise at Astoria was in progress, the British sloop of war *Raccoon* entered the Columbia, under the command of Captain Black, who had hastened thither in hope of securing a rich share of plunder by the capture of the fort and magazines of the Pacific Company. He found the flag of the United States waving over the

* This contract may be found at length in the American State Papers, edited by Lowrie and Franklin, (Miscellaneous,) vol. ii, page 1011. The fourth article contains a complete list of all "*the establishments, furs, and stock on hand,*" with their respective valuation; the *buildings* are valued at £200.

factory, which was surrendered, immediately on his appearance, by the chief agent McDougall; but the furs and goods which were to reward himself and his crew for their exertions, had become the property of their own fellow-subjects, and were then floating up the river in the barges of the Northwest Company. The captain of the Racoon could, therefore, only lower the flag of the United States, and hoist that of Britain over the factory, the name of which he at the same time, and with *due solemnity*, changed to Fort George. These duties being completed, he took his departure for the south.*

1813.

Dec. 12

Three months afterwards, (that is, on the 25th of February, 1814,) Mr. Hunt† arrived at the Columbia in the brig Peallar, which he had, as already stated, chartered for the purpose of conveying the property of the Pacific Company to Canton. He found Mr. McDougall in charge of the factory, not, however, as an agent of that company, but as a partner of the Northwest Company, into which he had been already admitted; and Hunt

1814
Feb. 24

* It will be interesting, if not useful, here to insert the account of the capture of Astoria, as related by Ross Cox, who received his information at the place, shortly after the event.

"Captain Black took possession of Astoria in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and rebaptized it by the name of 'Fort George.' He also insisted on having an inventory taken of the valuable stock of furs, and all other property purchased from the American company, with a view to the adoption of judicial proceedings in England for the recovery of the value from the Northwest Company; but he subsequently relinquished this idea, and we heard no more about his claims. The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia knew well that Great Britain and America were distinct nations, and that they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougall and McLavish, the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the Racoon, when they quickly discovered to be one of King George's fishing sloop, they repaired on board to the fort, and requested an audience of Mr. McDougall. He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance, and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Consequently, the principal chief of the Chinooks, (whose daughter McDougall had married,) thereupon addressed him in a long speech; in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors, and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves, and that, as they (the Americans) were the first white men who settled in their country, and treated the Indians like good relations, they had resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods close to the wharf, from whence they would be able with their guns and arrows to shoot all the men that should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and rifles. This proposition was uttered with an earnestness of manner that admitted no doubt of its sincerity; two armed boats from the Racoon were approaching, and, had the people in the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man in them would have been desroyed by an invisible enemy. Mr. McDougall thanked them for their friendly offer; but added, that notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him or any of his people, and, therefore, requested them to throw by their war shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They at first seemed astonished at this answer; but, on assuring them in the most positive manner that he was under no apprehensions, they consented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterwards declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. McDougall's wishes; for when they observed Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bow of port on the flag staff, and hoist the British ensign after changing the name of the fort, they remarked that, however we might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves; and they were not convinced of their mistake until the sloop of war had departed without taking any prisoners."

† Mr. Hunt is now the postmaster at St. Louis.

1814. had, therefore, merely to close the concerns of the former association in that part of America, and to receive the bills given in payment for its effects. Having done this, he re-embarked in the *Pedlar*; and, taking with him three of his former companions in trade, he sailed for the United States, by way of Canton. Of the other persons who had been connected with this enterprise, some engaged in the service of the Northwest Company, and some returned across the continent to the United States.

Such was the termination of the Astoria enterprise, for no attempt has been since made by the Pacific Company, or by any of its members, to form a trading establishment on the northwest coast of America. The scheme was most wisely projected, and its failure can scarcely be attributed to any circumstances, the occurrence of which might have been anticipated when its execution was begun. That ships might be lost at sea, and that the adventurers might suffer from cold, or hunger, or the attacks of savages—casualties such as those were to be expected, and provision was made against them; but in 1810, when the *Tonquin* sailed from New York, no one anticipated that before the end of two years the United States would have been at war with the most powerful maritime nation in the world. The war traversed every part of the plan. Communications between the ports of the United States and the Columbia by sea, were rendered difficult and uncertain; while those by land were of little advantage, and were liable to interruption by the Northwest Company; besides which, the furs could no longer be transported with safety to Canton. Moreover, all the most active and skilful persons in the employment of the Pacific Company, except Mr. Hunt, were British subjects, whose feelings of attachment for their native land and its cause naturally rendered them discontented, when they were thus placed, in a manner, conspicuously among the ranks of its enemies. If Mr. Astor may be considered as having acted imprudently in any part of his arrangement, it was certainly in engaging so large a proportion of persons unconnected with the United States by birth, citizenship, or feelings, in the formation of establishments which were so essentially American in character and objects. That those establishments should have fallen, must be a subject of regret to every American, as there can be little if any doubt that, had they been maintained until the termination of the war, the enterprise would have succeeded, and the whole region drained by the Columbia would now be in the quiet and undisputed possession of the people of the United States.

CHAPTER IX.

Restoration of the settlement at the mouth of the Columbia to the United States, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent, and subsequent assertions of the British Government with regard to that act—Convention of October, 1818, between Great Britain and the United States, relative to the countries west of the Rocky Mountains—Florida treaty between Spain and the United States, concluded in 1819—Remarks on the convention of 1790—Proceedings in the Congress of the United States relative to the northwest coasts, in the year 1820 and in subsequent years—Measures adopted by Great Britain with regard to those territories, in 1821—Act of Parliament establishing jurisdiction of British courts throughout the Indian countries of North America—Coalition of the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest Companies—Decree of the Russian Emperor in 1821, and negotiations between the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, for the settlement of their several claims—Conventions of 1821 between Russia and the United States, and of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain—Renewal, in 1827, of the convention of 1818 between Great Britain and the United States—Negotiation between the American and the Russian Governments relative to the renewal of the fourth article of the convention of 1821.

THE capture of Astoria was not known to the plenipotentiaries 1811 of the United States at Ghent, when they signed the treaty of December 21, 1814. That treaty contained no allusion to boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods; the subject, however, had been discussed during the negotiation, and the American ministers were instructed by their Government to consent to no claim on the part of Great Britain to the post at the mouth of the Columbia, or to any other territory south of the line forming the northern boundary of the United States, which was considered as running along the 49th parallel of latitude. The representatives of the Republic at Ghent accordingly proposed that the said parallel should form the dividing line between the British territories on the north and those of the United States on the south, to the westward of the Lake of the Woods, "as far as the said respective territories extend in that quarter: *Provided*, That nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America, or to the territories belonging to, or claimed by, either party on the continent of America, to the westward of the Stony Mountains." The British accepted the proposition; but they insisted on adding to it a stipulation, that their subjects should at all times have access through the territories of the United States to the Mississippi, and the right of navigating that river; which being rejected by the Americans, the subject of boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods was dropped.

By the first article of the treaty of Ghent, it was nevertheless agreed, "*that all territory, places, and possessions whatsoever,*

* See President Monroe's message to Congress of April 11, 1815, with the documents annexed; also, the *statement* presented by the British ministers at London to Mr. Giddings, on the 26th of December, 1826, among the documents accompanying President Adams's message to the House of Representatives of March 15, 1828.

1815. *taken by either party from the other during or after the war," except certain islands in the Atlantic claimed by both, "should be restored without delay;"* and Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of State of the United States, accordingly announced to the British chargé d'affaires at Washington, in July, 1815, the intention of the President to cause the post at the mouth of the Columbia to be re-occupied immediately. No measure for that purpose was, however, taken until the latter part of 1817, when Mr. J. B. Prevost and Captain J. Biddle, the commander of the sloop of war *Ontario*, were jointly commissioned to proceed to the mouth of the Columbia, and there to assert the claim of the United States to the sovereignty of the country, in a friendly and peaceful manner, and without the employment of force. Mr. Astor had, in the mean time, made several applications to the Government for its aid towards the re-establishment of his factories in that quarter; and it was chiefly in consequence of his solicitations that these measures were adopted.

The *Ontario* sailed from New York for the Pacific on the 4th of October, 1817, under the command of Captain Biddle, carrying out also the other commissioner, Mr. Prevost. In the following month Mr. Bagot, the British envoy at Washington, addressed to the Secretary of State some inquiries respecting the destination of that ship, and the objects of her voyage; and having been informed on those points, he, in a succeeding communication, remonstrated against any attempt by the United States to occupy the country adjacent to the Columbia, contending that the whole region belonged to Great Britain, "having been early taken possession of in his Majesty's name, and been ever since considered as part of his Majesty's dominions;" and that the establishment there made by American citizens had been voluntarily abandoned, "under an agreement with the Northwest Company, which had purchased their effects, and had ever since retained peaceable possession of the coast."

1818. As soon as the news of the departure of the *Ontario* and of the objects of her voyage reached London, Lord Bathurst, the British Secretary for the Colonial Department, despatched an order to the agents of the Northwest Company at the mouth of the Columbia, directing them to give due facility for the re-occupation of that settlement by the officers of the United States, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent; and a similar order was sent from the Admiralty to the commander of the British naval forces in the Pacific. About the same time, Lord Castlereagh proposed to Mr. Rush, the American envoy at London, that the question respecting the possession of the post on the Columbia should be referred to commissioners. To this Mr. Rush objected, on the simple grounds that the spot was in the possession of the United States before the war, and that it fell by belligerent capture into the hands of Great Britain during the war; which facts being notorious, there could be no doubt that it should be restored agreeably to the treaty. Lord Castlereagh, upon this, admitted the full right of the Americans to be reinstated, and to be the party in possession while treating of the title; although he

expressed his regret at the manner adopted by the United States to obtain the restitution, which he feared might occasion some difficulty. Mr. Rush assured him that the intentions of the American Government were in every respect amicable, and that particular care had been taken to avoid all cause of ill feeling. 1818. February.

The Ontario entered the Pacific early in 1818; and it was agreed between the two commissioners, that Captain Biddle should proceed in her to the Columbia, and take possession of the territory, while Mr. Prevost should remain in Chili to attend to some other business. Conformably with this arrangement, Biddle sailed to the Columbia, which he entered in August; and on the 19th of that month he, without any opposition, displayed the flag of the United States, and asserted their claims to the river and the surrounding territory; after which ceremonies, he returned to the South Pacific.

In the mean time Commodore Bowles, commanding the British naval forces in the river of La Plata, received an order from his Government to aid in the surrender of the post on the Columbia to any American officer who might be commissioned to receive it. This order was transmitted, with directions to see it executed, to Captain Sheriff, the senior officer of the British ships in the Pacific, who detached Captain F. Hickey in the frigate Blossom for that purpose; and the latter gentleman, meeting Mr. Prevost at Valparaiso, offered him a passage to the northwest coast, with the object of effecting the proposed transfer. The American commissioner accepted the offer, and embarked in the Blossom in August. On the 1st of October the ship entered the Columbia; and on the 6th, the settlement of Fort George, or Astoria, was surrendered to Mr. Prevost, in due form, by Captain Hickey, and James Keith, the superintendent for the Northwest Company at this place. July.

That no reservation of rights on the part of Great Britain was made on this occasion, the following copies of the acts of delivery and acceptance, the only documents which passed, will fully show. The act of delivery is as follows:

"In obedience to the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, signified in a despatch from the right honorable the Earl Bathurst, addressed to the partners or agents of the Northwest Company, bearing date the 27th of January, 1818, and in obedience to a subsequent order, dated the 26th of July, from W. H. Sheriff, Esq., captain of his Majesty's ship *Andromache*, we, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the Government of the United States, through its agent, J. B. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River. Given under our hands, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th day of October, 1818.—P. HICKEY, Captain of his Majesty's ship *Blossom*.

J. KEITH, of the Northwest Company."

* The following account of the restoration of the settlement at the mouth of the Columbia to the United States, is taken from Mr. Prevost's letter to the Secretary of State, written from Monterey, November 11, 1818, and published with President Monroe's message to Congress of April 17, 1822.

1818. To which Mr. Prevost returned this acceptance :

"I do hereby acknowledge to have this day received, in behalf of the Government of the United States, the possession of the settlement designated above, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent. Given under my hand, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th of October, 1818.

"J. B. PREVOST, *Agent for the United States.*"

It was nevertheless maintained by the British plenipotentiaries at London, in 1826, during the negotiation between their Government and that of the United States relative to the northwest territories—that the restitution of Astoria could not have been demanded as a right by the Americans, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent, because the place was not a national possession, nor a military post, and it was not taken during war; but that, in order to prevent any imputation on the good faith of Great Britain, the most liberal extension had been given to the terms of the treaty; and, in 1818, the purchase which the British company had made in 1813, was restored to the United States; but that particular care was taken, on the occasion of this restitution, to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession. Whether or not Astoria were a *national possession*, according to the rules of civilized nations in general, it is unnecessary to inquire, as there can be no doubt that it was such, agreeably to the principles always supported by Great Britain. In proof of this, nothing more is necessary than to repeat, that the chief cause of the dispute between that Power and Spain, in 1790, was the occupation by Spain of a territory on the northwest coast, which was supposed to have previously become the property of British subjects. Whether the establishment of the Columbia were a *military post*, or not, was of no consequence, as the treaty provided for the restoration of "*all territory, places, and possessions, whatever, taken by either party from the other during the war;*" and that the said establishment was so *taken* by the British from the Americans, has been already sufficiently shown. The flag of the United States was flying over the fort at Astoria, on the 12th of December, 1813, when the British ship *Raccoon* appeared in the Columbia; and it was hauled down by the commander of that vessel, after the surrender of the place by the chief agent, McDougall. The sale of the effects of the Pacific Fur Company to the British traders, at a moment when an overpowering force was daily expected, cannot be, in justice, regarded in any other light than as a *capitulation*, such as are frequently made during war, for the purpose of preserving lives or property, which might otherwise be destroyed. Circumstances precisely similar might have occurred, if Astoria had been situated in Virginia or Maine; but would the British have been thereby justified in retaining the sovereignty of the place?

In proof of the assertion that particular care had been taken on the occasion of this restitution "to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain," the British plenipotentiaries cited—first, a despatch from Lord Castle-

reagh to the British envoy at Washington, dated February 4, 1818, in which he says: "You will observe, that whilst this Government is not disposed to contest with the American Government the point of possession, as it stood in the Columbia River, at the moment of the rupture, they are not prepared to admit the validity of the title of the Government of the United States to this settlement. In signifying, therefore, to Mr. Adams the full acquiescence of your Government in the re-occupation of the limited position which the United States held in that river at the breaking out of the war, you will, at the same time, assert in suitable terms the claim of Great Britain to that territory, upon which the American settlement must be considered an encroachment." 1818

The plenipotentiaries add, that "this instruction was executed *verbally* by the person to whom it was addressed;" and they next cite the despatch from Earl Bathurst to the partners or agents of the Northwest Company, mentioned in the act of delivery, of which the following copy is taken from their statement:

"DOWNING STREET, *January 27, 1818.*

"Intelligence having been received that the United States sloop of war Ontario has been sent by the American Government to establish a settlement on the Columbia River, which was held by that State on the breaking out of the last war, I am to acquaint you that it is the Prince Regent's pleasure, (without, however, admitting the right of that Government to the possession in question,) that, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, due facility should be given to the re-occupation of the said settlement by the officers of the United States; and I am to desire that you would contribute, as much as lies in your power, to the execution of his Royal Highness's commands. I have, &c. &c.
"BATHURST."

"The above documents," conclude the plenipotentiaries, with reference to the two despatches and the act of delivery, which are simply inserted as above in their statement, without remark, "put the case of the restoration of Fort Astoria in too clear a light to require farther observation;" and certainly nothing more appears to be wanting, in order "*to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain.*" The only communication received by the American agent on the occasion of the surrender of the post, is explicit: "*We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the Government of the United States the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia.*" The restoration is made positively and unconditionally, by persons duly commissioned, in obedience to the command of the head of the British nation; and the meaning of this public act cannot be affected by any private communications which the British ministers may have addressed to their own agents. With those private despatches the United States have no concern; and the attempt to represent them as reservations of right on the part of Great Britain to the very territory which she was then restoring to the United States in pursuance of a treaty, is alike at variance with the common sense

1818. and the common morals of the day. No arguments are required to show that, if such reservations were allowable, all engagements would be nugatory, and all faith at an end. With regard to the protest said to have been conveyed *verbally* by the British envoy at Washington to the American Secretary of State, Mr. Gallatin justly observed, in his reply, that "it is not declared how the communication was received, nor whether the Government of the United States consented to accept the restitution with the reservation." It is, moreover, by no means consonant with the customs of civilized nations, at present, to treat *verbally* on points so important as those of territorial sovereignty; or to consider as sufficient, protests and exceptions made in that manner, and adduced long afterwards, without acknowledgment or evidence from the party to which they are said to have been addressed.

Immediately after the completion of this transfer, Mr. Keith, the agent of the factory, presented a letter to Mr. Prevost, containing inquiries—whether the Government of the United States would insist upon the relinquishment of Fort George to any American citizens, before the final decision of the question as to the sovereignty of the territory; and whether, in the event of such decision being in favor of the United States, their Government would indemnify the company for any extension of business, or ameliorations, which might in the *interim* be made. Mr. Prevost, having no instructions on those points, could only reply as he did, to the effect that his Government would doubtless, in any event, satisfy such claims on the part of the Northwest Company as should be justified by the usages of nations.*

While these measures for the restitution of Astoria were in progress,† a negotiation was carried on at London between the British and American Governments, one of the objects of which was to settle definitively the boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods, left undetermined by the treaty of Ghent. Messrs. Rush and Gallatin, the plenipotentiaries of the United States, proposed that the dividing-line should be drawn from the northwestern extremity of that lake (north or south, as the case might be) to the 49th parallel of latitude, and from the point of intersection westward to the Pacific; it being expressed, that the agreement was intended only for the parties themselves, without reference or prejudice to the claims of any other Power. To this Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, the British commissioners, would consent only in part; and they endeavored to annex the condition, that British subjects should have access to the Mississippi, (the

* Agreeably to the plan and description of Fort George, sent by Mr. Prevost to the Department of State, but not published with his letter, the factory consisted (in 1818) of a stockade, enclosing a parallelogram of one hundred and fifty feet by two hundred and fifty feet, extending, in its greatest length, from northwest to southeast. Within this enclosure were all the buildings attached to the establishment, such as dwelling-houses, stores, mechanics' shops, &c. On the fort were mounted two 18-pounders, four 4-pounders, two 6-pound cohorns, and seven swivels. The number of persons belonging to the factory, besides a few women and children, was sixty-five; of whom twenty-three were whites, twenty-six Sandwich Islanders, and the remainder persons of mixed blood from Canada.

† President Monroe's message of December 29, 1818, and accompanying documents.

sources of which lie south of the said parallel,) and the liberty of navigating that river to the sea. The Americans having, however, positively refused to subscribe to such a condition, it was not pressed farther; and an article was agreed on, by which the 49th parallel was fixed as the dividing-line, from the Lake of the Woods, or the meridian of its northwest extremity, to the Rocky Mountains. 1818.

The claims of the respective nations to territories bordering on the Pacific were then discussed separately. Messrs. Rush and Gallatin cited, in support of those of the United States, the facts of the discovery of the Columbia, of its first exploration from its source to the ocean, and of the formation of the first establishments in the country through which it flows, by American citizens; they "did not assert that the United States had a perfect right to this country," but they "insisted that their claim was at least good against Great Britain." Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, on the other hand, affirmed that the discoveries of British navigators, especially those of Cook, and purchases made from the natives south of the Columbia, (when and by whom they did not state,) had given to Great Britain claims in that part of America superior to any which could be deduced from the alleged discoveries and establishments of citizens of the United States; "they made no formal proposition for a boundary, but intimated that the Columbia was the most convenient that could be adopted; and they would agree to none which did not give them the harbor at the mouth of that river, in common with the United States." As the pretensions of the parties were more fully developed, it became more probable that they would not agree upon any arrangement for the partition of the country west of the Rocky Mountains; and it was at length determined—that all territories claimed by the United States or by Great Britain, between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, should, with their harbors, bays, and rivers, be free and open for ten years to the vessels, subjects, or citizens of both nations; it being, at the same time, expressly understood that the said agreement was not to be construed to affect or prejudice the claims of either party, or of any other Power, to any portion of those territories. Oct.

This compromise was, perhaps, the wisest which could have been made at the time, considering that neither of the parties had, or pretended to have, a perfect title to any portion of the territories in question, and there was then no probability that an arrangement would be effected respecting those territories between either, and the third or principal claimant, Spain. The convention could not have been considered unfavorable to the United States, as the British Government had previously given orders for the restoration of the important post at the mouth of the Columbia, which had been taken from their citizens during the war. There was every reason to suppose that this post would be immediately

* See the second and third articles of the convention of 1818 between the United States and Great Britain, in the Laws and in the Diplomatic Code of the United States; and in the Appendix [F] to this memoir.

1818. re-occupied by those to whom it belonged, and that the power and population of the Americans in the northwest side of the continent would thenceforth be constantly increasing.

With regard to the assertion by the British commissioners of claims of Great Britain, founded on discoveries and purchases of her subjects on the northwest coasts, it is scarcely necessary to repeat, that neither Cook nor any other British navigator discovered any part of those coasts south of the 49th degree of latitude, the Spaniards having explored them all before they were seen by the people of any other civilized nation. Nor does history furnish accounts of any acquisition of territory from the natives in that quarter by British subjects, except in the case of Drake, whose acceptance of the "crown, sceptre, and dignity" of the country about Port San Francisco, in 1579, the commissioners could not have intended to urge seriously, in 1818, as the basis of a claim to the possession of the region drained by the Columbia.

Jan. 5. The Government of the United States was, in the same year, engaged in a negotiation with that of Spain, in which the question of territorial limits on the northwest side of America was also discussed. Upon this subject the Spanish minister, Don Luis de Onís, began by declaring that "the right and dominion of the Crown of Spain to the northwest coast of America, as high as the Californias, is certain and indisputable; the Spaniards having explored it as far as the 47th degree, in the expedition under Juan de Fuca, in 1592, and in that under Admiral Fonté, to the 55th degree, in 1640. The dominion of Spain in these vast regions being thus established, and her rights of discovery, conquest, and possession being never disputed, she could scarcely possess a property founded on more respectable principles, whether of the law of nations, of public law, or of any others which serve as a basis to such acquisitions as compose all the independent kingdoms and states of the earth."* On these assertions, (each of which was calculated to excite a smile,) the American Secretary of State, Mr. J. Q. Adams, who conducted the negotiation on the part of his Government, did not think proper to offer any remarks; and the origin, extent, and value of the claims of Spain to territories in Northwest America, remained unquestioned during the discussion.

1819.
Feb. 22. This negotiation was soon broken off; it was, however, renewed in October, 1818, after the conclusion of the convention between the United States and Great Britain; and it was terminated on the 22d of February, 1819, by the signature of a treaty generally called the *Florida Treaty*,† in which the southern and southwestern limits of the United States were definitively fixed. The Spaniards ceded Florida to the Americans, who, at the same time, relinquished all pretensions to the country west of the river Sabine; and it was agreed that a line drawn from the source of

* See message and documents sent by President Monroe to Congress, February 22, 1819.

† See the third article of the Florida Treaty, in the Laws and the Diplomatic Code of the United States, and in the Appendix [F] to this memoir.

the river Arkansas, north or south, as the case might be, to the 42d parallel of latitude, and thence along that parallel westward to the Pacific, should form the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and the southern boundary of those of the United States on the western side of the continent—"his Catholic Majesty ceding to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to any territories north of the said line." The American plenipotentiary proposed the 41st parallel as the boundary; but the Spaniards refused to admit it, fearing, no doubt, that a portion of the Rio del Norte, or the Colorado, or of some other river flowing through their dominions, might thus be included within the limits of the United States, whose citizens would not fail in such case to claim the right of navigating the stream to the sea. The most natural and convenient boundary would have been a line drawn along the summits of the *Snowy Mountains*, which extend in a continuous chain from a point in the Rocky Mountains, near the 43d degree of latitude, westward to the Pacific, where they terminate at Cape Mendocino, near the 40th degree.

Before proceeding farther, it will be proper to inquire into the nature and value of the claims thus ceded by Spain to the United States; for which purpose it will be requisite to look back to the convention of 1790 between the former Power and Great Britain.

On analysing the convention of 1790, it will be found that—

The *first* and *second* articles consist of engagements for the immediate performance of certain specified acts, by one or both of the parties, as the case might require; which acts were duly performed.

The *third* article is a declaration of rights, admitted to be equally possessed by both parties, to navigate and fish in the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and to trade with the natives, or to make settlements on the coasts of those seas in places not previously occupied.

The *fourth*, *fifth*, and *sixth* articles are devoted to the exposition of certain limitations and restrictions with regard to the exercise of those rights, which the parties mutually consent to observe, for the sake of peace and good understanding between themselves, without reference to any other nation.

The two remaining articles contain engagements respecting the ratification of the agreement, and the mode of proceeding to be observed by each party in case of infraction by the officers of the other.

Nothing is expressed with regard to the *period* during which the stipulations are to remain in force. Whether either of the parties could have withdrawn from them during peace, without a breach of good faith, it is needless here to inquire; but there can be no doubt that the restrictions and limitations would cease on the breaking out of war between the two countries, and that they could not be considered as again in force until after a formal renewal of the engagement. Spain declared war against Great Britain in October, 1796; and, since that period, the only arrangement which has been made between those Powers for the renewal of former agreements is contained in the *first* of the two

1819. additional articles to the treaty of Madrid, of July 5, 1814. That article is as follows: "It is agreed, that during the negotiation of a new treaty of commerce, Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with Spain, upon the same conditions as those which existed previously to 1796; all the treaties of commerce which at that period subsisted between the two nations being hereby ratified and confirmed." That this article related *only to treaties of commerce, and between Great Britain and Spain only*, without reference to the possessions of either party out of Europe, is clear; for, in the first place, no commerce had ever been allowed by treaty, between either party or its colonies and the colonies of the other; and, secondly, another article in the same treaty of Madrid provides, that "in the event of the commerce of the Spanish American colonies being opened to foreign nations, his Catholic Majesty promises that Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with those possessions as the most favored nations." Moreover, that the convention of 1790 should be considered as a commercial treaty between Spain and Great Britain, is impossible, seeing that one of its most clearly expressed objects was to prevent British subjects from carrying on any commerce with the Spanish American dominions.

These considerations appear to be sufficient to show that the convention of 1790 expired in 1796, and that it had not been renewed when Spain ceded to the United States all her rights to territories on the western side of America north of the 42d parallel. The restrictions and limitations which the parties to that convention imposed upon themselves in 1790, therefore, disappeared in 1796; and the rights of each were afterwards to be regulated only according to the general law of nations. Before the convention was concluded, the rights of Spain to the territory drained by the Columbia were undoubtedly stronger, agreeably to the law of nations, than those of any other Power. While the convention subsisted, neither party could acquire absolute sovereignty over any spot in that territory, even by occupation, and no attempt at occupation was made by Great Britain; so that, on the expiration of the convention, the rights of Spain became again stronger than those of any other Power. Between 1796 and 1819, the people of the United States had explored the region of the Columbia, and had established themselves on that river, before any attempt either to explore or to occupy the country had been made by British subjects. The American settlements taken by the British during war had been restored, agreeably to the treaty of peace; and on the 22d of February, 1819, when all the titles of Spain were transferred to the United States, Great Britain possessed no other just claims with regard to the country drained by the Columbia, than those derived from the convention of October previous; while the rights of the Americans were thenceforth founded on the bases of priority of discovery and priority of occupation.

The British Government has, however, positively refused to admit that the convention of 1790 has been abrogated, or that Spain could convey to the United States any other rights than

those which were secured to her by that convention. In the *statement* presented by the British plenipotentiaries to the American minister, during the negotiations at London in 1826, it is declared—that all arguments and pretensions on the part of Great Britain or of Spain, whether resting on priority of discovery, or upon any other ground, were definitively set at rest by the convention of 1790, which opened all parts of the northwest coast of America to them both, for all purposes of commerce and settlement, and all the waters to be freely navigated by the vessels and subjects of both—that the rights of Spain having been conveyed to the United States by the Florida treaty, in 1819, the United States necessarily succeeded to the limitations by which those rights were defined, and to the obligations under which they were to be exercised—and that Great Britain could not be expected to release those countries from the obligations and limitations contracted towards herself, merely because the rights of the party originally bound had been transferred to a third Power. In order to sustain these propositions, it was assumed, and attempts were made, as already stated, to prove—that the United States possessed no other claims to the countries in question than those derived from Spain in 1819—that the Americans were not the first to enter the Columbia River,* nor to explore the region through which it flows,† nor to make settlements on its banks—and that the restitution of Astoria was accompanied by an express reservation of the rights of Great Britain to the sovereignty of the surrounding country.‡

The Florida treaty was not ratified until nearly two years after its signature by the plenipotentiaries; and before another year had elapsed, the authority of Spain had ceased in every part of America contiguous to the United States. In 1828, a treaty of limits was concluded between the United States and Mexico, by which the line of boundary agreed on with Spain, in 1819, was admitted as separating the territories of the two republics, Mexico taking the place of Spain. The provisions for running and marking the said line have, however, not as yet been complied with by the Mexican Government.

In December, 1820, after the ratification of the Florida treaty, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, on the motion of Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, “that an inquiry should be made as to the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and as to the expediency of occupying the Columbia River.” The committee to which this resolution was referred, presented a long Report, drawn up by Mr. Floyd, containing a sketch of the history of colonization in America, an account of the fur trade in the northern and north-western sections of the continent, and a description of the country claimed by the United States in those directions; from all which are drawn the conclusions—that the whole territory of America bordering upon the Pacific from the 41st degree of latitude to the

1819.

1820.
Dec. 19.1821.
Jan. 20.

* See page 138.

† See page 153.

‡ See page 166.

1821. 53d, if not to the 60th, belonged of right to the United States, in virtue of the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, of the late acquisition of the Spanish titles, and of the discoveries and settlements of American citizens—that the trade of those countries in furs and other articles, and the fisheries on their coasts, might be rendered highly productive—and that these advantages might be secured to citizens of the United States exclusively, by establishing “small trading-guards” on the most northeastern point of the Missouri, and at the mouth of the Columbia, and favoring emigration to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, not only from the United States, but also from China. The committee thereupon reported “a bill for the occupation of the Columbia, and the regulation of the trade with the Indians in the territories of the United States.”

Without making any remarks upon the contents of this Report, it may be observed with regard to the bill, that its terms are directly at variance with the provisions of the third article of the convention of October, 1818, between the United States and Great Britain; inasmuch as the Columbia could not possibly be *free and open to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of both those nations*, if it were *occupied* by either. The bill was suffered to lie on the table of the House of Representatives during the remainder of the session. The subject was again brought before Congress in the ensuing year, and an estimate was obtained from the Navy Commissioners of the expense of transporting cannon, ammunition, and stores to the Columbia; but no further action was taken on the matter, either in that or the next session of the Legislature of the Union.

In the mean time, important measures with respect to the northwest territories of America had been adopted and enforced by the British and the Russian Governments.

The enmity subsisting between the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest Companies was for many years displayed only in words, or in the commission of trifling injuries by each party against the other. At length, however, in 1814, a regular war broke out, and was for some time openly carried on between them. The scene of the hostilities was the territory on the Red River, contiguous to the frontiers of the United States, in which a colony of Scotch highlanders was established in 1812, by Lord Selkirk, in virtue of a grant of the country from the Hudson's Bay Company. The validity of that grant was denied by the Northwest Company, to which the colony had proved injurious, as the supplies of provisions for the use of the northwest posts had been before obtained almost wholly from the Red River lands. The consequences were disputes and various acts of violence, until, finally, in 1814, the Scotchmen were driven away, and their houses were destroyed by their opponents. The colony was re-established in the following year; after which, the hostilities were renewed, posts were taken and burnt by each party, and on the 19th of June, 1816, a battle was fought, in which the Scotchmen were routed; their governor, Mr. Semple, and seventeen of his followers, being killed.

These affairs were brought before the British Parliament in 1821. June, 1819; and two years afterwards, a compromise was effected between the rival companies, through the intervention of the Colonial Department, by which they were united into one body, under the name of the *Hudson's Bay Company*: an Act being at the same time, and in connexion with the arrangement, passed by Parliament, on the authority of which the trade of all the Indian territories in northern America owned or claimed by Great Britain was granted exclusively to that company for twenty-one years.

By this act, "for regulating the fur trade, and establishing a criminal and civil jurisdiction in certain parts of North America," the King was authorized to make grants, or give "licenses to any body corporate, company, or person, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all parts of North America, not being parts of the territories heretofore granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, or of any of his Majesty's provinces, or of territories belonging to the United States;" it being, however, provided—that no such grant or license was to be given for a longer period than twenty-one years—that no grant or license of exclusive trade in the part of America west of the Rocky Mountains, which was, by the convention of 1818 with the United States, to remain free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations, should be used to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizens of the United States engaged in such trade—and that no British subject should trade in the said territories west of the Rocky Mountains, without such license or grant. Courts of judicature established in Upper Canada were empowered to take cognizance of all causes within the above described parts of America, as also within those belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company; and justices of the peace, or persons specially commissioned for the purpose, were to determine causes, and to execute and enforce the orders and judgments of the aforesaid courts, in different parts of those regions; they being also authorized to commit to custody, and to convey to Upper Canada for trial, any person refusing to obey such orders and judgments. The justices of the peace might likewise be empowered to hold courts in the Indian countries, for trial of minor offences and of civil causes in which the amount in issue should not exceed two hundred pounds.

Immediately after the passage of this act, the coalition of the two companies took place; and the Hudson's Bay Company received grants for exclusive trade in all the territories north of Canada, and of the United States, not already belonging to it, as also in those west of the Rocky Mountains, under the conditions expressed in the act. Persons in the service of the company were likewise commissioned as justices of the peace, and the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada was rendered effective as far as the shores of the Pacific; no exception in that respect being made by the terms of the act, with regard to any of the territories in which licenses for trade could be granted.

The Russians were at the same period endeavoring to extend their dominion over the coasts of the north Pacific, by means more arbitrary, though less effective, as the result proved.

1821. On the 8th of July, 1819, the charter of the Russian-American Company was renewed for twenty years, by the Emperor Alexander; and on the 4th of September, 1821, an imperial *ukase*, or edict, was issued at Saint Petersburg, by which the whole west coast of America north of the 51st parallel, and the whole east coast of Asia north of the latitude of 45 degrees 50 minutes, and all the adjacent and intervening islands, were declared to belong exclusively to Russia; foreigners being prohibited, under heavy penalties, from approaching within a hundred miles of any of those territories, except in cases of extreme necessity.
1822. This *ukase* was communicated to the Government of the United States by the Chevalier de Poletica, Russian envoy at Washington, between whom and Mr. J. Q. Adams, the American Secretary of State, a correspondence took place on the subject. Mr. Adams began by expressing the astonishment of the President at these claims and assumptions of the Russian Government, and desired to know upon what circumstances they were founded.
- Feb. 11. Feb. 25. Feb. 28. To this the envoy replied by a long communication, containing a sketch (generally erroneous) of the discoveries of his countrymen on the northwest coast of America, which he insisted to have extended southward as far as the 49th degree of latitude; he defended the assumption of the 55th parallel as the southern limit of the possessions of his Sovereign, upon the ground that this line was midway between the mouth of the Columbia, where the Americans had formed a settlement, and New Archangel, the most southern Russian establishment; and he finally maintained that his Government would be justifiable in exercising the rights of sovereignty over the whole of the Pacific north of the said parallel, inasmuch as that section of the sea was bounded on both sides by Russian territories, and was thus in fact a *close sea*.
- Mar. 30. The Secretary of State, in return, asserted that "from the period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation, their vessels had freely navigated those seas; and the right to navigate them was a part of that independence, as also the right of their citizens to trade, even in arms and munitions of war, with the aboriginal natives of the northwest coast of America, who were not under the territorial jurisdiction of other nations." He denied *in toto* the claim of the Russians to any part of America south of the 55th degree of latitude, on the ground that this parallel was declared in the charter* of the Russian-American

* The first article of the charter or privilege granted by the Emperor Paul to the Russian-American Company, on the 8th of July, 1799, is as follows:

"In virtue of the discovery by Russian navigators of a part of the coast of America in the northeast, beginning from the 55th degree of latitude, and of chains of islands extending from Kamschatka, northward towards America, and southward towards Japan, Russia has acquired the right of possessing those lands; and the said company is authorized to enjoy all the advantages of industry, and all the establishments upon the said coast of America in the northeast, from the 55th degree of latitude to Beering's Strait, and beyond it, as also upon the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, and the others situated in the eastern Arctic Ocean."

By the second article—

"The company may make new discoveries, not only north, but also south of the said 55th parallel of latitude; and may occupy and bring under the dominion of Russia all territories thus discovered; observing the rule, that such territories should not have been previously occupied and placed under subjection by another nation."

Company to be the southern limit of the discoveries of the Russians in 1799, since which period they had made no discoveries or establishments south of the said line, on the coast now claimed by them. With regard to the suggestion that the Russian Government might justly exercise sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean as a close sea, because it claims territories both on the Asiatic and the American shores, Mr. Adams merely observed, that the distance between those shores, on the parallel of 51 degrees north, is *four thousand miles*; and he concluded by expressing the persuasion of the President that the citizens of the United States would remain unmolested in the prosecution of their lawful commerce, and that no effect would be given to a prohibition manifestly incompatible with their rights. M. de Poletica, a few days after the receipt of Mr. Adams's second note, sent another communication respecting the rights of his Sovereign, in which he advanced "the authentic fact, that in 1789, the Spanish packet Saint Charles, commanded by Captain Haro, found, in the latitude of *forty-eight and forty-nine degrees*, Russian establishments to the number of eight, consisting, in the whole, of twenty families and four hundred and sixty-two individuals, who were the descendants of the companions of Captain Tschirikof, supposed until then to have perished." It is scarcely necessary to occupy time in exposing the erroneousness of this "*authentic fact*." Martinez and Haro did, indeed, find Russian establishments on the American coast of the north Pacific in 1788; but they were all situated in the latitudes of *fifty-eight and fifty-nine degrees*; and the individuals inhabiting them had been, a short time previous, transported thither from Kamshatka and the Aleutian Islands, by Shellikof, the founder of the Russian-American Company.*

1822.
Mar. 30.

April 2.

The prohibitory edict of the Russian Emperor, and the correspondence relating to it, were submitted to the Congress of the United States in April, 1822; and in the course of the ensuing year a negotiation was begun at Saint Petersburg, with the object of arranging amicably the rights and interests of the respective parties on the northwest side of America. Another negotiation with regard to that part of the world was also, at the same time and place, in progress between the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Great Britain; the latter Power having protested formally against the claims and principles set forth in the *ukase*, immediately on its appearance, and afterwards at Verona, whilst the Congress of Sovereigns was held there.† Under these circumstances, the Government of the United States became anxious that a joint convention should be concluded between the three nations having claims to the territories in question; and the envoys of the Republic at London and Saint Petersburg were therefore instructed to propose an agreement, to the effect—that no

1823

* See page 96. Fleuriën, in his Introduction to Marchand's Journal, mentions the rumor that Haro had found Russian settlements in 1788, between the 48th and 49th degrees; but he at the same time exposes the error.

† Debate in Parliament on the inquiry made by Sir J. Mackintosh, May 31, 1823.

1823. settlement should be made on the northwest coast, or the adjacent islands, during the next ten years, by Russians, south of the latitude of 55 degrees; or by citizens of the United States north of the latitude of 51 degrees; or by British subjects either south of the 51st, or north of the 55th parallels.

The proposition for a joint convention was not accepted by either of the Governments to which it was addressed, partly in consequence of a clause in the annual message sent by President Monroe to Congress, in December, 1823, stating—that in the discussions and arrangements relative to the northwest coast then going on, “the occasion had been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European Power.” This principle (which it would, perhaps, have been more politic to keep *in petto* than to assert openly) the British and Russian Governments each refused to admit; and there being many other points on which it was not probable that the three parties could ever agree, it was considered preferable that the negotiations should be carried on separately, as they had been, at London and at Saint Petersburg.

Another publication, on the part of the American Government, soon after contributed to render more difficult the settlement of the question of boundaries on the Pacific between the United States and Great Britain.

- Dec. 29. A select committee was appointed by the House of Representatives of the United States, in December, 1823, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of occupying the mouth of the Columbia. This committee, in the course of its duties, requested General Thomas S. Jesup, the Quartermaster General of the army, to communicate his opinions respecting the propriety of the measure proposed, as well as its practicability and the best method of executing it; in reply to which, the General sent a letter containing an exposition of his views of the true policy of the United States with regard to the northwest coasts and territories of America, and of the means by which they might be carried into effect. Leaving aside the question as to the rights of the United States, he considered the possession and military command of the Columbia and of the upper Missouri necessary for the protection, not only of the fur trade, but also of the whole western frontier of the republic, which is everywhere in contact with numerous, powerful, and warlike tribes of savages; and, for this purpose, he recommended the immediate despatch of two hundred men across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia, while two merchant vessels should transport thither the cannon, ammunition, materials, and stores requisite for the first establishment; after which, four or five intermediate posts should be formed at points between Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, (the most western spot then occupied by American troops,) and the Pacific. By such means, says the letter, “present protection would be afforded to our traders, and, on the ex-
- 1824.

piration of the privilege granted to British subjects to trade on the waters of the Columbia, we should be enabled to remove them from our territory, and to secure the whole trade to our own citizens." 1821.

The report, to which this letter was annexed, was ordered to lie on the table of the House; and nothing more was done on the subject during that session. The papers, however, were published, and they immediately attracted the attention of the British ministry. In a conference held at London in July following, between the American envoy, Mr. Rush, and the British commissioners, Messrs. Huskisson and Stratford Canning, the latter gentlemen commented upon the observations of General Jesup, particularly upon those respecting the removal of British traders from the territories of the Columbia, which they said "were calculated to put Great Britain especially upon her guard, appearing as they did at a moment when a friendly negotiation was pending between the two Powers for the adjustment of their relative and conflicting claims to that entire district of country." From the accounts of Mr. Rush, and those given subsequently by Mr. Gallatin, there is no doubt that the publication of General Jesup's letter, and the declaration in President Monroe's message against the establishment of European colonies in America, rendered the British Government much more indisposed to any concession, with regard to the northwest territories, than it would otherwise have been. 77 July.

The negotiation mentioned in the preceding paragraph was not long continued; the parties being so entirely at variance with regard to facts as well as principles, that the impossibility of effecting any arrangement soon became evident to the plenipotentiaries on both sides. Mr. Rush cited the discoveries of the Spaniards on the northwest coasts of America, to the benefit of which he maintained that the United States were entitled in virtue of the Florida treaty; and also the discovery of the Columbia by Gray, as endowing his nation with the strongest rights to the possession of the territories drained by that river; and he insisted, agreeably to express instructions from his Government, "that no part of the American continent was henceforth to be open to colonization from Europe." The British commissioners, on the other hand, doubted the truth of many of the circumstances related with regard to the Spanish expeditions in the north Pacific, and alleged, as more authentic, the accounts of the voyage of Drake, from which it appeared that he had in 1579 explored the west coast of America to the 48th parallel of latitude, five or six degrees farther north than the Spaniards pretended to have advanced before that period. They refused "to admit that the mere fact of Spanish navigators having first seen the coast at particular points, even where this was capable of being substantiated, without any subsequent or efficient acts of sovereignty or settlement, should exclude all other nations from that portion of the globe." They also denied that the circumstance of an American merchant vessel having penetrated the coast of the continent at the Columbia River could confer on the United States any claim 3

1824. along the same coast, which had been discovered and explored by Great Britain herself, in expeditions fitted out under the authority and with the resources of the nation. Finally, they declared "that the claim of the United States respecting the territory watered by the Columbia and its tributaries, as set forth by Mr. Rush, besides being essentially objectionable in its general bearing, had the effect of interfering directly with the actual rights of Great Britain, derived from use, occupancy, and settlement; and that they considered the unoccupied parts of America open, as heretofore, to colonization by Great Britain, or by other European Powers, agreeably to the convention of 1790," which they contended had become a part of the universal law of nations.

June 29. After much discussion on these points, Mr. Rush presented, on the part of his Government, a proposal—that any country west of the Rocky Mountains, which might be claimed by either nation, should, with the navigation of all its waters, be free and open to both nations for ten years; *provided* that, during the said period, no settlements were to be made by British subjects south of the 51st degree of latitude, or by American citizens north of that parallel. To this proposal, which Mr. Rush afterwards varied by substituting the 49th degree for the 51st, Messrs. Huskisson and Canning replied, definitively, by a counter-project, to the effect—that the boundary between the territories of Great Britain and those of the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, should be a line drawn from those mountains westward, along the 49th parallel, to the nearest head-waters of the Columbia, and thence down the middle of the stream to its termination in the Pacific; the British possessing the country north and west of such line, and the Americans that on the other side: *provided*, that the citizens or subjects of both nations should be at liberty, during the next ten years, to pass by land or by water through all the territories, and to retain and use their establishments already formed in any part of them. Immediately after the presentation of this counter-project, the negotiation respecting the northwest territories of America was suspended, and it was not renewed until November, 1826.*

In the mean time the negotiation in progress at St. Petersburg, between the Russian and the American Governments, was terminated by a convention, signed on the 17th of April, 1824, of which the following is the substance: The citizens or subjects of the two nations are not to be disturbed or restrained in navigating any part of the Pacific, or in resorting to its coasts for the purposes of fishing or of trading with the natives, in places not already occupied; *provided*, that citizens of the United States are not to resort to any Russian establishment, nor Russian subjects to any American establishment, on the northwest coasts of America, without permission from the governor or commander of such place. No establishment is in future to be formed upon the northwest coasts of America, or the adjacent islands, by citizens of the United States, north of the latitude of 54

* Documents accompanying the President's message of January 31, 1826.

degrees and 40 minutes, nor by Russians, or under the authority of Russia, south of that latitude. The citizens or subjects of both nations may, during the next ten years, frequent the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks upon the said coasts, for the purposes of fishing or of trading with the natives. The two Powers, nevertheless, engage, reciprocally, neither to sell, nor to suffer their citizens or subjects to sell, to the natives on the said coasts, any arms, powder, munitions of war, or spirituous liquors; *provided*, that this restriction is not to be regarded as affording a pretext for the search or detention of vessels engaged in trading, or for the seizure of the articles, or for any measure of restraint against the merchants or their crews; the parties respectively reserving to themselves the right of determining upon the penalties, and of inflicting the punishments, in cases of contravention of this prohibition by their citizens or subjects.*

1824.

Thus was the *ukase* of September, 1821, virtually annulled, so far as regarded American citizens, against whom it had been enforced in one instance only. The brig *Pearl*, of Boston, was turned away from Sitka in October, 1822; her owners, however, were, after the conclusion of the convention, indemnified for their injuries by the Russian Government. It may be here stated, that the stipulation respecting the trade and fishery in the interior waters on the northwest side of America has not been renewed; the other engagements continue in force, unchanged.

On the 28th of February, 1825, a convention, relative to the northwest coast of America and the adjacent seas, was also concluded between the Governments of Russia and Great Britain.† Its provisions concerning the navigation of the Pacific, and the trade with the natives of the American coasts, were nearly identical with those agreed on between the United States and Russia, in the preceding year; it is, however, much more particular and definite as regards territorial limits. "The line of demarcation between the possessions of the parties upon the coasts of the continent and the islands of America, in the northwest," is made to commence from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales's Island, in the latitude of 51 degrees and 40 minutes, and to run eastward to the Portland Channel, which it ascends to the 56th degree of latitude; thence it follows the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of longitude west from Greenwich, (passing through the west side of Mount Saint Elias,) and continues along that meridian, northward, to the Arctic Ocean; but, wherever the said summit of the mountains is more than ten leagues from the sea, the boundary runs parallel to the coast at the distance of ten leagues from it. The Russians are never to form an establishment south or east of this line, nor are the British to form any on the other side of it; but the British are

1825.
Feb. 28.

* Appendix [F] to this memoir. By the act of Congress of May 19, 1828, any American citizen contravening this prohibition becomes liable to fine and imprisonment.

† *Herstlett's British Treaties*, vol. iii, page 362; and appendix [F] to this memoir.

1825. to enjoy forever the right of navigating all streams, which may cross the said boundary in their course from the interior of the continent to the sea. The navigation of the inland seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks on the coasts, for the purposes of fishing or of trading with the natives, is left free to both parties for ten years, under restrictions similar to those set forth in the convention between Russia and the United States; and the port of Sitka, or New Archangel, is opened to British subjects during the same period. These provisions were not renewed at the expiration of the ten years; all the other stipulations still remain in force.

In these two conventions the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, separately and independently, yet equally and clearly, though implicitly, recognise the exclusive privilege of Russia to occupy all the coasts and islands of the Pacific side of America, north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, and to exercise sovereignty over the places thus occupied, *but without acknowledging her absolute and entire possession of all that part of America*. With regard to the territories extending southward from the said parallel, in which the Russians are to make no establishment, the right of occupation is claimed by both the other Powers; indirectly by the United States, but distinctly and to the exclusion of all other nations by Great Britain.

- In December, 1824, President Monroe, by his last annual message to Congress, advised the immediate establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia, and also the despatch of a frigate for the survey of the coasts contiguous to that point, and for the protection of American interests in the north Pacific. The same measures were in the following year recommended by President Adams, among the various plans for the advantage of the United States, and of the world in general, to which he directed the attention of the Federal Legislature, at the commencement of its session. In compliance with this recommendation, a committee was appointed by the House of Representatives, the chairman of which (Mr. Baylies) submitted two reports, containing numerous details respecting—the history of discovery and trade in Northwest America; the geography, soil, climate, and productions of the portion claimed by the United States; the number and value of the furs procured in it; the expenses of surveying its coasts, and of forming military establishments for its occupation; and many other points connected with those matters: and he concluded by bringing in a bill for the immediate execution of the measures proposed by the President.* This bill was laid on the table of the House, and the subject was not again agitated in Congress until two years afterwards; little or no interest respecting the northwest territories of America was in fact then felt by citizens of the United States, either in or out of Congress.
- 1826.

By this time, the period of ten years, during which the countries claimed by Great Britain, or by the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, were to remain free and open to the people of both nations, was drawing to a close; and it was desirable that

* See reports of the House of Representatives, 1st session of the 19th Congress.

some definitive arrangement respecting those countries should, if possible, be made between the two Governments, before the expiration of that term. With this object, a negotiation was commenced at London; or, rather, the negotiation which had been broken off in 1824, was renewed in November, 1826; Mr. Albert Gallatin representing the interests of the United States, and Messrs. Huskisson and Addington those of Great Britain. 1826.

Before entering upon the details of this negotiation, it should be observed, that the difficulty of effecting a satisfactory arrangement for the partition of the disputed territories had been materially increased since 1818, in consequence of the great inequality which had been produced in the relative positions of the two parties, as regards actual occupation by their respective citizens or subjects. In 1826 the British were enjoying, almost exclusively, the use and control of the whole country beyond the Rocky Mountains, north of the mouth of the Columbia. The union of the two rival companies in 1821, and the establishment of civil and criminal jurisdiction throughout the division of America allotted to them, proved very advantageous to Great Britain, politically as well as commercially. The Hudson's Bay Company became at once a powerful body; its resources were no longer wasted in disputes with a rival association; its regulations were enforced; its operations were conducted with security and efficiency; and encouragement was afforded for the extension of its posts and communications, by the assurance that the honor of the Government was thereby more strongly engaged in its support. Many of these posts were fortified, and could be defended by their inmates—men inured to dangers and hardships of all kinds—against any attacks which might be apprehended; and thus, in the course of a few years, the whole region north and northwest of the United States, from Hudson's Bay and Canada to the Pacific, particularly the portion traversed by the Columbia and its branches, was *occupied*, in a military sense, by British forces, although there was not a single British soldier, strictly speaking, within its limits.

The United States, on the other hand, possessed no establishments, and exercised no authority or jurisdiction whatsoever, beyond the Rocky Mountains; and the number of their citizens in that whole territory did not probably exceed two hundred. This, however, is not to be attributed to want of enterprise in the Americans, but simply to the fact that they had already at their disposal much finer countries in their immediate vicinity.

Under such circumstances were the negotiations between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, relative to these territories, renewed at London in November, 1826. The British plenipotentiaries began by declaring the readiness of their Government to abide by its offer, made in 1824—to admit the Columbia as the line of separation between the territories of the two nations, west of the Rocky Mountains, securing to the United States all that lies east of that river, and south of the 49th parallel of latitude. To this offer Mr. Gallatin gave a decided negative; and then repeated the proposition which had been submitted by

1826. himself and Mr. Rush in 1818, for the adoption of the 49th parallel as the boundary from the mountains to the Pacific; with the additions—that if the said line should cross any of the branches of the Columbia at points from which they are navigable by boats to the main stream, the navigation of such branches, and of the main stream, should be perpetually free and common to the people of both nations; that the citizens or subjects of neither party should thenceforward make any settlements in the territories of the other; but that all settlements already formed by the people of either nation within the limits of the other, might be occupied and used by them for ten years, and no longer; during which, all the remaining provisions of the existing convention should continue in force. This proposition was in like manner rejected by the British, who then expressed their willingness, in addition to their first offer, to yield to the United States a detached territory north of the Columbia, in the angle formed by the Pacific coast and the south side of the Strait of Fuca, embracing Port Discovery and Bulfinch's Harbor. Mr. Gallatin refused his assent to this, or any other arrangement giving to Great Britain the possession of territory south of the 49th parallel; and the negotiators, having no expectation of effecting a partition of the country in dispute, directed their attention solely to the subject of the continuance of the joint occupancy of the whole region.
- Dec. 16. For that object, the British proposed that the arrangement actually subsisting should be renewed and prolonged for fifteen years, with the provisions that neither Power should assume or exercise any right of sovereignty or dominion over any part of the country during that period; and that no settlement then existing, or which might in future be formed, should ever be adduced by either party in support or furtherance of such claims of sovereignty or dominion. This proposition was taken by Mr. Gallatin for reference to his Government; and the discussions were in consequence suspended until May of the following year.
1827. The President of the United States refused to agree to any modification of the terms of the joint occupancy; and Mr. Gallatin was at the same time instructed to declare, that *the American Government did not hold itself bound hereafter, in consequence of any proposal which it had made, for a line of separation between the territories of the two nations beyond the Rocky Mountains; but would consider itself at liberty to contend for the full extent of the claims of the United States.* The British commissioners made a similar declaration with regard to the proposals which had been advanced on the part of their Government; and intimated their readiness to agree to a simple renewal of the existing arrangement, provided an article were appended, explanatory of what they considered to be its true meaning and bearing. Mr. Gallatin was unable to assent to any addition, of that or any other nature; and
- Aug. 20. at length, on the 20th of August, a convention* was signed, to the effect—that all the provisions of the third article of the convention

* Convention of 1827 between the United States and Great Britain, in the Appendix [F] to this memoir.

of October, 1818, should be further indefinitely continued in force; either party being, however, at liberty, after the 20th of October, 1828, to annul and abrogate the engagement, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other. This agreement still remains in force, notwithstanding the many efforts which have been made in the Congress of the United States to procure its abrogation. 1827.

In the course of this negotiation, the claims of the respective parties to the territories were fully set forth, and thoroughly examined, not only in conferences between the plenipotentiaries, but also in written *statements*,* submitted on each side. To review all the assumptions and arguments thus advanced, in detail, would be superfluous, as they have been kept in mind throughout this memoir; it will be proper, however, to present a summary of them, with remarks on points not already noticed, as the best means of showing the positions assumed by each Government at that time.

Mr. Gallatin claimed for the United States the possession of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, upon the grounds of—

The first discovery of the Columbia, by Gray; the first exploration of the territory through which that river flows, by Lewis and Clarke; and the establishment of the first posts and settlements in the said territory, by citizens of the United States:

The virtual recognition by the British Government of the title of the United States, in the restitution of the post near the mouth of the Columbia, agreeably to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, without any reservation or exception whatsoever:

The acquisition by the United States of all the titles of Spain, which titles were derived from the discovery and exploration of the coasts of the region in question, by Spanish subjects, before they had been seen by the people of any other civilized nation:

And, lastly, upon the ground of *contiguity*, which should give to the United States a stronger right to those territories than could be advanced by any other Power. "If," said Mr. Gallatin, "a few trading factories on the shores of Hudson's Bay have been considered by Great Britain as giving an exclusive right of occupancy as far as the Rocky Mountains—if the infant settlements on the more southern Atlantic shores justified a claim thence to the South Seas, and which was actually enforced to the Mississippi—that of the millions of American citizens already within reach of those seas, cannot consistently be rejected. It will not be denied, that the extent of contiguous country to which an actual settlement gives a prior right, must depend, in a considerable degree, on the magnitude and population of that settlement, and on the facility with which the vacant adjacent land may, within a short time, be occupied, settled, and cultivated by such population, compared with the probability of its being occupied and settled from any other quarter. This doctrine was admitted to its fullest extent by Great Britain, as appeared by all her char-

* Document of the House of Representatives, 20th Congress, 1st session, No. 199.

1827. ters, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, given to colonies established then only on the borders of the Atlantic. How much more natural and stronger the claim, when made by a nation whose population extended to the central parts of the continent, and whose dominions were by all acknowledged to extend to the Rocky Mountains."

The British plenipotentiaries, on the other hand, endeavored to prove, as already stated—

That the Columbia was not discovered by Gray, who had only entered the bay at its mouth, discovered four years previous by Lieutenant Meares, of the British navy :*

That the exploration of the interior of the country of the Columbia by Lewis and Clarke, could not be cited by the United States as strengthening and confirming their claim to that territory, because, "*if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years*, the British Northwest Company had, by means of their agent, Mr. Thompson, already established their posts on the head-waters or main branch of the Columbia :"+

That the restitution of Astoria in 1818 was accompanied by express reservations of the right of Great Britain to the territory on which that settlement was declared to be an encroachment :‡

That the titles to the territories in question, derived by the United States from Spain, through the Florida Treaty, amounted to nothing more than the rights secured to Spain equally with Great Britain, by the convention|| of 1790, namely, to settle on any part of those countries, to navigate and fish in their waters, and to trade with their natives. Whether Louisiana extended to the Pacific, or not, was of no consequence, inasmuch as it was a Spanish possession in 1790; and if a portion of it bordered upon the Pacific, such portion was, of course, included in the stipulations of the convention signed in that year :

That the charters granted by British Sovereigns to colonies on the Atlantic coasts, were nothing more than cessions to the grantees, of whatever rights the grantor might consider himself to possess, and could not be regarded as binding on the subjects of any other nation, or as part of the law of nations, until they had been confirmed by treaties; had the Government of the United States thought fit, in 1790, to grant by charter to Mr. Gray the whole territory bordering upon the Columbia, such charter would have been valid against all other citizens of the United States; but it would not have been recognised either by Great Britain or by Spain, as those Powers were in that year preparing to contest by arms the possession of the very territory which would have formed the subject of the grant. [With regard to these latter assertions, whatever may have been the ideas of British Sovereigns as to the extent of their rights in North America, certain

* The entire groundlessness of these assertions may be seen by reference to pages 93 and 128.

† At page 153, explanations are given with regard to the just value of the words here quoted from the *statement* of the British plenipotentiaries.

‡ See page 165.

|| For a review of the convention of 1790, and inquiries as to its bearing upon this question, see page 171.

it is, that *the charters granted by them to colonies on the Atlantic coast were considered by the British Government as valid, and were enforced against the subjects of other nations*, on various occasions, between 1606 and 1763. In proof of this, may be cited the charters granted to the Virginia Company by King James I, in 1609 and 1611; in virtue of which, the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, in a country first discovered, explored, and settled under the flag of the United Provinces, were, in 1664, during a period of profound peace between the two nations, seized by British forces, as being included within the territories granted to the Virginia Company. In like manner, the settlements made by British subjects, under a British charter, on the Ohio, in a country first discovered, explored, and occupied by the French, were sustained by the British Government; and the disputes on account of those settlements are well known to have been among the principal causes of the war of 1755 between those Powers. These facts are here cited, not in vindication of the justice of such charters, but merely in order to show in what light they have been hitherto really regarded by the British Government. In this, as in all the other points of the controversy, it will be seen that the arguments of the commissioners were founded upon the views of natural right, or of the principles of international law, which their Government chose to adopt and recognise at the moment, without reference to precedent.]

1827.

Messrs. Huskisson and Addington, in conclusion, presented the following summary of the pretensions of their Government, which may be considered as definitively indicating its views and proposed course with regard to Northwest America:

"Great Britain claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of the territory on the Pacific between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude; her present claim, not in respect to any part, but to the whole, is limited to a right of joint occupancy in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive dominion *in abeyance*; and her pretensions tend to the mere maintenance of her own rights, in resistance to the exclusive character of the pretensions of the United States.

"The rights of Great Britain are recorded and defined in the convention of 1790; they embrace the right to navigate the waters of those countries, to settle in and over any part of them, and to trade with the inhabitants and occupiers of the same. These rights have been peaceably exercised ever since the date of that convention; that is, for a period of nearly forty years. Under that convention, valuable British interests have grown up in those countries. It is admitted that the United States possess the same rights, although they have been exercised by them only in a single instance, and have not, since the year 1813, been exercised at all; but beyond those rights, they possess none.

"In the interior of the territory in question, the subjects of Great Britain have had for many years numerous settlements and trading-posts; several of these posts are on the tributary streams of the Columbia; several upon the Columbia itself; some to the northward, and others to the southward of that river. And they

1827. navigate the Columbia as the sole channel for the conveyance of their produce to the British stations nearest the sea, and for the shipment of it from thence to Great Britain; it is also by the Columbia and its tributary streams that these posts and settlements received their annual supplies from Great Britain.

"To the interests and establishments which British industry and enterprise have created, Great Britain owes protection; that protection will be given, both as regards settlement, and freedom of trade and navigation, with every attention not to infringe the co-ordinate rights of the United States; it being the desire of the British Government, *so long as the joint occupancy continues*, to regulate its own obligations by the same rules which govern the obligations of every other occupying party."

These concluding declarations of the British commissioners are sufficiently explicit. When taken in connexion with the reasonings which precede them, they show clearly that all farther attempts on the part of the United States to establish the justice of their claims by negotiation with Great Britain should be deferred until the two parties are more nearly equal as regards the power of enforcing their respective determinations.

The new convention was submitted by President Adams to the Senate of the United States in the winter of 1827, and, having been approved, was immediately ratified; since which, no communication whatsoever, on subjects connected with the northwest coasts of America, has passed between the Government of the Republic and that of Great Britain.

1828. The documents relative to the negotiation were laid before the House of Representatives at Washington in the spring of 1828, and were published by its order. In the ensuing session the subject of the occupation of the mouth of the Columbia was again brought before that House, and, after a long series of debates, a bill was reported, authorizing the President to erect forts beyond the Rocky Mountains, and to cause those territories to be explored; and providing for the punishment of offences committed there by American citizens. This bill was rejected on the 23d of December. In January, 1831, President Jackson, in reply to a call for information, sent to the Senate a report from the Secretary of War, relative to the *British establishments on the Columbia, and the state of the fur trade*, containing several interesting communications from persons engaged in that business, or acquainted with it; but no action was taken on the subject, and very little attention was given in either House to matters concerning the countries in question until 1838.

1829.
Jan. 7.

1831.
January.

1834. Before that year, the Government of the United States had been engaged in another discussion with that of Russia, respecting the northwest coasts. It will be remembered, that by the convention of 1824 it was understood that, during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the convention, the ships of both Powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects, respectively, might reciprocally frequent, without any hindrance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose of fish-

ing and trading with the natives of the country. The period during which this right was to be exercised by both parties expired in April, 1834, and immediately afterwards two American vessels were ordered by Baron Wrangel, the governor of the Russian settlements in America, to cease their trade on the coasts north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes. The Russian minister at Washington, about the same time, gave notice of the expiration of this agreement to Mr. Forsyth, the Secretary of State of the United States,* suggesting to him, also, the propriety of communicating the fact officially to the citizens of the Republic. Mr. Forsyth, in his answer, expressed a wish to know whether a proposition for the continuance of the arrangement would be favorably received at Saint Petersburg; and the Russian minister being unable to answer the question, the representative of the United States near the Imperial Government was instructed to propose formally the renewal of the stipulations for an indefinite period. In the mean time, however, a notice of the expiration of the agreement, and of the order given by Baron Wrangel, was published in the newspapers of the United States.†

The reasoning of Mr. Forsyth on this question, as presented in his letter of instruction to Mr. Dallas, the envoy of the United States at Saint Petersburg, can scarcely be abridged without materially impairing its strength. Mr. Forsyth, after repeating the cardinal rule as to the construction of instruments of every kind, namely—*that they should be so construed, if possible, as that every part may stand*—maintains that the fourth article of the convention cannot “be understood as implying an acknowledgment on the part of the United States of the right of Russia to the possession of the coast above the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes north; but that it should be taken in connexion with the other articles, which have, in fact, no reference whatever to the question of the right of possession of the unoccupied parts of the coast. In a spirit of compromise, and to prevent future collisions or difficulties, it was agreed that no new establishments should be formed by the respective parties, north or south of a certain parallel of latitude, after the conclusion of the agreement; but the question of the *right of possession* beyond the existing establishments, as it subsisted previous to, or at the time of, the conclusion of the convention, was left untouched. The United States, in agreeing not to form new establishments north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, made no acknowledgment of the right of Russia to the possession of the territory above that line. If such admission had been made, Russia, by the same construction of the article referred to, must have acknowledged the right of the United States to the territory south of the line. But that Russia did not so understand the article, is conclusively proved by her having entered into a similar agreement in a subsequent treaty (1825) with Great Britain, and having, in fact,

1834.

1837.
Nov. 3.

* Message of President Van Buren of December 4, 1834, and the accompanying document No. 2.

† See the Washington Globe of July 22, 1835.

1837. acknowledged in that instrument the right of possession of the
Nov. 3. same territory by Great Britain. The United States can only be considered as acknowledging the right of Russia to acquire, by actual occupation, a just claim to unoccupied lands above the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes north; and even this is a mere matter of inference, as the convention of 1824 contains nothing more than a negation of the right of the United States to occupy new points within that limit. Admitting that this inference was in contemplation of the parties to the convention, it cannot follow that the United States ever intended to abandon the just right, acknowledged by the first article to belong to them, under the law of nations; that is—to frequent any part of the unoccupied coast of North America, for the purpose of fishing or trading with the natives. All that the convention admits is, an inference of the right of Russia to acquire possession by settlement north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes north; and until that possession is taken, the first article of the convention acknowledges the right of the United States to fish and trade, as prior to its negotiation.”

These arguments, the conclusiveness of which appears to be unquestionable, the Russian Chancellor of State, Count Nesselrode, did not attempt to controvert. He contented himself simply with declining, in behalf of his Government, the proposition for the renewal of the engagements contained in the fourth article of the convention; and thus the matter rests. American vessels are prohibited from frequenting a large portion of the unoccupied west coasts of the continent, north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes; and the trade of the United States in the north Pacific has been doubtless somewhat diminished in consequence.

The Russians have, in like manner, refused to renew the stipulations of the same nature contained in the fifth article of the treaty of 1825 between their Government and that of Great Britain, and have, moreover, directly opposed the enforcement of the right, secured to the latter Power, by another article of that treaty, to navigate any rivers which may flow from the interior of the continent to the ocean, across the line of boundary there established. The circumstances as related* are the following: In 1834, the Hudson's Bay Company fitted out an expedition for the purpose of establishing a trading-post on the *Stikine*, a river lately discovered, entering the ocean in latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes, which is said to be three miles broad at its mouth, and a mile broad at the distance of thirty-five miles higher up. Baron Wrangel, the Governor of the Russian-American possessions, having been informed of this project, erected a block-house at the mouth of the river, and stationed a sloop of war there; and on the appearance of the vessel bearing the men and materials for the contemplated establishments, the British were informed that they would not be allowed to pass. All appeals to the treaty were ineffectual; and the Hudson's Bay Company were foiled in their attempt, after having spent, as is asserted, twenty thousand pounds in preparations.

* London and Westminster Review for August, 1838.

CHAPTER X.

Account of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments—Fur trade over land between the United States and the northwest territories—The *North American* and the *Rocky Mountain Fur Companies*—Expeditions of Wyeth and Bonneville—Emigration from the United States to the countries of the Columbia—Conclusion.

IN the preceding chapter, it was shown that the *Northwest* and *Hudson's Bay* trading companies were, in 1821, united; or rather, that the former was merged in the latter, which afterwards, in virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in the same year, received from the British crown the exclusive privilege of trade in all the territories of America north of Canada and the United States, not already possessed by the company, as well as in those west of the Rocky Mountains, so far as the claims of Great Britain extended, agreeably to the convention of 1818 between her Government and that of the United States; that the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada over British subjects in all those territories, was established by the abovementioned act of Parliament; and that the stipulations of the convention of 1818, by which American citizens and British subjects were, during ten years, equally entitled to trade or settle in any country west of the Rocky Mountains, claimed by either party, had been continued in force for an indefinite period, with the understanding that they might be abrogated by either Government, after due notice of twelve months to the other.

These arrangements, all of which remain at present in vigor, have proved highly advantageous to the British in every respect. The northern and northwestern regions of the continent have been explored by their officers and men of science, and new means of commercial intercourse have been discovered, of which the Hudson's Bay Company have availed themselves, by increasing their establishments and extending their operations. That company is, indeed, a powerful body, or rather a great Power, in America. Its posts may be found occupying all the most important points in those regions; its boats may be met on every stream, conveying British manufactures to the interior, or furs to the great depositories on the seaboard, for shipment to England in British vessels; and the Indians are everywhere so tutored and managed by its agents, that they have become the willing slaves of the association, and are ready at any time to strike at its adversaries. Yet the whole number of persons in the service of the company, in 1834, was, according to Mr. Montgomery Martin,* less than one thousand, and it has probably not since been increased.

* History of the British Colonies, vol. III, page 533.

1838. The concerns of the Hudson's Bay Company are managed by a governor, deputy governor, and a committee of directors, established in London, by whom all orders for the regulation of the business are devised and issued, and to whom all the reports and accounts are transmitted. The trade in America is under the immediate superintendence of a resident governor; the inferior officers are agents, factors, traders, and clerks, some of whom have a direct interest or share in the business; the others being engaged at small salaries, with the promise of a pension for life after a certain period of service. The greater part of these offices are generally filled by natives of Great Britain; the hunters, trappers, voyageurs, &c., are mostly French Canadians, Indians, or half-breeds, who receive little or nothing besides their clothing, and the scanty allowance of miserable food upon which they subsist. The strictest discipline and subordination are everywhere observed; and attention to the interests of the company is insured, by the prospects held out of advancement in the service, or of maintenance in old age.

Two settlements, intended partly for the reception and support of retiring servants of the company, have been established in its countries: one on the Red River, near the boundary of the United States, the only land north of that line which appears to offer any inducements for cultivation; and the other in the delightful valley of the Wallamet, south of the lower Columbia. The inhabitants of these colonies are kept in a state of absolute dependence upon the company; from it alone they can receive their supplies of foreign necessities; it retains the right of the soil, and can, moreover, oblige them at a moment's warning to quit its territories. That the settlements should languish under such circumstances, and that the able-bodied men should desert from the Red River into the United States, as they frequently do, is not surprising.

The furs and skins, which form nearly the sole returns of the trade, are procured principally from the Indians, in exchange for coarse manufactured goods, imported from Great Britain free of duty into the company's territories; although servants of the association are also employed in trapping and hunting, at particular seasons. It is asserted on the part of the company, that ardent spirits are never bartered for furs, and that the average quantity introduced into the country has not, for many years past, exceeded a gill per annum for each person in it. There is no cause to doubt the sincerity of the statement, especially as it is the interest of the traders to keep the Indians sober, industrious, and free from vices; though other accounts appear to show that the quantity of liquors introduced is much greater, and that they are often given to the natives for furs—probably without the knowledge of the company's agents.

The territories of the company are divided into districts or departments, each under the charge of an agent, who distributes to the traders the goods received from England, and sends to their proper destination the furs collected in return; the transportation being performed alternately in boats and by portage, for which

purpose the articles are packed in bundles of such a size as to be easily carried by one man. The furs are sent to three great depositories on the seaboard, from which are also brought the goods for trade. These are *Montreal*, on the Saint Lawrence, *York Factory*, on Hudson's Bay, and *Fort Vancouver*, on the Columbia; each of which is the capital or heart of a certain number of districts. Nearly all the articles going to or coming from Montreal, pass through *Fort William*, one of the principal factories of the company, situated a few miles northwest of Lake Superior. The furs and skins from Fort Vancouver are all sent directly to London, by ships which arrive annually, bringing articles for the trade. The company, moreover, employs several small vessels on the northwest coasts, and a steamboat; which latter is principally used in the Strait of Fuca, and the other channels among the islands of the northwest Archipelago.

The average annual value of the peltries exported from America by the Hudson's Bay Company,* between 1827 and 1833, amounted, according to McGregor, to two hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling, (about one million of dollars,) of which, probably one-sixth part was received from the territories west of the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Wyeth estimates the amount of the furs derived from those territories by the company in 1836, at one hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars, London price; for which are given, about twenty thousand dollars worth (prime cost) of goods; the services of three hundred and fifty men, employed in various parts of the business; shipping to bring supplies, and take back returns; and two years' interest on the investments. He had, moreover, "good evidence that, in 1832, the profits of

* The following list of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments west of the Rocky Mountains is extracted from an article in the *London and Westminster Review* for August, 1838; written by some person connected with that association, and minutely acquainted with its affairs:

"The principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company on the northwest coast is Fort Vancouver, situated on the north bank of the Columbia River, about seventy miles from the ocean, in latitude 45½ degrees, longitude 122 degrees 30 minutes. It was formed by Governor Simpson in 1824, and named after the distinguished navigator who first discovered and surveyed the Columbia. [1] They have likewise a post on the south side, at the mouth of the river, named Fort George, formerly Astoria. They have, moreover, the post of Nasqually, in Puget's Sound, latitude 47 degrees; the post of Fort Langley, at the outlet of Frazer's River, latitude 49 degrees 25 minutes; the post of Fort McLoughlin, in Mill Bank Sound, latitude 52 degrees; the post of Fort Simpson, on Dundas Island, latitude 54½ degrees; and were formerly prevented by the Russians, in 1834, from establishing a post on the Stikine River, latitude 56½ degrees west, longitude 131 degrees 10 minutes. Inland, on the west side the mountains, they have fifteen establishments, viz: Frazer's Lake, McLeod's Lake, Fort George, Alexandria-Chilcotins, Babine, and Bear's Lake, in New Caledonia; the post of Thompson's River, falling into Frazer's River; the posts of Nez Percés, Okanagan, and Colville, on the Columbia; the Flathead and Kootania posts, between the north and south branches of the Columbia river, near the mountains; the post of Fort Hall, on the southern branch of the Columbia; and the Umpqua Post, on the river of the same name, latitude 43 degrees 30 minutes, longitude 124 degrees, south of the Columbia River. They have, further, two migratory trading and trapping expeditions, of about fifty men each—the one hunting in the country situated between the Columbia and the Bay of San Francisco, towards the coast; and the other in the interior country between the Columbia and the headwaters of the rivers falling into the Bay of San Francisco. They likewise have a steam-vessel and five sailing-vessels, of from one hundred to three hundred tons burden, all armed."

1838. the whole western department (including the Columbia countries) did not exceed ten thousand dollars." The shares of the company are at this time worth more than double their original value, which was one hundred pounds each. In the most recent London tables of prices, the last annual dividend on each share is stated at ten pounds.⁴

In the mean time, the regions west of the Rocky Mountains have not been neglected by the people of the United States. For some years after the destruction of the Pacific Fur Company, no American citizens were to be seen in those countries. The *North American Company*, of which Mr. Astor was also the head, confined its operations to the vicinity of the Great Lakes, the headwaters of the Mississippi, and the lower part of the Missouri; sometimes extending them farther up the latter river, and on the Yellow Stone, particularly after its union with another company, organized in 1822, under the name of the *Columbia Fur Company*. In 1823, Mr. W. H. Ashley, of Saint Louis, who had previously established a trading-post on the Yellow Stone, fitted out an expedition for the country beyond the Rocky Mountains; and having crossed the chain between the sources of the Platte and the Colorado, near the 42d degree of latitude, he obtained a large supply of furs, which were transported to Saint Louis. About a hundred men were in the following year left by him in that country, to hunt and trap; and although they had to contend against the people of the Hudson's Bay Company, who opposed them in every way, the value of the furs collected by them in three years amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand dollars.

1827. In the first expeditions from Saint Louis, the goods were transported on pack-horses. In 1827, Mr. Ashley sent sixty men, with a piece of cannon drawn by mules, who marched to the great Salt Lake, called *Lake Youta*, beyond the mountains; and after remaining in that country a sufficient length of time to collect the furs and distribute the supplies among the hunters,

* The following table of the number and value of furs and peltries exported in 1831, from the parts of America owned or occupied by the British, is given in McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce, as extracted from the work of Bliss, on the Trade and Industry of British America:

Skin.	No.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Beaver	126,944	each	1	5	0	158,680	0 0
Muskrat	375,731	"	0	0	6	9,393	5 6
Lynx	58,010	"	0	8	0	23,204	0 0
Wolf	5,947	"	0	8	0	2,378	16 0
Bear	3,850	"	1	0	0	3,850	0 0
Fox	8,765	"	0	10	0	4,382	10 0
Mink	9,298	"	0	2	0	929	16 0
Raccoon	325	"	0	1	6	24	7 6
Tails	2,290	"	0	1	0	114	10 0
Wolverine	1,744	"	0	3	0	261	12 0
Deer	645	"	0	3	0	96	15 0
Weasel	34	"	0	0	6	0	17 0
				£203,316 9 0			

The other articles exported by the Hudson's Bay Company, from America, are isinglass, sea-horse teeth, feathers, goose and swan quills, whalebone, and oil; the value of all which is trifling.

returned to Missouri, having been absent just seven months. Since that time, wagons have been generally employed for carrying the articles to the foot of the mountains; they may, indeed, cross the chain, through a depression called the *Southern Pass*, nearly under the 42d parallel, between the head-waters of the Platte on the eastern side, and those of the Colorado and of the Lewis, the principal southern branch of the Columbia, on the west; and it is said that, recently, a light carriage has been driven from Connecticut to the Great Falls of the Columbia, near the Pacific. 1827.

In 1826 Messrs. Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, of Saint Louis, engaged in the same business, and, having subsequently purchased Mr. Ashley's establishments and interests, they carried on a regular trade with the countries of the Columbia and the Colorado, under the name of the *Rocky Mountain Fur Company*.* 1829.

The active proceedings of the St. Louis traders roused the

* The following account of the first expedition with wagons to the Rocky Mountains made in 1829, by Messrs. Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, is extracted from a letter addressed by those gentlemen to the Secretary of War, in October, 1829, and published with President Jackson's message to the House of Representatives of January 25, 1831. It will serve to show the mode and the route generally pursued in these expeditions at the present day:

"On the 10th of April last, (1829,) we set out from Saint Louis, with eighty-one men, all mounted on mules, ten wagons, each drawn by five mules, and two dearborns, (light carriages, or carts,) each drawn by one mule. Our route was nearly due west to the western limits of the State of Missouri, and thence along the Santa Fé trail, about forty miles from which the course was some degrees north of west, across the waters of the Kansas, and up the Great Platte river, to the Rocky Mountains, and to the head of Wind River, where it issues from the mountains. This took us until the 16th of July, and was as far as we wished the wagons to go, as the furs to be brought in were to be collected at this place, which is, or was this year, the great rendezvous of the persons engaged in that business. Here the wagons could easily have crossed the Rocky Mountains, it being what is called the *Southern Pass*; had it been desirable for them to do so; which it was not, for the reason stated. For our support, at leaving the Missouri settlements, until we should get into the buffalo country, we drove twelve head of cattle, besides a milch cow. Eight of these only being required for use before we got to the buffaloes, the others went on to the head of Wind River. We began to fall in with the buffaloes on the Platte about three hundred and fifty miles from the white settlements; and from that time lived on buffaloes, the quantity being infinitely beyond what we needed. On the 1th of August, the wagons being, in the mean time, loaded with the furs which had been previously taken, we set out on the return to Saint Louis. All the high points of the mountains then in view were white with snow; but the passes and valleys, and all the level country, were green with grass. Our route back was over the same ground nearly as in going out, and we arrived at Saint Louis on the 10th of October, bringing back the ten wagons, the dearborns being left behind; four of the oxen and the milch cow were also brought back to the settlements in Missouri, as we did not need them for provision. Our men were all healthy during the whole time; we suffered nothing by the Indians, and had no accident but the death of one man, being buried under a bank of earth that fell in upon him, and another being crippled at the same time. Of the mules, we lost but one by fatigue, and two horses stolen by the Kansas Indians; the grass being, along the whole route, going and coming, sufficient for the support of the horses and mules. The usual weight in the wagons was about one thousand eight hundred pounds. The usual progress of the wagons was from fifteen to twenty five miles per day. The country being almost all open, level, and prairie, the chief obstructions were ravines and creeks, the banks of which required cutting down; and, for this purpose, a few pioneers were generally kept ahead of the caravan. This is the first time that wagons ever went to the Rocky Mountains, and the ease and safety with which it was done prove the facility of communicating over land with the Pacific Ocean; the route from the Southern Pass, where the wagons stopped, to the Great Falls of the Columbia, being easier and better than on this side of the mountains, with grass enough for horses and mules, but a scarcity of game for the support of men."

1832. spirit of the North American Fur Company, which also extended its operations to the countries beyond the Rocky Mountains; and several independent parties of adventurers have, from time to time, made expeditions in the same direction. In 1832 Captain Bonneville, of the United States army, while on a furlough, led a band of more than a hundred men, with twenty wagons and many mules and horses, carrying goods from Missouri to the Far West; and remained with them two years, employed in trading, hunting, and trapping, chiefly in the country drained by the Lewis and its branches.*

- About the same time, Mr. Nathaniel Wyeth, of Massachusetts, endeavored to establish a direct trade in American vessels, between the ports of the United States and the Columbia; from which latter, the returns were to be made in salmon and furs. With these views, he led two expeditions across the continent; and having also sent a vessel around to the west coast, he formed two trading-stations—one called Fort Hall, near the junction of the river *Portneuf* with the *Lewis*, in the southeast angle of Oregon; and another on *Wappatoo Island*, at the entrance of the *Walamet* into the Columbia, sixty miles from the Pacific. He was, however, forced to abandon his attempts, chiefly in consequence of the opposition indirectly exerted by the Hudson's Bay Company. Captain Wyeth's expeditions, though thus unprofitable to himself, have been rendered very advantageous to his countrymen, by means of the information which he has afforded respecting the territories of the Columbia. His short memoir, printed by order of the House of Representatives at Washington, in February, 1839,† conveys more exact and useful instruction as to the climate, soil, configuration of the surface, and agricultural and commercial capabilities of those countries, than any other work yet published.

1838. The posts of the Americans west of the Rocky Mountains are few, and those are on a very limited scale. Nearly all their furs are procured directly by themselves, as they trade but little with the Indians, whom the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company take care to keep at enmity with them. The hunters and trappers who remain constantly in that country are about three or four hundred in number, nearly all of them white men. In the summer of each year they repair (carrying their furs on pack-horses, or on their backs) to certain places of rendezvous, where they meet the caravans from the United States; and the trade is there conducted without the use of money, each article, however, bearing a nominal value,‡ expressed in dollars and cents. The

* The adventures of this officer and his party have been generally known by Mr. Washington Irving, who has compiled from Captain Bonneville's notes a pleasant narrative, somewhat in the vein of Fray Antonio Agapida's Chronicle.

† Report of the committee of the House of Representatives relative to the Oregon Territory. Mr. Townsend, a naturalist of Philadelphia, who accompanied Captain Wyeth in his second journey across the continent, has published a Narrative of his Adventures. Wyeth's movements are also related incidentally in the account of Captain Bonneville's expedition.

‡ These nominal values are curious. We find, among the prices current on the Colorado, whiskey quoted at three dollars a pint; tobacco at five dollars a pound; gunpowder at six dollars a pint; dogs (for eating) at fifteen dollars each, &c.

principal places of rendezvous are on *Green River*, a branch of the Colorado, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, on the western side, near the 42d degree of latitude; and *Pierre's Hole*, a valley about one hundred miles north of the other, from which issues one of the easternmost head-waters of the Snake, or Lewis River, emptying into the Columbia. Both these places are near the sources of a branch of the Platte, there called the *Sweet Water*, along which lies the route of the caravans from and to Missouri.

To conclude with regard to the trade in peltries, for which the countries on the northwest side of America have been hitherto principally used by the people of civilized nations. It appears to be certain that the business is declining in every part of the continent, but particularly in the territories drained by the Columbia, in consequence of the disappearance of the animals yielding the furs and skins. The Hudson's Bay Company successfully endeavor to prevent this decrease on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, by allowing the districts in which it is perceived to remain undisturbed for some time. On the Columbia, however, where the control of that body is less absolute, and its tenure is uncertain, such precautions are not used; and every part is yearly ransacked by traders and trappers, both British and American. How long the fur trade may yet be profitably pursued beyond the mountains, it is impossible to judge from the imperfect data obtained; there is, however, reason to believe that those regions must soon be abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company, unless some other mode of employing its capital there can be devised, or the entire possession of the territory can be secured to it. In what other pursuits besides the fur trade British capitalists may advantageously employ their funds in Northwest America, is therefore an interesting question at present. From what has been hitherto learned of those countries, they do not offer prospects of a speedy return for the investment of capital in any other way. They contain lands in detached portions, which will immediately yield to the industrious cultivator the means of subsistence, and enable him, perhaps, to purchase some foreign articles of luxury or necessity. But this is all; they produce no precious metals, or commodities, no gold nor silver, nor coffee, nor cotton, nor opium; nor are they, like India, inhabited by a numerous population, who may be easily forced to labor for the benefit of a few.

Such is the state of the fur trade in the interior of Northwest America, according to the most recent accounts. In the north Pacific, this business is no longer carried on by vessels of the United States, which have been completely excluded from the coasts, by the prohibitory measures of the Russians, and the activity of the Hudson's Bay Company. The only North American furs which now enter China by sea, are brought thither direct from New York or from London; but, in compensation for the loss of that trade, the Pacific is now traversed in all parts, by numerous American whaling vessels, giving employment to nearly four thousand seamen. For these vessels, the Sandwich Islands form the principal place of resort, although they often enter the

1839. Bay of San Francisco, in California, in order to obtain water and fresh provisions. The Sandwich Islands* are now under the authority of a native Sovereign; the Bay of San Francisco still constitutes a part of the Mexican possessions. How long will these two important places remain in their present political condition? Great Britain has pretensions to the sovereignty of Owyhee; and it is rumored that her Government has made propositions to that of Mexico for the purchase of California. Should the British determine to take possession of Owyhee, there is no probability that they could be prevented from so doing. With regard to California, however, it is not to be supposed that they would occupy the country without authorization from its present possessors; and it is scarcely possible that any Mexican administration will venture to sanction such a measure, as it would undoubtedly bring immediate ruin upon the Republic.

With regard to colonization in Northwest America, it has already been shown that the Hudson's Bay Company is adverse to the existence of a free population in its territories. The only settlement which appears to have been made under its auspices, beyond the Rocky Mountains, is that on the Wallamet, where a few old Canadian voyageurs are permitted to reside, with their Indian wives and half-breed families, on condition of remaining faithful to their liege lords of the company. In the neighborhood of each large factory, indeed, a portion of ground is cleared and cultivated, and dwelling-houses, mills, and shops for artisans are

* These islands have been so frequently mentioned in the course of this memoir, that a short geographical notice of them may be usefully inserted here.

They are in number ten, situated in the north Pacific, just within the limits of the torrid zone, between $18\frac{1}{2}$ and $22\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude, about three thousand miles, or twenty days' sail southwest from the mouth of the Columbia, and about twice that distance from Canton, which lies nearly due west from them. The largest of the islands, *Owyhee*, (or *Hawaii*, as it is also sometimes written,) is about four thousand miles in superficial extent, and is supposed to contain eighty thousand inhabitants. The principal port is *Honoruru*, in the island of *Wooahoo*, or *Oahu*, said to be the most fertile and agreeable of the group. They were discovered by Cook in 1778, and surveyed by Vancouver, who, in 1794, obtained from Tamahamaha, King of Owyhee, the cession of that island to Great Britain, as related at page 138. Tamahamaha died in 1819, after having reduced all the Sandwich Islands under his authority; and they are at present governed by his reputed grandson, Kauikeaouli, or, as he styles himself, Tamahamaha III.

The Christian religion was established, or rather the ancient religion was overthrown, after the death of Tamahamaha; and several missionaries, nearly all of them Americans, of the Presbyterian church, are at present engaged in propagating their doctrines among the people. Some time since, two French Catholic priests entered the same field as missionaries; but they were persecuted, branded as idolaters, and at length driven from the islands by the Government, at the instigation, it is supposed, of the Protestants. The affair was forgotten until last year, when the French frigate *Artemise* arrived at Honoruru, and retribution was exacted for the alleged outrages, in a manner entirely conformable with the honor and glory of the *Grande Nation*.

The value of these islands to the commerce of the north Pacific is incalculable. They form, indeed, a hotel and storehouse for the refreshment and supply of vessels, situated in the most convenient position, immediately on the highway between Asia and America. Their importance as a place of resort for the whaling vessels of the United States may be estimated from the fact, that during the months of September, October, and November, 1839, they were visited by thirty-three ships, four brigs, and one schooner, all American, employed in that branch of fishery. It is scarcely necessary to add, that, for the peace and freedom of navigation of the Pacific, the Sandwich Islands should continue politically independent. This is, however, scarcely to be expected.

erected; but these improvements are all entirely subservient to the uses and objects of the company; all proceedings not strictly connected with its pursuits being discouraged, and all persons not under its authority being treated as intruders. Of the persons in the employment of the association, a small number only are white men; and rarely is a white woman to be seen in its territories. The half-breed voyageurs, trappers, and hunters, are better, and less expensive, than any others who could be obtained; and the Indian and half-breed women are the most useful helpmates, with whom all ties may, moreover, be easily dissolved. There is, in consequence, little prospect of the diffusion of the pure Anglo-Saxon race through countries possessed by the Hudson's Bay Company.

1839.

The first emigrations from the United States for the purpose of settlement, without any special commercial views, in the countries of the Columbia, appear to have been made in 1832. Three years afterwards, a small colony of Americans was established on the Wallamet, about seventy miles from its mouth, under the direction of Mr. Jason Lee, and other Methodist clergymen; and since that period, the number of citizens of the United States permanently residing beyond the Rocky Mountains has been much increased. With regard to the condition of these settlements, no information has been recently obtained. In 1837 they were all prospering; and it may be supposed that they are continuing to do well, inasmuch as a large number of emigrants sailed for the Columbia from New York in the autumn of last year, under the superintendence of one of the founders of the Wallamet colony; and other persons are said to be now in that city preparing for a similar expedition.

It is not, however, by means of such long and dangerous voyages that citizens of the United States are to effect settlements in Northwest America; and it will doubtless be the care of their Government to render smoother and more secure the routes across the continent to those countries, *lying entirely within the undisputed limits of the Republic*. In the possession of these routes, the Americans have infinite advantages over the British, and all other nations, for occupying the regions in question; and nothing more is required to render the journey through them safe and easy, than the establishment of a few posts, at convenient distances apart, on a line between the Missouri and the passes of the Rocky Mountains, which may serve as forts to overawe the savages, and as caravanserais for the repose, and possibly even for the supply, of travellers. When this has been done, the American settlements on the Columbia will soon acquire that degree of extent and stability, which will render nugatory all claims on the part of other nations to the possession of those countries.

Within the last five or six years the Government as well as the people of the United States have begun to devote their attention seriously to matters connected with the northwest regions of this continent. Numerous petitions have been presented, and motions have been made and discussed, in both Houses of the Federal Legislature, for the annulment of the existing arrange-

1839. ment with Great Britain, the military occupation of those territories, and the extension of American jurisdiction over them; and the Executive has been sedulously engaged in collecting the information which may be necessary in order to place the subject in a proper light, and to render movements effective at the proper time. These proceedings are all so recent, and so well known, that details respecting them would be needless. Suffice it to say, that no resolution has been taken on any of the plans proposed; and that the position of the American Government with regard to the territories claimed for the United States on the Pacific, continues as fixed by its conventions with Great Britain, Russia, and Mexico.*

The writer has now completed the task assigned to him, by presenting an exposition of the most important circumstances relative to the discovery and occupation of the northwest coasts and territories of North America, by the people of various civilized nations, and of the pretensions advanced by the Governments of those nations in consequence. To indicate farther the course which should be pursued on the part of the United States with regard to their claims, lies not within his province. To conclude: he has, as he conceives, demonstrated that *the titles of the United States to the possession of the regions drained by the river Columbia, derived from priority of discovery and priority of occupation, are as yet stronger, and more consistent with the principles of national right, than those of any other Power, from whatsoever source derived.* That those regions must be eventually possessed by the people of the United States only, no one acquainted with the progress of settlement in the Mississippi valley during the last fifteen years will be inclined to question; but that Great Britain will, by every means in her power, evade the recognition of the American claims, and oppose the establishment of an American population on the shores of the Pacific, may be confidently expected, from the dispositions evinced by her Government in all its recent discussions with the United States.

* That the British Government observes its engagements with equal strictness, there is some reason to doubt; inasmuch as it is said that a large tract in the angle formed by the Pacific and the Strait of Fuca, north of Bulfinch's Harbor, has been recently granted in full possession to the Hudson's Bay, or some other company, which is actually engaged in dividing and selling the lands.

APPENDIX.

A.

EXTENT OF THE PART OF THE WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA SEEN BY FRANCIS DRAKE IN 1579.

All that is known respecting Drake's visit to the northwest coast of America, has been derived from two narratives of his expedition, which are—

1. "*The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence, about the whole globe of the earth; begun in the year of our Lord 1577: by Francis Prety;*" published in London by Hakluyt, in 1589, in his "*Voyages and Navigations of the English;*" and—

2. "*The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, collected out of the Notes of Mr. Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this employment, and compared with divers others' Notes, that went in the same voyage.*" It was published in 1652; the name of the compiler is not known. Fletcher's Journal is still preserved in manuscript in the British Museum; Burney, who consulted it, could, however, gather nothing from it, in addition to what is published. *The Famous Voyage* is undoubtedly one of the "*divers others' notes*" mentioned in the title, as whole sentences, and even paragraphs, are the same in both narratives.*

The Famous Voyage is a plain and succinct account, in general sufficiently clear, of what the writer saw, or believed to have taken place, during the voyage. With regard to the extent of coast observed by Drake on the northwestern side of California, he says only what is contained in the following paragraph:

"The 5th day of June, being in 43 degrees of the pole arctic, being speedily come out of the extreme heat, we found the air so cold that our men, being pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof; and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us. Whereupon, we thought it best for that time to seek the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plain land, and we drew back again without landing, till we came within 38 degrees towards the line; in which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same. In this bay we anchored on the 17th of June." After which, the writer goes on to describe the occurrences on shore.

Nothing is here said of the latitude, or of the day of the month, in which the land was first seen; it is, however, to be inferred from the context, that they did not advance far towards the north after the 5th of June, on which they were in the latitude of 43. Such was the opinion of Hak-

* The part of the *Famous Voyage* relating to the northwest coast may be found in the third volume of the reprint of Hakluyt's Collection, page 523. *The World Encompassed* is contained in the second volume of Osborne's Collection of Voyages, page 434.

luyt, who, in many parts of his works, says that Drake sailed northwest of California to the 43d degree. Purchas, in his *Pilgrims*, published in 1617, (page 52, vol. i.) relates that "Sir Francis Drake sailed on the other side of America to 43 degrees of northerly latitude, and with cold was forced to retire." And of all the other accounts and notices of this voyage, written before 1750, three only have been found, in which it is asserted that the English proceeded north of the 43d parallel in the Pacific.

The famous navigator, John Davis, in his *World's Hydrographical Discovery*, published in 1595, (Hakluyt, vol. iv, page 459.) says: "And after that Sir Francis Drake was entered into the South Sea, he coasted all the western shores of America, until he came into the septentrional latitude of 48 degrees." To this assertion, however, no credit can be given, inasmuch as it is nowhere else pretended that Drake saw any part of the western side of America, between Guatulco and the 38th degree.

Admiral Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, first published in 1712, also declares, that "from the 16th of April to the 15th of June, Drake sailed without seeing land; and arrived in 48 degrees, thinking to find a passage into our seas, which land he named New Albion." Unfortunately for the admiral's consistency, he remarks, in many other parts of his *Tracts*, that Cape Mendocino, which is near the 40th parallel, is "*the farthest land discovered*," and "*the furthestmost known part of America*."

The *World Encompassed* is the only work, besides the two above mentioned, published before the middle of the last century, in which it is maintained that Drake advanced along the west coast of America beyond the 43d degree of latitude; and upon the statements there given Burney founds his assertion, that the whole western shore of the continent between the 42d and the 48th parallels, was first discovered by the English navigator. A few extracts from the narrative, with observations upon them, will serve to show that this decision is not warranted by sufficient authority.

"From Guatulco," says the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, "we departed April 15, setting our course directly into the sea; whereupon we sailed five hundred leagues in longitude to get a wind, and between that and the 3d of June one thousand four hundred leagues in all, till we came into the latitude of 42 degrees north, where, in the night following, we found such an alteration of the heat into extreme and nipping cold, that our men in general did grievously complain thereof. * * * * * It came to that extremity, that in sailing but 2 degrees farther to the northward in our course, * * * * * our meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently, in a manner, be frozen up; and our ropes and tackling, in a few days, were grown to that stiffness, that what three men before were able to perform, now six men, with their best strength and utmost endeavor, were hardly able to accomplish. * * * * * The land in that part of America bearing farther out into the west than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware; and yet, the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did seize upon us. The 5th day of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with

* The part of the *World Encompassed*, devoted to Drake's Voyage in the north Pacific, is spread over a number of pages, the greater part of which are occupied with the speculations (of the compiler, no doubt) on the causes of the great coldness of the atmosphere in that quarter, and with accounts of the ceremonies of the natives; all of which are here omitted.

the shore, which we then first descried; and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best road we could for the present meet with, where we were not without some danger, by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us. * * * * In this place was no abiding for us, and to go farther north the extremity of the cold would not permit us; and the winds directly bent against us, having once gotten us under sail again, commanded us to the southward, whether we would or no. From the height of 48 degrees, in which we now were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting along it, to be but low and reasonably plain; every hill, whereof we saw many, but none very high, though it were in June, and the sun in his nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow. In 38 degrees 30 minutes, we fell in with a convenient and fit harbor; and June 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23d of July; during all which time, notwithstanding it was the height of summer, and so near the sun, yet we were constantly visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before. * * * * Neither could we, at any time,

in whole fourteen days together, find the air so clear as to be able to take the height of sun or star. * * * * How unhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itself, showing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenness, in those months of June and July! * * *

For the causes of this extremity, * * * the chiefest we conceive to be, the large spreading of the Asian and American continents, which, (somewhat northward of these parts,) if they be not fully joined, yet seem to come very near one to another; from whose high and snow-covered mountains, the north and northwest winds, the constant visitors of these coasts, send abroad their frozen nymphs. * * * * And that the north and northwest winds are here constant in June and July, as the north wind alone is in August and September, we not only found it by our own experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof by the continued observations of the Spaniards. * * * *

Though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48th degree, yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the east, but rather running on continually northwest, as if it went directly to meet with Asia."

Upon examining these statements, given in the *World Encompassed*, we find that on the *third* of June, Drake's vessel was in the latitude of *forty-two degrees*; and that on the *fifth* of the same month she anchored near the American coast, in a bay situated under the *forty-eighth parallel*; that is to say, in the course of *sixty hours at furthest, she advanced at least three hundred and sixty miles, with the winds blowing violently against her*. Such a rate of sailing, under such circumstances, could not be attained by any vessel at the present time; and when we, moreover, take into consideration the constant obscurity of the heavens, and the constant agitation of the English ship by the waves, which must have rendered it impossible to observe the height of the sun, with the best instruments then in use, we may safely conclude that the account of the latitudes is erroneous. This incongruity is not noticed by Captain Burney, who bases his decision entirely upon the authority of the *World Encompassed*. He considers as perfectly "*explicit upon the subject*" the statement in that narrative, that the English "searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48th degree, yet they found not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the east." He, however, omits the remainder of the sentence—but rather running on continually northwest, as if it went directly

to meet with Asia," although he must have known that it destroys the value of the first part of the evidence, inasmuch as the coast nowhere between the 41st and the 47th parallels *trends so much as one point towards the west.*

Burney, moreover, being desirous to establish the character of the *World Encompassed* for correctness, scrupulously abstains from remarks upon the accounts given in that work, of the extreme coldness of the air in the north Pacific during the summer. That persons coming suddenly from the torrid zone into a region 20 degrees farther north should find the change of temperature disagreeable, is quite natural; but that "meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, should presently be frozen up," and the ropes and tackling of a vessel be stiffened by ice, during the month of June, in any part of the ocean between the 40th and 44th degrees of latitude, is wholly incredible.

The opinion that Drake discovered the northwest coast of America as far as the 48th degree of latitude was not countenanced by any other writers than the three above cited before the year 1750, when it was adopted by the compilers of the *Biographia Britannica*, in their life of the hero. Among those who considered the 43d parallel as the northern limit of that navigator's course in the Pacific, are De Laet, in his *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*; Ogilby, in his *History of America*; Heylin, in his *Cosmography*; Locke, in his *History of Navigation*; and last, not least, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his *Biography of Drake*. In the maps of America, contained in Heylin's *Cosmography*,* printed in 1708, and in the curious *Historical Atlas* of Mitchell and Senex, published in 1720, California is represented as an island extending from the 23d parallel to the 44th, in the northern part of which New Albion is located. These authorities will serve at least to show which of the two opinions may be regarded as an innovation.

The question is of little importance. The British Government has, however, on many occasions, evinced, indirectly, a desire to found some claim to the possession of the northwestern side of America upon the supposed discoveries of Drake in that quarter. The name *New Albion* will be generally found occupying a large space on all maps of America published in Great Britain. In the chart attached to the Journal of Vancouver's expedition, *the whole of California* is thus designated; and as recently as 1827, it has been insisted on the part of the British Government that Great Britain had obtained grants of territory on the northwest coast of America, from the inhabitants, before the existence of the United States as a nation.

To conclude: there is no absolute evidence that Drake did not discover the northwest American coast as far north as the 48th degree; but, on the other hand, the assertion that he did is not supported by adequate testimony, and, where originally made, it is accompanied by statements irreconcilable with the results of experience. It may be admitted that the English did, in 1579, see the part of that coast included between the 38th and the 43d parallels; but it is equally certain, if not more so, that such part had been already discovered by the Spaniards, under Cabrillo and Ferrelo, in 1543.

* It may be here remarked, that in Heylin's map of America, the northwest coast beyond California to the extremity of Alaska, is laid down almost accurately. Yet we have no accounts of any discoveries in that part of the Pacific of a date earlier than 1741.

B.

PRETENDED DISCOVERY, BY MALDONADO, OF A NORTHERN PASSAGE BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND THE PACIFIC IN 1588.

The Spanish manuscript discovered by Amoretti in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and of which he published a French translation in 1812, (see page 40,) is entitled: "*A Relation of the Discovery of the Strait of Anian, made by me, Captain Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in the year 1588, in which is written the order of the navigation, the situation of the place, and the manner of fortifying it.*" It consisted of thirty-five paragraphs, the most material of which are presented by Burney in his History of Voyages in the South Sea, vol. v, page 167: they are as follows:

"By means of this strait, the King would render himself sole master of all the spices, and make a profit of five millions annually, by constraining other nations to send to Spain to procure them. Spain, therefore, ought immediately to set about securing and fortifying this strait. But it is necessary that I should show the route which must be taken, the ports that will be found, and that I add thereto a narration of my voyage.

"Departing from Spain or Lisbon, the course is to the northwest four hundred and fifty leagues, by which you will arrive to 60 degrees north latitude, where you will have sight of Friesland. Thence, the route must be to the west, keeping in the said latitude one hundred and eighty leagues to the land of Labrador, at the place where begins the Strait of Labrador. Here are two channels: one leading to the northeast, and the other to the northwest. The course must be in that to the northwest, to 64 degrees, where the channel changes its direction; and you will have to sail north one hundred and twenty leagues, to the latitude of 72 degrees. The channel then again turns to the northwest, and you run in it to 75 degrees. You then entirely quit the Strait of Labrador, and begin to lower your latitude, steering west-by-south three hundred and fifty leagues, to latitude 71 degrees. It was at this place in our voyage that we discovered a high land, but we could not discern if it was island or continent. Nevertheless, we concluded that if it was the main land it would be joined to New Spain. From seeing this land, you steer west-south-west four hundred and forty leagues, to 60 degrees latitude, where should be found the Strait of Anian. In this manner they will make the same navigation which I have made, at least from Friesland to this place. The distance to be sailed, from Spain to the Strait of Anian, is one thousand seven hundred and ten leagues.

"When we went out from the Strait of Labrador, which was at the beginning of the month of March, we had much to suffer from the darkness, the cold, and tempests. Those who think this sea can be entirely frozen over are in an error; for, by reason of its extent, of the great currents which are in the strait, and the high waves which keep the sea continually in motion, it cannot be frozen; but on the shores, and in the places where the sea is tranquil, I think it may be frozen.

"When we were on our return, in the month of June, and in part of July, we had continual light, and the sun never descended below the horizon, till we were the second time in the middle of the Strait of Labrador. Whilst the sun remained continually above the horizon, the air was so warm that we had to suffer as much from the heat as in the hottest time in Spain.

"The strait which we discovered in 60 degrees north latitude appears to be that which, from an ancient tradition, the cosmographers in their charts call the Strait of Anian ; and, if it is true that such a strait exists, it ought, necessarily, to leave Asia on one side, and America on the other. When we went out of the strait into the Great Sea, [the Pacific Ocean,] we navigated along the coast of America more than one hundred leagues, having our prow to the southwest till we found ourselves in 55 degrees latitude. We then left this coast, which we saw prolonged itself towards the south, and directed our prow to the west four days, at thirty leagues per day, and discovered a large land and great chains of mountains. We navigated along it, keeping at a distance, sometimes to the northeast, sometimes to the northwest, and sometimes to the north, but in general to the northeast. We could not know particular things of this coast, because we kept far off from the land. I can only affirm that the country is peopled, because in many places we saw men ; and we judged that these lands were the lands of the Tartars, or of Catay. At length, following this same coast, we again found ourselves in the Strait of Anian, from which we had gone fifteen days before into the Great Sea, which we knew to be the South Sea, where lie the countries of Japan, China, the Moluccas, and New Guinea, with the discovery of Captain Quiros, and all the western coast of New Spain and Peru.

"At the mouth of the strait by which you enter the South Sea, on the American side, is a port capable of containing five hundred ships. The country is pleasant ; the temperature agreeable ; the cold of the winter not rigorous, though in 59 degrees north latitude, to judge by the kinds of fruits which were found. Here are very high trees, some producing good fruits like to those in Spain, and others not before known to us.

"The strait has fifteen leagues of extent, in which it makes six turns or angles, and the two entrances are north and south from each other. The breadth of the northern entrance is less than half a quarter of a league. The southern entrance, which is near the port, is more than a quarter of a league in breadth ; and in the middle is a great rock or islot, about two hundred paces in diameter, of a circular form, and of the height of three stades. The channel, on one side of this islot, is so shallow as to be navigable only for boats ; but the channel between the islot and the land of America, though not quite half a quarter of a league in breadth, has deep water for ships. The borders are low ; and forts might be built both on the main land and on the islot, which would straiten the passage to within musket shot. The passage might also be shut or locked up with a chain across, which with industry might be formed strong enough to stand against the currents.

"It is difficult to know the entrance of the strait on the northern side, because the two shores interlock, reciprocally hiding each other. In fact, when we first arrived there, we were some days without perceiving it, although we had already entered, being guided by a good narrative of Juan Martinez, pilot-mayor, who was a Portuguese, a native of Algarva, a very old man and of much experience. But I have taken marks by the mountains, to enable me to make another navigation if I should have occasion.

"In the port where we cast anchor, we lay from the beginning of April to the middle of June. At this epoch, we saw come from the South Sea to enter the strait a great ship of eight hundred tons, which made us take to our arms ; but we reciprocally came to know each other as peaceable

voyagers. The sailors had the generosity to give us some of the merchandise of their cargo, which resembled the things which come to us from China, as brocades, silks, porcelain, and other effects of value, as precious stones and gold. These people appeared to us to be Moscovites, or Hanseatics; that is to say, those who make their residence in the Port of Saint Michael, [Hamburg.] They said they came from a large town, which was distant from the strait a little more than one hundred leagues, where they had left another vessel of their country. We could not obtain much information from these people, because they spoke to us with little confidence and much circumspection; and, for that reason, we soon separated, and, having left them near the strait and in the North Sea, we took the route for Spain."

The London Quarterly Review for October, 1816, contains an exposition of the numerous falsehoods and blunders contained in this *relation*, and pronounces "the pretended voyage of Maldonado to be the clumsy and audacious forgery of some ignorant German, from the circumstance of fifteen leagues to the degree being used in some of the computations." The reviewer avows his belief that Maldonado did make a voyage in the north Pacific, about the end of the 16th century, and that he may possibly have reached Prince William's Sound or Cook's Inlet, either of which might have been then at first mistaken for a strait separating Asia from America.

C.

ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF JUAN DE FUCA IN 1592.

[Extracted from Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii, page 819.*]

"A Note made by me, Michael Lock, the elder, touching the strait of sea, commonly called *Fretum Anian*, in the South Sea, through the northwest passage of *Mela Incognita*.

"When I was at Venice, in April, 1596, happily arrived there an old man, about sixty years of age, called commonly *Juan de Fuca*, but named properly *Apostolos Valerianus*, of nation a Greek, born in *Cephalonia*, of profession a mariner, and an ancient pilot of ships. This man, being come lately out of Spain, arrived first at *Leghorn*, and went thence to *Florence*, where he found one John Douglas, an Englishman, a famous mariner, ready coming for Venice, to be pilot of a Venetian ship for England, in whose company they came both together to Venice. And John Douglas being acquainted with me before, he gave me knowledge of this Greek pilot, and brought him to my speech; and in long talks and conference between us, in presence of John Douglas, this Greek pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth:

"First: he said that he had been in the West Indies of Spain forty years, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, in the service of the Spaniards.

* The orthography of the English is modernized; the letters are, however, given in their original Spanish-Italian *lingua franca*.

"Also, he said that he was in the Spanish ship which, in returning from the Islands *Philippinas*, towards *Nova Spania*, was robbed and taken at the *Cape California* by *Captain Candish*, Englishman, whereby he lost sixty thousand ducats of his own goods.

"Also, he said that he was pilot of three small ships, which the Viceroy of *Mexico* sent from *Mexico*, armed with one hundred men, under a captain, Spaniards, to discover the *Straits of Anian*, along the coast of the *South Sea*, and to fortify in that strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English nation, which were feared to pass through those straits into the *South Sea*; and that, by reason of a mutiny which happened among the soldiers for the misconduct of their captain, that voyage was overthrown, and the ship returned from *California* to *Nova Spania*, without any thing done in that voyage; and that, after their return, the captain was at *Mexico* punished by justice.

"Also, he said that shortly after the said voyage was so ill ended, the said Viceroy of *Mexico* sent him out again in 1592, with a small caravel and a pinnace, armed with mariners only, to follow the said voyage for the discovery of the *Straits of Anian*, and the passage thereof into the sea, which they call the *North Sea*, which is our northwest sea; and that he followed his course in that voyage, west and northwest in the *South Sea*, all along the coast of *Nova Spania*, and *California*, and the *Indies*, now called *North America*, (all which voyage he signified to me in a great map, and a sea card of mine own, which I laid before him,) until he came to the latitude of 47 degrees; and that there finding that the land trended north and northeast, with a broad inlet of sea, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trending still sometime northwest and northeast, and north, and also east and southeastward, and very much broader sea than was at the said entrance, and that he passed by divers islands in that sailing; and that at the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the northwest coast thereof, a great headland or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar thereupon.

"Also, he said that he went on land in divers places, and that he saw some people on land clad in beasts' skins; and that the land is very fruitful, and rich of gold, silver, pearls, and other things, like *Nova Spania*.

"And also, he said that he being entered thus far into the said strait, and being come into the *North Sea* already, and finding the sea wide enough everywhere, and to be about thirty or forty leagues wide in the mouth of the straits, where he entered, he thought he had now well discharged his office; and that not being armed to resist the force of the savage people, that might happen, he therefore set sail, and returned homewards again towards *Nova Spania*; where he arrived at *Acapulco*, anno 1592, hoping to be rewarded by the Viceroy for this service done in the said voyage.

"Also, he said that after coming to *Mexico*, he was greatly welcomed by the Viceroy, and had promises of great reward; but that having sued there two years, and obtained nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him that he should be rewarded in Spain, of the King himself, very greatly, and willed him therefore to go to Spain; which voyage he did perform.

"Also, he said that when he was come into Spain, he was welcomed there at the King's court; but after long suit there also, he could not get any reward there to his content; and, therefore, at length he stole away

out of Spain, and came into Italy, to go home again and live among his own kindred and countrymen, he being very old.

"Also, he said that he thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to be for that they did understand very well that the English nation had now given over all their voyages for discovery of the northwest passage; wherefore they need not fear them any more to come that way into the *South Sea*, and, therefore, they needed not his service therein any more.

"Also, he said that, understanding the noble mind of the Queen of England, and of her wars against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Majesty would do him justice for his goods lost by Captain Candish, he would be content to go into England, and serve her Majesty in that voyage for the discovery perfectly of the northwest passage into the *South Sea*, if she would furnish him with only one ship of forty tons burden and a pinnace; and that he would perform it in thirty days time, from one end to the other of the strait; and he willed me so to write to England.

"And upon conference had twice with the said Greek pilot, I did write thereof accordingly to England, unto the right honorable the old Lord Treasurer Cecil, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt, that famous cosmographer, certifying them hereof. And I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds, to bring the said Greek pilot into England with myself, for that my own purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answer that this action was well liked, and greatly desired in England; but the money was not ready, and therefore this action died at that time, though the said Greek pilot perchance liveth still in his own country, in *Cephalonia*, towards which place he went within a fortnight after this conference had at *Venice*.

"And in the mean time, while I followed my own business in *Venice*, being in a lawsuit against the company of merchants of Turkey, to recover my pension due for being their consul at *Aleppo*, which they held from me wrongfully; and when I was in readiness to return to England, I thought I should be able of my own purse to take with me the said Greek pilot; and, therefore, I wrote unto him from *Venice* a letter, dated July, 1596, which is copied here under:

• "*Al Magro. Signor. Capitan Juan de Fuca, Piloto de India, amigo mio charmo en Zefalonia.*

"MUY HONRADO SENNOR: Siendo yo para buelverme en Inglaterra dentre de pocas mezes, y acuerdandome de lo tratado entre my y V. M. en Venesia sobre el viagio de las Indias, me ha parecido bien de servir esta carta a V. M. para que se tengais animo de andar con migo, puedais escri-

• *To the Magnificent Captain Juan de Fuca, Pilot of the Indies; my most dear friend in Cephalonia.*

MOST HONORED SIR: Being about to return to England in a few months, and recollecting what passed between you and myself at *Venice* respecting the voyage to the Indies, I have thought proper to write you this letter, so that if you have a mind to go with me, you can write me word directly how we are to arrange. You may send me your letter with this English vessel, which is at *Zante*, (if you should find no better opportunity,) directed to the care of Mr. Eleazer Hyckman, an English merchant, Saint Thomas street, *Venice*. God preserve you, sir.

Your friend,

MICHAEL LOCK, of *England*.

VENICE, July 1, 1596.

birme presto en que manera quereis consertaros. Y pueiais embiarmi vuestra carta con esta nao Ingles, que sta al Zante (sino hallais otra coi-untura meior) con el sobrescrito que diga en casa del Sennor Eleazar Hycman, mercader Ingles, al tragetto de San Tomas en Venisia. Y Dios guarde la persona de V. M. Fecha en Venesia al primer dia de Julio, 1596 annos.

“Amigo de V. M.,

“MICHAEL LOCK, *Ingles.*

“And I sent the said letter from Venice to Zante in the ship Cherubin; and shortly after I sent a copy thereof in the ship Minion; and also a third copy thereof by Manea Orlando, patron de nave Venetian. And unto my said letters he wrote me answer to Venice by one letter, which came not to my hands; and also by another letter, which came to my hands; which is copied here under:

* *“Al Ill^{mo}. Sig^{or}. Michael Lock, Ingles, in casa del Sig^{or}. Lasaro, merca-der Ingles, al tragetto de San Tomas en Venesia.*

“MUY ILLUSTRE SIG^{or}: La carta de V. M. recevi a 20 dias del mese di Settembre, por loqual veo loche V. M. me manda. Io tengo animo de complir loche tengo prometido a V. M. y no solo yo, mas tengo vinte hom-bres para lievar con migo, porche son hombres vaglientes; y assi estoi esperando por otra carta che avise a V. M. parache me embiais los dinieros che tengo escrito a V. M. Porche bien save V. M. como io vine pover, porque me glievo Captain Candis mas de sessenta mille ducados, como V. M. bien save; embiandome lo dicho, ire a servir a V. M. con todos mis compagneros. I no spero otra cosa mas de la voluntad é carta de V. M. con tanto nostro Sig^{or}. Dios guarda la illustre persona de V. M. muchos annos. De Ceffalonia a 24 de Settembre del 1596.

“Amigo y servitor de V. M.,

“JUAN FUCA.

“And the said letter came into my hands in Venice, the 16th day of November, 1596; but my lawsuit with the company of Turkey was not ended, by reason of Sir John Spenser's suit, made in England at the Queen's court to the contrary, seeking only to have his money dis-charged, which I had attached in Venice for my said pension, and thereby my own purse was not yet ready for the Greek pilot.

“And, nevertheless, hoping that my said suit would have shortly a good

* *To the Illustrious Michael Lock, Englishman, at the house of Mr. Lazaro, English merchant, in Saint Thomas street, Venice.*

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR: Your letter was received by me on the 20th of September, by which I am inform-d of what you communicate. I have a mind to comply with my promise to you; and have not only myself, but twenty men, (brave men, too,) whom I can carry with me; so, I am waiting for another letter from you, about the money which I asked you to send me. For, you know well, sir, how I became poor, in consequence of Captain Candish's having taken from me more than sixty thousand ducats, as you know. If you will send me what I asked, I will go with you, as well as all my companions. I expect no more from your kindness, or from the tenor of your letter. God preserve you, most illustrious sir, for many years.

Your friend and servant,

CEPHALONIA, September 24, 1596.

JUAN FUCA.

end, I wrote another letter to this Greek pilot from Venice, dated the 20th of November, 1596, which came not to his hands; and, also, another letter, dated the 24th of January, 1596, which came to his hands. And thereof he wrote me answer, dated the 28th of May, 1597, which I received the 1st of August, 1597, by Thomas Norden, an English merchant, yet living in London, wherein he promised still to go with me unto England, to perform the said voyage for discovery of the northwest passage into the South Sea, if I would send him money for his charges, according to his former writing, without which money he said he could not go, for that as he was undone utterly when he was in the ship *Santa Anna*, which came from China, and was robbed at California. And yet again afterward I wrote him another letter from Venice, whereunto he wrote me answer by a letter written in his Greek language, dated the 20th of October, 1598, the which I have still by me, wherein he promiseth still to go with me into England, and perform the said voyage of discovery of the northwest passage into the South Sea by the said straits, which he calleth the Strait of Nova Spania, which he saith is but thirty days' voyage in the straits, if I will send him the money formerly written for his charges; the which money I could not yet send him, for that I had not yet recovered my pension owing me by the company of Turkey aforesaid; and so, of long time, I staid any further proceeding with him in this matter.

"And yet, lastly, when I myself was at Zante in the month of June, 1602, minding to pass from thence for England by sea, for that I had then recovered a little money from the company of Turkey, by an order of the Lords of the Privy Council of England, I wrote another letter to this Greek pilot to Cephalonia, and required him to come to me to Zante, and go with me into England, but I had no answer thereof from him; for that, as I heard afterward at Zante, he was then dead, or very likely to die of great sickness. Whereupon, I returned myself by sea from Zante to Venice, and from thence I went by land through France into England, where I arrived at Christmas, anno 1602; safely, I thank God, after my absence from thence ten years' time, with great troubles had for the company of Turkey's business, which hath cost me a great sum of money, for the which I am not yet satisfied of them."

D.

OCCURRENCES AT NOOTKA SOUND IN 1789 AND 1792.

(1.)

Translation of a letter from Don J. F. de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commandant at Nootka Sound, to Captains Gray and Ingraham, commanding the American merchant vessels Columbia and Washington, then lying in that harbor.

Nootka, August 2, 1792.

In order to satisfy the Court of England, as is just, for the injury, damages, and usurpation, which it conceives itself to have sustained at this port in the year 1789, I have to request of you, gentlemen, the favor to inform me, with that sincerity which distinguishes you, and which is

conformable with truth and honor, wherefore Don Esteban José Martinez seized the vessels of Colnett, the Iphigenia and the Northwest America? What establishment or building did Mr. Meares have, on the arrival of the Spaniards? What territories are those which he says that he purchased from Maquinna, Yuquiniarri, or any other chief of these tribes? With what objects were the crew of the Northwest America transferred to the Columbia; and were ninety-six skins placed on board that ship? Finally, what was the whole amount of skins carried by you to China, and to whom did they belong?*

Your most obedient and assured servant,

JUAN FRANCISCO DE LA BODEGA Y QUADRA.

To Captains ROBERT GRAY and JOSEPH INGRAHAM.

(2.)

Reply to the preceding letter.†

Nootka Sound, August 3, 1792.

SIR: Your esteemed favor was handed to us yesterday, requesting from us information relative to the transactions between the English and Spaniards in this sound in the year 1789, which we will do with great pleasure, and impartially, as you request.

On the 5th of May, 1789, when Don Estevan Jose Martinez arrived in Friendly Cove, he found riding at anchor there the Iphigenia only; the ship Columbia being at Mahwhinna, five miles up the sound. The sloop Washington and Northwest America (schooner) were on a cruise. This information is necessary in order to regulate the sequel of the present. After the usual ceremonies of meeting were over, Don Martinez requested the papers of each vessel, and demanded why they were at anchor in Nootka Sound, alleging it belonged to his Catholic Majesty. Captain Viana, who passed as commander of the Iphigenia, answered, they had put in, being in distress, having but little provisions, and in great want of every necessary, such as cables, anchors, rigging, sails, &c.; that they were in daily expectation of the arrival of Captain Meares from Macao to supply them, when they should depart.‡ Captain Meares was expected to return in the same vessel he sailed in from hence in the year 1788, which was under the Portuguese colors, and had a Portuguese captain on board; this vessel with the Iphigenia were said to belong to one Cravalia, or Cavallo, a merchant of Macao, in whose name the Iphigenia's papers were made out. Seeing the Iphigenia was in such want, Don Martinez gave them a temporary assistance, by supplying them with such articles as they were most in want, till the vessel before mentioned should arrive. At this

* The original letter is attached to the Journal of Captain Ingraham, which is now in the office of the Secretary of State, at Washington.

† Copied from Ingraham's Journal. This letter is now for the first time published. An incorrect synopsis of it may be found in the Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, vol. i, page 389. Some of the discrepancies between which and the letter will be here indicated by the notes.

‡ Vancouver renders this passage as follows: "Captain Viana, of the Portuguese vessel, answered, that he had put in there in distress, to await the arrival of Captain Meares from Macao;" omitting, as he does throughout his synopsis, all the particulars calculated to show the miserable condition of the Iphigenia, and the extent of the assistance afforded by the Spaniards.

time there was not the least suspicion of any misunderstanding or disturbance among us, as Don Martinez was apparently satisfied with the answers each vessel had given to his request.

However, on the 10th of May, the *San Carlos*, Captain Arrow, [Haro,] arrived. The same day the American officers came to Uquot, or Friendly Cove, to welcome them in, and the next morning, the 11th of May, Don Martinez captured the *Iphigenia*, and his reason, as we understood, was, that, in their Portuguese instructions, they had orders to capture any English, Spanish, or Russian subjects they met on the northwest coast of America. This, at the time, seemed improbable, as she was a vessel of small force, and it was afterwards found to have been a mistake, owing to their want of a perfect knowledge of the Portuguese language. However, after the vessel was taken, the officers and seamen were divided, some on board the *Princesa*, and some on board the *San Carlos*, where they were treated with all imaginable kindness and every attention paid them.

* On the 21th of May the abovementioned mistake being discovered, the *Iphigenia* was returned again and the Portuguese flag hoisted on board her; the same day, Captain Douglas, with the Portuguese captain and seamen, repaired on board. The *Iphigenia*, while in possession of the Spaniards, from being a wreck was put in complete order for sea, being calked, rigging and sails repaired, anchors and cables sent from the *Princesa*, &c. On the 26th Don Martinez supplied them with every kind of provisions they were in need of, for which Captain Douglas gave him bills on Cravallia, the beforementioned merchant of Macao. On the 31st the *Iphigenia* sailed, and was saluted by the Spanish fort; and the commodore accompanied them out of the harbor, giving every assistance with boats, &c. When Captain Douglas took his leave of the commodore, he declared he should ever entertain a sense of Don Martinez's kindness, deeming his conduct relative to the vessel no more than his duty as a king's officer. Upon the whole, we both believe the *Iphigenia's* being detained was of infinite service to those who were concerned in her. This must be plain to every one who will consider the situation of the vessel when the *Princesa* arrived, and the advantages reaped from the supplies and assistance of the Spaniards. The detention, if it may be called so, could be no detriment; for, had nothing taken place, she must have remained two months longer at least, having, as has already been mentioned, put into port, being in distress; of course they could not have sailed till supplies arrived, which was not till July, as will appear in the sequel; whereas, being early fitted as above mentioned, she sailed on the coast northward of Nootka Sound, and there being no other vessel there, they collected upwards of seven hundred sea-otter skins; which has been often represented to us by Captain Douglas and his officers, after our arrival in China. This may suffice for the transactions relative to the *Iphigenia*. Before Captain Douglas sailed, he gave Don Estevan Martinez a letter to Mr. Funter, master of the schooner *Northwest America*, telling him, from Cap-

* Of the whole of this paragraph, all that is said by Vancouver is: "The vessel and cargo were liberated, and Martinez supplied the *Iphigenia's* wants from the *Princesa*, enabling her, by so doing, to prosecute her voyage without waiting for the return of Mr. Meares." The extremity of distress to which the *Iphigenia* was reduced on her arrival at Nootka, the seven hundred sea-otter skins, and the other advantages derived by her owners from the supplies furnished by the Spanish commandant, are carefully kept out of sight.

tain Meares not arriving at the appointed time, there was great reason to fear the vessel he sailed from Nootka in had never reached China, (she being in bad condition when she sailed from this place;) therefore, as he, Mr. Funter, must, on his arrival, be destitute of every necessary, he was at liberty to conduct as he thought most conducive to the interests of his employers. We shall make mention of this vessel again hereafter.

Interim, we observe your wish to be acquainted what house or establishment Mr. Meares had at the time the Spaniards arrived here? We answer in a word—*none*. On the arrival of the *Columbia* in the year 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts covered with boards made by the Indians; but this Captain Douglas pulled to pieces prior to his sailing for the Sandwich Islands the same year. The boards he took on board the *Iphigenia*, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick, which was cut up and used as firewood on board the *Columbia*; so that, on the arrival of Don Estevan J. Martinez, there was no vestige of any house remaining. As to the land Mr. Meares said he purchased of Maquinna or any other chief, we cannot say further than we never heard of any; although we remained among these people nine months, and could converse with them perfectly well. Besides this, we have asked Maquinna and other chiefs, since our late arrival, if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka Sound; they answered—*no*, that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land.

On the 8th of June the schooner *Northwest America* arrived, and the next day the Spaniards took possession of her. Don E. J. Martinez had an account taken of the property on board, particularly of the skins, which he said should be given to the officers and seamen, that they might be sure of their wages. On the 16th of June the sloop *Princess Royal* arrived from Macao, commanded by Thomas Hudson; this vessel brought accounts of the safe arrival of Captain Meares, and that Captain Colnett was coming on the coast, commodore of the English trading-vessels from Macao, for the ensuing season, in a ship named the *Argonaut*. Mr. Hudson likewise brought accounts of the failure of Juan Cravallia & Co., merchants of Macao before mentioned. What right the commodore had to detain the *Northwest America* before, it is not for us to say; but he always said it was an agreement* between Captain Douglas and himself; but, after the arrival of this vessel with the above news, he held her as security for the bills of exchange drawn on said Cravallia & Co. in favor of his Catholic Majesty: this we have heard him say. On the 2d of July the *Princess Royal* sailed out of the port, having, to our knowledge, been treated by the commodore and his officers with every possible attention, which Captain Hudson himself seemed conscious of and grateful for. Prior to this vessel's sailing, the commodore gave to Mr. Funter† all the skins he brought in, in the *Northwest America*, which were shipped on board the sloop *Princess Royal* by Mr. Funter, for his own account. In the evening of the 2d a sail was descried from the Spanish fort; we were among the first that went out to meet them; it proved to be the *Argonaut*, Captain Colnett, before mentioned. The transactions of this vessel were such, that we can give the sense of them

* Of this supposed agreement Vancouver says nothing.

† Nothing of this in Vancouver's synopsis.

in a few words, that may answer every purpose of the particulars, many of which are not immediately to the point, or tending to what we suppose you wish to know.

It seems Captain Meares, with some other Englishmen at Macao, had concluded to erect a fort and settle a colony in Nootka Sound; from what authority we cannot say. However, on the arrival of the Argonaut, we heard Captain Colnett inform the Spanish commodore he had come for that purpose, and to hoist the British flag, take formal possession, &c. To which the commodore answered, he had taken possession already in the name of his Catholic Majesty; on which, Captain Colnett asked if he would be prevented from building a house in the port. The commodore, mistaking his meaning, answered him, he was at liberty to erect a tent, get wood and water, &c., after which he was at liberty to depart when he pleased; but Captain Colnett said that was not what he wanted, but to build a block-house, erect a fort, and settle a colony for the Crown of Great Britain. Don Estevan José Martinez answered *no*; that, in doing that, he should violate the orders of his King, run a risk of losing his commission, and, not only that, but it would be relinquishing the Spaniards' claim to the coast; besides, Don Martinez observed, the vessels did not belong to the King, nor was he intrusted with powers to transact such public business. On which, Captain Colnett answered, he was a King's officer; but Don Estevan replied, his being in the navy was of no consequence in the business. * In conversing on the subject, after the arrival of the vessel in port, it seems Captain Colnett insulted the commodore by threatening him, and drew his sword in the Princess's cabin; on which Don Martinez ordered the vessel to be seized. We did not see him draw his sword, but were informed of the circumstance by those whose veracity we had no reason to doubt. After seizing the Argonaut, the sloop Princess Royal arrived a second time; and, as she belonged to the same company, the commodore took possession of her also. With respect to the treatment of the prisoners, although we have not perused Mr. Meares's publication, we presume none of them will be backward in confessing that Don E. J. Martinez always treated them very kindly, and all his officers consistent with the character of gentlemen.

Having acquainted you with the principal part of the business, agreeable to request, one thing remains to answer—which is, of the captain, officers, and seamen of the Northwest America. You ask if we carried them to China? We did, and with them one hundred sea-otter skins, the value of which we judge, independent of freight, was \$1,575; these were delivered to Mr. Meares, and were, we suppose, his property. We sincerely hope, sir, when things are represented with truth, it will rescue our friend Don Estevan J. Martinez from censure: at least, that he may not be deemed an impostor and a pirate, which many, from only hearing one part of the story, supposed he was. As to the treatment of the Americans by Don Estevan, we have ever testified it in terms due to such hospitality, and are happy again to have it in our power to do what we deem

* Vancouver here writes, using the first person as if copying the words of the American captains: "In conversation afterwards on this subject, as we were informed, (say these gentlemen,) for we were not present during this transaction, some dispute arose in the Princess's cabin; on which Don Martinez ordered the Argonaut to be seized. Soon after this the Princess Royal returned," &c. The rumor that "Colnett insulted the commodore by threatening him, and drew his sword in the Princess's cabin," being omitted.

justice to his conduct. While speaking of others of your nation, we can never be unmindful of you ; your kind reception and treatment of us has made an impression that will not be easily erased ; and we hope you will bear in mind how very sincerely we are, sir, your most humble servants,

ROBERT GRAY,
JOSEPH INGRAHAM.

TO DON JUAN FRANCISCO DE LA BODEGA Y QUADRA.

E.

RESPECTING THE SUPPOSED SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARIES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA, AGREEABLY TO THE PROVISIONS TO THAT EFFECT IN THE TREATY OF UTRECHT. (SEE PAGE 150.)

No allusion to the settlement of boundaries between the British and French possessions in America, agreeably to the tenth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht, in 1714, or to the appointment of commissaries for that purpose, has been found in any of the following works, which have been all carefully examined with reference to the subject, viz :

Corps Diplomatique, by Dumont ; Collection de Traités, by Martens ; Collections of British Treaties, by Wilkinson and Hertlet ; Actes, Mémoires, &c., concernant la Paix d'Utrecht ; Actes, Négociations, &c., depuis la Paix d'Utrecht, by Rousset ; Mémoires des Commissaires Anglais et Français, &c., published in 1754 ; Collection des Edits, Ordonnances, &c., concernant le Canada ; Histoire de la Louisiane, by Dupratz ; Histoire de la Louisiane, by Marbois ; Mémoire sur la Louisiane, by Dumont ; Mémoire sur la Louisiane, by Vergennes ; Histoire des Indes, &c., by Raynal ; the Encyclopédie Méthodique ; Histories of England, by Smollett, Belsham, Lord Mahon, and Wade ; Parliamentary History of England ; History of the British Empire in America, by Wynne ; History of Hudson's Bay, by Dobbs ; Boyer's Political State—the volume for 1721 contains memoirs of Louisiana, and a map of that country ; American Traveller, by Cluny ; the large historical and geographical atlas by Mitchell and Senex, published at London in 1721, containing particular accounts and maps of the British and the French possessions in America ; Civil and Natural History of the French Dominions in America, by Jeffries—a comprehensive work, containing numerous maps, published in 1760 ; American atlas, by Jeffries, published in 1778 ; Alcedo's Dictionary of America ; map of North America, (the largest and most beautiful ever published,) by Henry Pople, which appeared in 1738, under the auspices of the Colonial Department of Great Britain ; map of America, published in 1794 from the materials of Governor Pownall ;—or in any other works or maps which could be considered as authorities on the subject, except those now to be mentioned.

Charlevoix, in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*,* says that commissaries were appointed in 1719 by the Governments of Great Britain and

* Alluding to disputes between the British and the Indians in Nova Scotia, Charlevoix says, (vol. iv, page 124 :) " La France n'entraî point dans ce demêlé, pour ne point donner le moindre pretexte de rompre la bonne intelligence qu'il avait tant coûté de rétablir, entre les deux Couronnes ; on cessa même de négocier dans les deux Cours, le règlement des limites, quoique dès l'année 1719 il y eut des commissaires nommés pour cela de part et d'autre."

France to determine the limits between the possessions of the two Powers in America; but that all negotiations on that subject ended in 1722, in consequence of the desire of those Courts to avoid causes of dissatisfaction. Whether or not any settlement of boundaries was effected, he does not directly say; but from his language it is to be inferred that those questions were left undetermined. In the maps attached to his work, no line appears as the limit between the Hudson's Bay territory and the possessions of France.

The Dictionary of Commerce, translated by M. Postlewhaite from the French of Savary, with alterations and amendments, and published in 1751, contains no allusion to the southern limits of the Hudson's Bay territories, although a large portion of the work is devoted to the subject of the British and French possessions in America; but in the large map of America, attached to the Dictionary, which is there stated to have been copied, with corrections, from one then recently published at Paris (in 1746) by D'Anville, a line is laid down as the limit between the Hudson's Bay countries and the French dominions. The part of this line extending north and northwest of Lake Superior, runs nearly, but not exactly, along the 49th parallel; and a note on the map says "*the line that parts French Canada from British Canada was settled by commissaries after the peace of Utrecht, making a curve from Davis's Inlet, in the Atlantic Sea, down to the Lake Abitibis, to the Northwest Ocean; therefore M. D'Anville's dotted line east of James's Bay is false.*" No copy of D'Anville's map has been found; but the above note appears to show that the line west of James's Bay is given by Postlewhaite as represented by the French geographer.

Postlewhaite's assertion is, however, directly contradicted by John Mitchell, whose large map of America, published in 1755, under the immediate patronage of the Colonial Department of Great Britain, is generally considered as the best authority with regard to the political geography of America, at that period. In this map, a line drawn irregularly from the Atlantic along the highlands, or supposed highlands, dividing the waters falling into Hudson's Bay from those emptying into the great lakes, the St. Lawrence, or the Mississippi, is given as "*the bounds of Hudson's Bay by the treaty of Utrecht.*" This line runs around Hudson's Bay, nearly at the same distance from the shores of that sea only, in its whole course; and a very small part of it passes as far south as the 49th parallel. The boundary, thus given by Mitchell, is adopted in the map prefixed to Russell's History of America, in those published by Bennet in 1770, by Faden in 1777, and in other maps.

In a map of the British possessions in America, as settled by the treaty of 1763, published at London in 1775 by Eman Bowen and John Gibson, a line running along the 49th parallel, from a point immediately south of the southern extremity of James's Bay, westward to the Red River, and then northward, down that stream, to Lake Winnipeg, is given as the southern limit of the Hudson's Bay territory, agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht; and this is the earliest distinct declaration which has been discovered of the adoption of any part of that parallel precisely, as a boundary in North America.

Thus it appears that all the most accredited authorities, with the exception of Mitchell, are against the supposition that any boundary between the British and the French dominions in America was settled agreeably

to the treaty of Utrecht; and that Mitchell represents the Hudson's Bay territories as separated from the French possessions by an irregular line drawn along the course of the highlands surrounding, or supposed to surround, that sea.

In support of the opinion that no such boundary was settled, may be cited the following remarks upon that article, extracted from Anderson's elaborate History of Commerce, vol. iii, page 267: "Though the French King yielded to the Queen of Great Britain, to be possessed by her in full right, for ever, the Bay and Straits of Hudson, and all parts thereof, and within the same, then possessed by France, yet leaving the boundaries between Hudson's Bay and the north parts of Canada belonging to France, to be determined by commissaries within a year, was, in effect, the same thing as giving up the point altogether; it being well known to all Europe, that France never permits her commissaries to determine matters referred to such, unless it can be done with great advantage to her. Those boundaries, therefore, have never yet been settled, though both British and French subjects are by that article expressly debarred from passing over the same, or thereby to go to each other by sea or land. These commissaries were likewise to settle the boundaries between the other British and French colonies on that continent; which, likewise, was never done." The correctness of the concluding part of these remarks is well known; and it is scarcely probable that either of the Powers would have assented to a partial determination of boundaries. The remarks of Anderson are incorporated in Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, published in 1805.

Maps, which are so frequently consulted on the subject of boundaries, and which, therefore, ought to be the best authorities, are, unfortunately, in general the very worst, as they are for the most part made by persons unacquainted with political history. Of the truth of this assertion innumerable instances might be adduced. In a large and beautifully engraved map of the United States, published at Philadelphia in 1821, "*from the most undoubted authorities, by ——— geographer and draughtsman,*" the northern boundary of the part of the United States west of the Mississippi, is represented by a line drawn westward from the sources of that river nearly under the latitude of 47 degrees and 40 minutes; the country north of this line being stated to be "*in dispute between Spain and Great Britain.*" Now, three years before this map appeared, the boundary between the United States and the British possessions in that part of America, had been fixed by treaty; according to which, the dividing-line followed the course of the 49th parallel; and two years before the date of the map, Spain had also, by treaty, ceded to the United States her rights to all territories in America north of the 42d parallel. These treaties had been published; and it is scarcely credible that they should have been unknown to an American geographer engaged in preparing a map of the United States. The French have made great use of maps, and have had maps made for use in their negotiations about boundaries with Great Britain. Books of geography are also in general incorrect as regards boundaries. In the Encyclopædia of Geography, published at Edinburgh in 1834, by Hugh Murray, and other scientific persons, we find it stated, (page 1374,) that "the whole region west of the Rocky Mountains, extending between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, *has, by discovery and treaty, been assigned to the United States.*" A statement to the same effect may be found in the London Quarterly Review for January, 1822.

F.

TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF DIFFERENT NATIONS, RELATING TO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

(1.)

Convention between Great Britain and Spain, signed at the Escorial, October 28, 1790, may be found at length in the Memoir, page 114.

(2.)

Convention between the United States of America and Great Britain, signed at London, October 20, 1818.

"ART. 2. It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic Majesty; and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of his Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.

"ART. 3. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two Powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other Power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves."

(3.)

Treaty of amity, settlement, and limits, between the United States and Spain, (commonly called the Florida Treaty,) signed at Washington, February 22, 1819.

"ART. 3. The boundary-line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then, following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then crossing

the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the River Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea; the whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the 1st of January, 1818. But, if the source of the Arkansas River shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42, and thence, along the said parallel, to the South Sea. All the islands in the Sabine, and the said Red and Arkansas Rivers, throughout the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said Rivers Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of the said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.

"The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions to the territories described by the said line; that is to say, the United States hereby cede to his Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever all their rights, claims, and pretensions to the territories lying west and south of the above described line; and, in like manner, his Catholic Majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to any territories east and north of the said line; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever."

(4.)

Convention between the United States and Russia, signed at Saint Petersburg on the 17 of April, 1824.

"ART. 1. It is agreed that, in any part of the great ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, the respective citizens or subjects of the high contracting Powers shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing, or in the power of resorting to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives; saving always the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles:

"ART. 2. With the view of preventing the rights of navigation and of fishing, exercised upon the great ocean by the citizens and subjects of the high contracting Powers, from becoming the pretext for an illicit trade, it is agreed that the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commander; and that, reciprocally, the subjects of Russia shall not resort, without permission, to any establishment of the United States upon the northwest coast.

"ART. 3. It is, moreover, agreed that, hereafter, there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of the said States, any establishment upon the northwest coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, to the north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, south of the same parallel.

"ART. 4. It is, nevertheless, understood, that during a term of ten years,

counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both Powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects, respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hindrance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives of the country.

“ART. 5. All spirituous liquors, fire-arms, other arms, powder, and munitions of war of every kind, are always excepted from this same commerce permitted by the preceding article; and the two Powers engage, reciprocally, neither to sell, nor suffer them to be sold to the natives, by their respective citizens and subjects, nor by any person who may be under their authority. It is likewise stipulated, that this restriction shall never afford a pretext, nor be advanced, in any case, to authorize either search or detention of the vessels, seizure of the merchandise, or, in fine, any measures of constraint whatever, towards the merchants or the crews who may carry on this commerce; the high contracting Powers reciprocally reserving to themselves to determine upon the penalties to be incurred, and to inflict the punishments in case of the contravention of this article by their respective citizens or subjects.”

(5.)

Convention between Great Britain and Russia, signed at Saint Petersburg, February 1st, 1825.

“ART. 1. It is agreed that the respective subjects of the high contracting parties shall not be troubled or molested in any part of the ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, either in navigating the same, in fishing therein, or in landing at such parts of the coast as shall not have been already occupied, in order to trade with the natives, under the restrictions and conditions specified in the following articles :

“ART. 2. In order to prevent the right of navigating and fishing, exercised upon the ocean by the subjects of the high contracting parties, from becoming the pretext for an illicit commerce, it is agreed that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall not land at any place where there may be a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commandant; and, on the other hand, that Russian subjects shall not land, without permission, at any British establishment on the northwest coast.

“ART. 3. The line of demarcation between the possessions of the high contracting parties, upon the coast of the continent, and the islands of America to the northwest, shall be drawn in the manner following: Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and the 133d degree of west longitude, (meridian of Greenwich,) the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude. From this last mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, (of the same meridian.) And, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the northwest.

"ART. 4. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood—

"1st. That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

"2d. That whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom.

"ART. 5. It is, moreover, agreed that no establishment shall be formed by either of the two parties within the limits assigned by the two preceding articles to the possessions of the other; consequently, British subjects shall not form any establishment either upon the coast, or upon the border of the continent comprised within the limits of the Russian possessions, as designated in the two preceding articles; and, in like manner, no establishment shall be formed by Russian subjects beyond the said limits.

"ART. 6. It is understood that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean, or from the interior of the continent, shall forever enjoy the right of navigating freely, and without any hindrance whatever, all the rivers and streams which, in their course towards the Pacific Ocean, may cross the line of demarcation upon the line of coast described in article 3 of the present convention.

"ART. 7. It is also understood, that, for the space of ten years from the signature of the present convention, the vessels of the two Powers, or those belonging to their respective subjects, shall mutually be at liberty to frequent, without any hindrance whatever, all the inland seas, the gulfs, havens, and creeks on the coast, mentioned in article 3, for the purposes of fishing and of trading with the natives.

"ART. 8. The port of Sitka, or Novo Archangelsk, shall be open to the commerce and vessels of British subjects for the space of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention. In the event of an extension of this term of ten years being granted to any other Power, the like extension shall be granted also to Great Britain.

"ART. 9. The above mentioned liberty of commerce shall not apply to the trade in spirituous liquors, in fire-arms, or other arms, gunpowder, or other warlike stores; the high contracting parties reciprocally engaging not to permit the abovementioned articles to be sold or delivered, in any manner whatever, to the natives of the country.

"ART. 10. Every British or Russian vessel navigating the Pacific Ocean, which may be compelled by storms or by accident to take shelter in the ports of the respective parties, shall be at liberty to refit therein, to provide itself with all necessary stores, and to put to sea again, without paying any other than port and light-house dues, which shall be the same as those paid by national vessels. In case, however, the master of such vessel should be under the necessity of disposing of a part of his merchandise in order to defray his expenses, he shall conform himself to the regulations and tariffs of the place where he may have landed.

"ART. 11. In every case of complaint on account of an infraction of the

articles of the present convention, the civil and military authorities of the high contracting parties, without previously acting, or taking any forcible measure, shall make an exact and circumstantial report of the matter to their respective courts, who engage to settle the same in a friendly manner, and according to the principles of justice."

(6.)

*Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed at London,
August 6, 1827.*

"ART. 1. All the provisions of the third article of the convention concluded between the United States of America and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1818, shall be, and they are hereby, further indefinitely extended and continued in force, in the same manner as if all the provisions of the said article were herein specifically recited.

"ART. 2. It shall be competent, however, to either of the contracting parties, in case either should think fit, at any time after the 20th of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annul and abrogate this convention; and it shall, in such case, be accordingly entirely annulled and abrogated, after the expiration of the said term of notice.

"ART. 3. Nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of the 20th October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be construed to impair, or in any manner affect, the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains."

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