G. Simpson

NARRATIVE

OF A

JOURNEY ROUND THE WORLD,

DURING THE YEARS 1841 AND 1842.

BY

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON,

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF
OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S TERRITORIES
IN NORTH AMERICA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—

SIR JOHN HENRY PELLY, BART., GOVERNOR,
ANDREW COLVILE, ESQUIRE, DEPUTY GOVERNOR,
BENJAMIN HARRISON, ESQUIRE,
JOHN HALKETT, ESQUIRE,
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AARON CHAPMAN, ESQUIRE, M.P.,
EDWARD ELLICE, ESQUIRE, M.P.,
THE EARL OF SELKIRK,
RICHARD WEYNTON, ESQUIRE—

THESE PAGES

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THEIR OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

The Author ought perhaps to account for the length of time which has elapsed since the conclusion of his Travels, in 1842, to the date of their publication. It may probably be deemed sufficient to state that the various and important occupations in which, during that long period, he had been constantly engaged under the Hudson's Bay Company, throughout their extensive territories, as well as at their remote trading-posts in other parts of North America, precluded him from bestowing an earlier and requisite attention to the subject.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

FROM LONDON TO RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER II.

FROM RED RIVER SETTLEMENT TO EDMONTON.

CHAPTER III.

FROM EDMONTON HOUSE TO FORT VANCOUVER.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM VANCOUVER TO SITKA.

CHAPTER V.

FROM SITKA TO VANCOUVER.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM VANCOUVER TO SAN FRANCISCO.

CHAPTER VII.

SAN FRANCISCO.

CHAPTER VIII.

MONTEREY.

CHAPTER IX.

SANTA BARBARA.

CHAPTER X.

VOYAGE TO HONOLULU, &c.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

MAP
shewing
THE AUTHOR'S ROUTE.

N.B. The Route is described by a Dotted Line coloured Red.

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NARRATIVE

OF AN

OVERLAND

JOURNEY ROUND THE WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

FROM LONDON TO RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Departure from London — Voyage across the Atlantic — Halifax—Boston—Route to Montreal—Montreal—Departure from La Chine—Ottawa — Mátawa — Height of land — Lake Nipissing, Ice—French River—Lake Huron—Sault Sainte Marie—Lake Superior, a Week in the Ice—Chippeway Indians—Kaministaquoia, Kakabeka Fall—Height of land—Route to Lac la Pluie—Fort Frances, Chippeway Indians—Rivière la Pluie—Lake of the Woods—River Winipeg—Lake Winipeg—Red River—Lower Fort—Departure of Lords Caledon and Mulgrave for Buffalo Hunting.

On the morning of the 3rd of March, 1841, I left London for Liverpool. In addition to my secretary, Mr. Hopkins, I was accompanied by four or five gentlemen connected with the Hudson's Bay Company's service, and also by a gentleman in the service of the Russian American Company, on his route from Petersburg to Sitka, which his superiors were thus preferring for him, as shorter by thirty degrees of longitude, the breadth of all the rest of the world, to that of his native empire. In less than ten hours we reached our port of

embarkation, taking up our quarters for the night at the Grecian Hotel in Dale Street.

Next day, after an early dinner, we were conveyed in a small steamer from the Egremont Pier to the Caledonia, Captain M^c^Kellar, a vessel of 1,300 tons, and 450 horse power. At half-past five, the last of the passengers, amounting in all to forty-four, having arrived, together with the mail-bags, the melancholy signal of the farewell bell was immediately followed by a rush of "friends" for the shore; and, in ten minutes more, at the sound of the bugle, the good ship's paddles were plashing in the waters of the Mersey.

The first incident that varied the usual monotony of sickness and discomfort was the glimpse of a whale in the morning of our sixth day. In fact, we nearly ran foul of the monster while he was lounging on the surface, within a few feet of the paddles; but, not liking the look of us, he immediately dived, so that we saw nothing more of him. Next day furnished us with a still richer theme for discussion. While we ourselves had so little wind that all our light canvass was set, we met, at some distance, a ship under close-reefed topsails, pronounced, by the by, by some of our "blue noses" to be the Andover, bound from New Brunswick for Liverpool. Though some of us took the responsibility of ridiculing the timidity of the unknown skipper, yet our weatherwise friends concluded that he must have just escaped from a gale, of which we were very likely to have our turn. Within eight and forty hours, their prognostications were verified with a vengeance.

On the morning of our ninth day, Captain M^c^Kellar discovered that the barometer had fallen between two

and three inches during the night, having descended to 26°.9,—the lowest point which, in his experience, it had ever reached. The wind gradually increased in violence, till, by three in the afternoon, it blew a perfect hurricane, during which, so far from being able to mount the rigging, the crew could hardly show themselves on deck, unless sheltered from the fury of the blast. One of our boats was swept overboard; part of our cutwater was carried away; much of our canvass was torn to rags; and seven of our men were severely injured. The sea had risen into mountains, whose whitened crests, shorn off as soon as formed, were scattered through the air like drifts of snow, while the solid masses, one after another, were making a clean breach over us. The sky, as if its murky curtain rested on the very waters, was almost as dark as night; the rain fell heavily; and our ship, like "a thing of life," might have been supposed to struggle and groan in the agonies of dissolution.

If the scene without was awful, the scene within was still more appalling to the nerves. Passengers and crew alike appeared to give themselves up for lost; and, in fact, the more experienced among us, as being more sensible of the extent and variety of our perils, laboured under greater terror than the rest. The storm came from all the points of the compass in succession, commencing at N. E., travelling round to E., S., and W., and finally settling about N. This characteristic of the tempest raised such a cross sea, that, even when, about six in the morning, the wind abated, the vessel could not keep her course; and she was, therefore, laid-to for several hours.

On the second day thereafter, the sea still running

high, with a foul wind, the Caledonia, in a heavy pitch, carried away her jib-boom; and, in order to clear the wreck, she was obliged to make better weather of it, by putting about a little. Within four-and-twenty hours more, a depth of fifty-three fathoms showed that we were now on the banks of Newfoundland. Had our hurricane caught us here amid the short swell of the shallow waters, we should, in all human probability, have met the same fate as befel the unfortunate President, under somewhat similar circumstances, in this very storm.

Towards the close of our next day's dinner, the cry of "land" sent the hungriest of us on deck, when the supposed *terra firma* proved to be only an immense field of ice, which, from the inequalities of its surface, had assumed, with a little help from refraction, the appearance of a wooded country. As this floating island lay in our very path, we were obliged to round it, keeping along its southern shore; and so extensive was it, that we did not get fairly rid of it till midnight.

While we were coasting along what had been mistaken for land, the cry of "light ahead" turned out to be a still more extraordinary error. As we were several hundred miles to the eastward of Isle des Sables, the announcement in question excited the greatest astonishment. Seeing, however, was believing; and all the knowing ones, though sorely puzzled as to the cause of the phenomenon, did yet clearly distinguish a magnificent revolver. The paddles were accordingly stopped to have a cast of the lead, while every glass on board was gazing intently in the right direction. But, in a short time, old Mother Earth was ascertained to be the principal revolver in the case, for, in rather less than

half an hour, the unknown light proved to be a newly-risen star. This optical illusion was doubtless connected with the proximity of the adjacent glacier, as well as of some icebergs that we saw about the same time; and the *aurora borealis*, whether it be an optical illusion or not, was peculiarly vivid for several hours during the night.

About noon on the 18th, we descried the dreary shores of Nova Scotia, covered with snow and lined with ice; and, by five in the evening, after a run of precisely fourteen days, we entered the harbour of Halifax, amid the hearty cheers of a large concourse of "blue noses." We did not, however, come to our moorings before half-past six, fully half an hour after sunset. Almost immediately afterwards, the Britannia, belonging to the same line as the Caledonia, came into port, on her homeward voyage from Boston to England, in order to receive the mail. The simultaneous arrival of two large steamers naturally threw the town into a state of great animation and bustle, more particularly as each of them would transact all her business with the least possible delay, or rather with the greatest possible expedition.

To the establishment of this communication between the two continents, Halifax owes much, both on commercial and on political grounds. Still, however, the work is only half done. In summer, to be sure, the mails are conveyed so rapidly to Quebec by steam, that the first news from England is received throughout Canada by that route; but, during the winter, the bags are dragged over such wretched roads, that they every where meet, as stale news, the letters and journals

which have accompanied themselves from England, and preferred the circuitous route through the United States to the straight cut through British America.

Of this flourishing city and its celebrated haven I could not presume to offer any opinion, after a nocturnal visit of only five hours. We started again for Boston soon after eleven in the evening, several of our passengers having left us, but many more having joined us.

On the forenoon of the 20th we entered Boston Bay. The upper end of the inlet presented many small islands, on which were fortifications, not yet finished, of considerable strength. The navigation appeared to be intricate; but by half-past eleven we were safely moored, having accomplished a distance of three hundred and ninety miles from Halifax in thirty-six hours. As the officers of the customs allowed our baggage to pass without examination, we soon found ourselves in the heart of the city, which was full of life and bustle. There was here far more to remind an Englishman of home than any thing I had ever seen in New York. Even before landing, the gently undulating shores of the bay, highly cultivated, and partially covered with snow, had recalled to my memory the white cliffs and green hills of England; and within the town, the oldest and finest in the Union, both the buildings and the inhabitants had a peculiarly English air about them. Moreover, in many respects, that do not strike the eye, Boston resembles her fatherland. She is the centre and soul of those religious establishments, which have placed the United States next to Great Britain in the divine task of shedding on the nations the light of the Gospel;

she is the nursery and home of most of those commercial adventurers, who have elevated the influence of America above that of England, in more than one of those regions which lie within the contemplated range of my wanderings.

But Boston has more of America about her, as well as more of England, than any one of her republican rivals. It was in her town-hall that the revolution was planned; it was from her quays that the imports, which the old country taxed, were thrown into the tide; it was by her citizens that freedom's first battle was fought on Bunker's Hill. Both of these apparently contradictory characteristics of Boston are mainly owing to one and the same cause. The Pilgrim Fathers were republicans in feeling, while their descendants continued to be so under a practically republican constitution; and the close resemblance to England in every thing but the government of the church and the state was the natural result of the fact, that the colony, of which Boston was the capital, virtually began her career, as a portion of the old country, by receiving into her bosom all the various grades and classes of society at once.

After dining at the Tremont, an excellent hotel, we left the city at five in the afternoon, by railway, for Lowell, the Manchester of New England; and, proceeding thence by a similar mode of conveyance, we reached Nashua, distant thirty-five miles from Boston, about nine o'clock. In 1819 this place was a mere village, of about nineteen houses in all; but now it contained, in connexion with its manufactories, nineteen thousand inhabitants, with the usual concomitants of

churches, hotels, prisons, banks, &c. The country was industriously cultivated and densely peopled.

As our party, by the addition of some of our fellow-passengers in the Caledonia, was now increased to fourteen, we formed ourselves, on starting from Nashua in the morning, into two detachments, which pursued different roads, in order to lessen the chances of famine and detention. One band dashed off in a sleigh with six horses; and the other, to which I belonged, rattled along in a coach and four. We soon passed into New Hampshire, which is hilly and well settled; but whether or not it were skilfully cultivated the snow prevented us from judging.

We reached Concord, the capital of the state, in time for a rather late breakfast, for which a drive of thirty-five miles had thoroughly sharpened the appetite. Here, as bad luck would have it, we exchanged our coach for a sleigh. For the first few miles we congratulated ourselves on the improvement; but the sun, as the day advanced, kept thawing the snow, till at last, on coming to a deep drift, we were repeatedly obliged to get out, sometimes walking up to our knees, and sometimes helping to lift the vehicle with levers out of the snow. About three o'clock, however, we fairly stuck fast, in spite of all our hoisting, and hauling, and pushing. The horses struggled and plunged to no purpose, excepting that the leaders, after breaking part of their tackle, galloped off "over the hills and far away," leaving us to kick our heels in the slush, till they were brought back, after a chase of several miles.

Having extricated ourselves by placing our baggage on another sleigh, which was condescendingly driven by

"Captain" Smith, we kept rolling and pitching, till, about eleven at night, we broke down with a crash in a deep drift. Assistance being procured, the body of the sleigh was mounted on a clumsy pair of runners; and, as the night was cold, we were all glad to lend a helping hand, to save our fingers from being frost-bitten. At Lebanon, a village of Quakers, which we reached about half-past one, we exchanged our disabled vehicle for a more serviceable sleigh, consoling ourselves at the same time with a good supper.

Our road was somewhat romantic, being cut on the face of a range of abrupt hills that overlooked the Connecticut River. Reaching the village of Royalton at sunrise, we again exchanged our vehicle for the equipage in which our competitors in the race to Montreal had performed the last stage; and, while we were drawing odious comparisons to the prejudice of our new outfit, we were soon put in better humour by finding in the bottom of the sleigh a writing-desk, containing the money and papers of one of my own original companions, who had joined the other detachment.

We were now travelling through Vermont,—the State of green mountains. The country appeared to be well worthy of its name; and one part of the road was peculiarly beautiful, passing through a narrow valley, known as the Gorge, between steep hills on either side. Montpelier, where we breakfasted, was perhaps the sweetest spot that I saw on my travels, looking rather like the residence of hereditary ease and luxury, than the capital of a young republic of thrifty graziers. It was, in fact, an assemblage of villas. The wide streets ran between rows of trees; and the houses, each in its

own little garden, were shaded by verandahs. By eleven at night we overtook our friends at the American Hotel in Burlington, on Lake Champlain. After supper, at which each party recounted to the other its various perils by "flood and field," we retired about one o'clock to obtain a little repose, after forty-two hours of hard jolting, leaving orders to call us at five in the morning.

Four hours being very scanty allowance of sleep for two whole days, I was not surprised at being nearly as drowsy as ever when I was roused by a peal of blows at my door. In spite, however, of laziness, and a cold morning to boot, I had completed the operations of washing and dressing by candle-light, having even donned hat and gloves to join my companions, when the waiter entered my room with a grin. "I guess," said the rascal, "I've put my foot in it; are you the man that wanted to be called at two?" "No," was my reply. "Then," said he, "I calculate, I've fixed the wrong man, so you had better go to bed again." Having delivered himself of this friendly advice, he went to awaken my neighbour, who had all this time been quietly enjoying the sleep that properly belonged to me. Instead of following the fellow's recommendation, I sat up for the rest of the night, thinking one hour's snooze hardly worth the trouble of rubbing my eyes a second time.

In the afternoon, an hour or so after passing the town of Highgate, the outposts of one of our regiments, that were stationed in a dark forest, showed us that we had got beyond the frontier. At three in the morning, we crossed the Richelieu, which empties Lake Champlain

into the St. Lawrence, by a wooden bridge, a good deal the worse for the wear, and three quarters of a mile in length.

Being now in the village of St. John's, one or two of us went ahead to the principal inn; and, as our knocking and shouting elicited no answer, we enforced our noisy salutations by adding that there were fourteen more coming, with a whole host of drivers. When at length we effected an entrance, eagerly demanding fires and suppers, the landlord was not to be found, though, on examining the premises, his lair was warm, and his clothes, down even to the indispensable garment, were all waiting their owner's appearance more patiently than we were. The establishment was searched up stairs and down stairs, inside and outside, while the luckless man's brother wandered about, the very ghost of despair; and we were inclined to reproach ourselves as the innocent cause of the domestic tragedy. In a few minutes, however, did "mine host" return with a face wreathed in the blandest smiles. The mystery was now quickly explained. The election had taken place the day before, accompanied by much rioting; and the landlord, having zealously espoused the cause of the successful candidate, had been threatened with all sorts of vengeance by the losing party. The doomed inn-keeper had accordingly considered us, more particularly after the announcement of our numbers, as the bearers of his death-warrant, brimful, of course, of wrath and whiskey; and, as the fiercest fire-eater would have done in his place, he smuggled himself away for dear life into some unmentionable and inscrutable corner or other.

This little adventure and our keen appetites together

made us forget our fatigues over a substantial meal, supper and breakfast in one; and, finding all the beds engaged, we continued our journey to La Prairie, and thence, across the ice of the St. Lawrence, to Montreal. In traversing the noble river, we enjoyed perhaps the best view that can be obtained of the metropolis of the Canadas, rising from the waters' edge up the immediate bank of the stream, and then stretching away along the face of the higher ground behind. If the aspect of the city be grander from the mountain, as it is called, in the rear at any given point, the sight from that part of the St. Lawrence, which we passed, is superior in this respect, that, besides being nearly as complete at every instant, it rapidly evolves an endless variety, during a race of about seven miles.

On this flourishing emporium I shall offer only this single remark, that it contrasts, as if in a nutshell, the characteristic qualities of the two races that inhabit it. The French were the original possessors of the city, while the English at first found themselves to be houseless strangers in a strange land. But the latter have forced their way by inches from the waters' edge into nearly all that constituted Montreal in the days of Wolfe and Amherst; and the former have been driven from their ancient seats into the newer sections of the city, being gradually jostled out even there from every thing like a thoroughfare of commerce.

On the 1st of May, the season being more backward than usual, the navigation was so far open as to permit the steamers to ply on the St. Lawrence as far as Beauharnois and Chateauguay; and on that day, therefore, the heavy canoes were despatched for the interior

under the charge of one of the gentlemen, who had accompanied me from London. The weather was still cold and unsteady; patches of deep snow were to be seen; and neither meadow nor bush displayed any symptom of reviving vegetation.

In the light canoes I was to have several fellow-travellers not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company's service. My friend, Colonel Oldfield, head of the engineer department in Canada, was to accompany me, along with his aide-de-camp, Mr. Bainbrigge, as far as Lake Nipissing, in order to survey the country with respect to the means of navigation; and the Earls of Caledon and Mulgrave were to be my fellow-travellers all the way to Red River settlement, whence they intended to proceed to hunt the buffalo.

Under these circumstances, our departure excited more than ordinary interest; and accordingly, on the morning of the 4th of May, many friends of my fellow-travellers and myself came out to an early breakfast in order to witness our start for the wilderness. By nine o'clock, our two canoes were floating in front of the house, on the Lachine Canal, constructed to avoid the famous rapids of St. Louis. The crews, thirteen men to the one vessel and fourteen to the other, consisted partly of Canadians, but principally of Iroquois from the opposite village of Kaughnawaga, the whole being under the charge of my old and faithful follower, Morin. To do credit to the concern in the eyes of the strangers, the voyageurs had been kept as sober as voyageurs could be kept on such an occasion; and each one had been supplied with a feather for his cap. This was all very fine; but the poor fellows were sadly disappointed,

that a northwester, which was blowing, prevented the hoisting of our flags.

The canoes, those tiny vehicles of an amphibious navigation, are constructed in the following manner. The outside is formed of the thick and tough bark of the birch, the sheets being sewed together with the root of the pine-tree split into threads, and the seams gummed to make them air-tight. The gunwales are of pine or cedar of about three inches square; and in their lower edges are inserted the ribs, made of thin pieces of wood, bent to a semicircle. Between the ribs and the bark is a coating of lathing, which, besides warding off internal injury from the fragile covering, serves to impart a firmness to the vessel. These canoes are generally about thirty-five feet from stem to stern; and are five feet wide in the centre, gradually tapering to a point at each end, where they are raised about a foot. When loaded, they draw scarcely eighteen inches of water; and they weigh between three hundred and four hundred pounds.

When all was ready, the passengers embarked, the centre of each canoe being appropriated to their accommodation. In the first canoe the two noblemen and myself took our seats; and the second contained Colonel Oldfield, Mr. Bainbrigge, our Russian companion, and Mr. Hopkins. At ten minutes before eleven, the men struck up one of their hereditary ditties, and off we went amid the cheers and adieus of our assembled friends.

As the wind was high, the waves of the St. Lawrence rather resembled those of the sea than of a river, while, borne on the biting gale, the snow drifted heavily in

our faces. At Point Clare, where we dined, we luckily obtained the shelter of a roof, through the politeness of Mr. Charlebois, whose wife proved to be an old friend of mine, being a daughter of Mr. Dease, the northern discoverer, one of the gentlemen who had accompanied me across the Atlantic. At St. Anne's rapid, on the Ottawa, we neither sang our evening hymn nor bribed the lady patroness with shirts, caps, &c., for a propitious journey :—but proceeded.

In the Lake of the Two Mountains we found our heavy canoes, now three days out from Lachine, still wind-bound; and, after bidding them good bye with our lighter craft and stronger crews, we reached the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment about half-past six. On approaching the land, we were saluted by the one cannon of the fort, while Mr. Mac Tavish waited on the wharf to give us a hearty welcome; and, on reaching the house, we were kindly received by his lady. After being resuscitated by warm fires and an excellent supper, we spread our bedding on the floor.

Being trammelled by a roof, we indulged ourselves to the unusually late hour of half-past two; and even then we lost a little time in searching for some of our men, who, according to custom in such cases, were out of the way. In consequence of the height of the water, the forests along the bank appeared to grow out of a lake. At the foot of the Long Sault, a succession of rapids of about twelve miles in length, we breakfasted. Soon afterwards, we reached the Lock of Carillon, the first of a series of artificial works, erected by government to avoid the rapids in question; passing through the whole, without delay or expense, as part and parcel of

Colonel Oldfield's suite. In the lake above Grenville, into which these works conducted us, we met a steamer gliding so gently and silently along, that she might almost be supposed to have gone astray on these once secluded waters.

Next morning, after toiling for six hours, we breakfasted at eight, with the wet ground for our table, and with rain, in place of milk, to cool our tea. By one in the afternoon, while attempting to pass close under the falls of the Rideau, we were swept into the middle of the river by the violence of the current, our gunwales being covered by the foam that floated on the water. These Falls are about fifty feet in height and three hundred in breadth, being at the time we saw them more magnificent than usual by reason of the high state of the waters. It is from their resemblance to a curtain that they are distinguished as the Rideau; and they also give this name to the river that feeds them, which again lends the same appellation to the canal that connects the Ottawa with Lake Ontario.

Through a wide and smooth reach of the stream we came in an hour to the Chaudière rapids, forming the lowest of a series of impediments which extends upwards to the lake of the same name. Between the Rideau and the Chaudière there is a remarkable contrast. The former is a mere fall of water from one level to another, but the latter presents a desperate struggle of the majestic Ottawa, leaping, with a roar of thunder, from ledge to ledge and from rock to rock, till at last, wearied, as it were, with its buffetings, it sinks exhausted into the placid pool below.

At the outlet of the canal, which is situated between

the Rideau and the Chaudière, stands Bytown, named after my late much valued friend, Colonel By of the Engineers; while on the opposite bank the ground above the Chaudière is occupied by the once flourishing village of Hull, the creation of an enterprising backwoodsman of New England, named Wright.

Up to Chaudière Lake the canoes were sent perfectly light by water, while the baggage and passengers were conveyed on wheels to the prettily situated village of Aylmer. Being here rejoined by our little squadron, we encamped up the lake on the grounds of my friend General Lloyd, from whose hospitable mansion our tea-table, if the bottom of a tent could be deemed such, was provided, not for the first time in my voyaging experience, with the luxuries of milk and cream.

Here the bull-frogs, gathering new vigour from the light of our fires, serenaded us all night, to our infinite annoyance. Soon after sunrise, we made a portage round Les Chutes des Chats into the rapids which terminate the lake of the same name. In the course of the day, we had heavy work with a succession of difficult portages, breakfasting on the first, and meeting on the second my trusty half-bred guide Bernard, who now came into my canoe, while Morin was transferred to the other. The last of the series, the Grand Calumet, we were obliged to leave for next morning's amusement, though it was only half a mile distant.

Our encampment would have formed a rich and varied subject for a painter's brush. The tents were pitched in a small clump of pines, while round a blazing fire the passengers were collected amid a medley of boxes, barrels, pots, cloaks, &c.; and to the left, on a rock

above the foaming rapids, were lying the canoes; the men flitting athwart their own separate fire as actively as if they had enjoyed a holiday, and anxiously watching a huge cauldron that was suspended over the flames by three poles. The foreground consisted of two or three magnificent trees on a slight eminence; and the background was formed by dense woods and a gleaming lake.

It was six in the morning before we left the Grand Calumet behind us; and thence we proceeded without farther impediment to Fort Coulonge, distant about two hundred and ten miles from Montreal. Some of us had looked forward to this place with a good deal of interest, as a short halt would here be necessary in order to transact business and receive supplies. In addition to Mr. Siveright, who was in charge of the establishment, I here met Mr. Cameron, another of the Company's officers, who had come all the way from his own station of Lake Temis-cameng to wait my arrival. As the latter gentleman accompanied us, on our departure, with his canoe and five men, our party now became quite formidable, mustering forty persons in all. After making portages at several rapids, and among them the justly admired Culle Butte, racing round the base of a rocky hill in a very narrow channel, we encamped for the night at the entrance of Lac des Allumettes.

In the morning—the morning, be it observed, of the 9th of May—the water was crusted with ice thick enough to require the aid of poles in order to break a path for the canoes. After touching at the Company's post on the borders of the lake, we halted at five, being three hours earlier than usual, for breakfast, that the

sun might do our work for us by melting away our icy barrier. We soon stumbled on another obstacle in the shape of a boom placed athwart the river by the lumberers of the neighbourhood.

The custom among these hardy fellows is for each person to place his mark on his own timber, when he fells it in winter; the logs are then dragged to the bank of the river over the snow, there remaining to be wafted by the rising of the waters to the nearest boom. At this common point of union, each lumberer combines first his sticks into cribs and then his cribs into rafts—the latter being like floating hamlets, with four or five huts and a population of twenty or thirty men. In descending a rapid, the raft is again separated into its cribs, each crib generally carrying its own proportion of the crew; and in some places, at the Joachin, for instance, all fastenings are untied so as to let the trees take their chance, one by one, down the unmanageable surges.

These lumberers may be considered as the pioneers of that commerce, which cannot fail ere long to find its way up this noble river, abounding, as it does, in every conceivable requisite for trade and agriculture, such as water-power, abundance of timber, good climate, and a variety of soil, sandy, stony, and rich. The scenery is generally picturesque, here rising in lofty rocks, and there clothed with forests to the water's edge; and the whole, being now deserted by its ancient lords, is left free to the civilizing influences of the axe and the plough.

In the course of this day and the next, we made several portages, reaching, about five in the afternoon,

the point at which the Matawa flows into the Ottawa from the south-west. This spot might be considered as the first grand hinge in our route. We were here to leave the magnificent stream, on which we had accomplished the entire distance of nearly four hundred miles; for even at Lachine, and still farther down, the two great rivers of Canada, the Ottawa with its earthy yellow, and the St. Lawrence with its lake-born blue, are nearly as distinct from each other as when rushing to their confluence down their respective channels. At this place was a small post belonging to the Company, where we left Mr. Bainbrigge to await the arrival of a small canoe, which I had ordered to follow us from Fort Coulonge to secure the retreat of Colonel Oldfield; and, as soon as his little vessel arrived, he was to follow, and, if possible, to overtake us.

At one of the rapids below Matawa, the heavy canoes, which came up a few days after ourselves, lost a very valuable chest of medicines,—one of the very few accidents which could be imputed to the carelessness of a voyageur during the long course of my experience. This morning, however, we were reminded that serious disasters had occurred and might occur again, for we breakfasted near two crosses, that had been placed over the bodies of two men, who were drowned, while running the adjacent rapid.

Before bidding good bye to our old friend, the Ottawa, let me here offer a description of a day's march, as a general specimen of the whole journey. To begin with the most important part of our proceedings, the business of encamping for our brief night, we selected, about sunset, some dry and tolerably clear spot; and,

immediately on landing, the sound of the axe would be ringing through the woods, as the men were felling whole trees for our fires, and preparing, if necessary, a space for our tents. In less than ten minutes our three lodges would be pitched, each with such a blaze in front as virtually imparted a new sense of enjoyment to all the young campaigners, while through the crackling flames were to be seen the requisite number of pots and kettles for our supper. Our beds were next laid, consisting of an oil-cloth spread on the bare earth, with three blankets and a pillow, and, when occasion demanded, with cloaks and great coats at discretion; and, whether the wind howled or the rain poured, our pavilions of canvass formed a safe barrier against the weather. While part of our crews, comprising all the landsmen, were doing duty as stokers, and cooks, and architects, and chambermaids, the more experienced voyageurs, after unloading the canoes, had drawn them on the beach with their bottoms upwards, to inspect, and, if needful, to renovate the stitching and the gumming; and as the little vessels were made to incline on one side to windward, each with a roaring fire to leeward, the crews, every man in his own single blanket, managed to set wind and rain and cold at defiance, almost as effectually as ourselves.

Weather permitting, our slumbers would be broken about one in the morning by the cry of "Lève, lève, lève!" In five minutes, woe to the inmates that were slow in dressing; the tents were tumbling about our ears; and, within half an hour, the camp would be raised, the canoes laden, and the paddles keeping time to some merry old song. About eight o'clock, a con-

venient place would be selected for breakfast, about three quarters of an hour being allotted for the multifarious operations of unpacking and repacking the equipage, laying and removing the cloth, boiling and frying, eating and drinking; and, while the preliminaries were arranging, the hardier among us would wash and shave, each person carrying soap and towel in his pocket, and finding a mirror in the same sandy or rocky basin that held the water. About two in the afternoon we usually put ashore for dinner; and, as this meal needed no fire, or at least got none, it was not allowed to occupy more than twenty minutes or half an hour.

Such was the routine of our journey, the day, generally speaking, being divided into six hours of rest and eighteen of labour. This almost incredible toil the voyageurs bore without a murmur, and generally with such a hilarity of spirit as few other men could sustain for a single forenoon.

But the quantity of the work, even more decidedly than the quantity, requires operatives of iron mould. In smooth water, the paddle is plied with twice the rapidity of the oar, taxing both arms and lungs to the utmost extent; amid shallows, the canoe is literally dragged by the men, wading to their knees or their loins, while each poor fellow, after replacing his drier half in his seat, laughingly shakes the heaviest of the wet from his legs over the gunwale, before he again gives them an inside berth; in rapids, the towing-line has to be hauled along over rocks and stumps, through swamps and thickets, excepting that, when the ground is utterly impracticable, poles are substituted, and oc-

casionally also the bushes on the shore. Again, on the portages, where the tracks are of all imaginable kinds and degrees of badness, the canoes and their cargoes are never carried across in fewer than two or three trips—the little vessels alone monopolizing, on the first turn, the more expert half of their respective crews. Of the baggage, each man has to carry at least two pieces, estimated at a hundred and eighty pounds avoirdupois, which he suspends in slings of leather placed across the forehead, so that he has his hands free to clear the way among the branches of the standing trees and over the prostrate trunks.

But, in addition to the separate labours of the land and the water, the poor fellows have to endure a combination of both sorts of hardship at least three or four times every day. The canoes can seldom approach near enough to the bank to enable the passengers to step ashore from the gunwale; and, no sooner is a halt made, than the men are in the water to ferry us on their backs to dry ground. In this unique department of their duties they seem to take a pride; and a little fellow often ambitiously tries to get possession of the heaviest customer in the party, considerably exceeding, as has often been the case in my experience, the standard aforesaid, of two pieces of baggage.

To return to our voyage up the Matawa, I could not help remarking the influence of the state of the weather on a traveller's estimate of scenery. Under our sunny sky, the winding banks, wooded, in every bay and on every point, down to the waters' edge, were charmingly doubled, as it were, in the smooth and transparent stream; while Captain Back, under the

horrors of a heavy shower, described this as the most dismal spot on the face of the earth, as a fit residence only for the demon of despair. Rain, be it observed, is a comparative trifle, while one enjoys the shelter of an oil-cloth in the canoe. The misery hardly begins to be felt, till you are deposited, with all your seams exposed to the weather, on the long grass, though even this stage has the merit of being far less wretched than that of forcing your way among the dripping branches. Here, for the event is worth noting, we encountered the first attack of the musquitoes.

Next day, we made eleven portages, crossing the height of land and reaching a feeder of Lake Nipissing. The only portage worthy of special notice was that of the Falls of Lake Talon, where a large body of water rushes through a narrow opening in the rocks from a height of about fifty feet. Separated from the boiling cauldron, into which the torrent throws itself by a projecting ledge, a silent pool, forming a kind of gloomy recess, carries the canoes to the foot of a rock so smooth and steep as to be almost impracticable to novices. This declivity and a narrow platform at the top constitute the portage. This spot furnishes a striking proof that the waters of this country must once have occupied a much higher level. The platform must have been part of the bed of the stream; the declivity must have formed a section of the Fall; and the dark and stagnant recess must have been a foaming whirlpool. Many other portages on the route present similar features, though perhaps in an inferior degree. We had now got fairly into the region of the fur-traders, beyond the ken alike of the farmer and the lumberer;

and we here discovered the traces of beaver in the pieces of willow, which had been barked by this extraordinary animal.

To make the day's work with our eleven portages still harder, we did not encamp till after ten at night, while the closing division of our toil consisted of a swamp of about three quarters of a mile in length, the tract being, on the whole, the wettest and heaviest on our journey. Our resting-place was bad — the ground damp, the water muddy, the frogs obstreperous, and the snakes familiar. In spite, however, of all these trifles, fatigue was as good as an opiate; and in sound sleep we soon forgot the troubles of the day.

After indulging in the morning till half-past two, we reached Lake Nipissing at daybreak. Here I left Colonel Oldfield, instructing Mr. Cameron, at the same time, to remain with him till Mr. Bainbrigge should arrive. After seeing them safely planted by the side of a glorious fire, we bade them adieu. In less, however, than half an hour our progress was arrested by a field of ice; and, having worked our way through it to the shore with difficulty, we cleared our ground, pitched our tents, and resigned ourselves to our fate.

After the fatigues of yesterday, our men, delighted with the godsend, soon fell asleep on the bare ground, even without the trouble of a wish, while we ourselves, besides making up all arrears of shaving, washing, dressing, &c., killed time with eating, drinking, chatting, and strolling. From a native family in the neighbourhood we purchased some fish for a few biscuits; and we soon found that the biscuits might have been saved, for we succeeded in spearing twenty or thirty dorey,

averaging two pounds each. Having attempted in the afternoon to find a path for our canoes, we were obliged to encamp for the night with a gain of only three quarters of a mile.

Making way next morning, we breakfasted on the portage between Lake Nipissing and its outlet, French River. On this stream we saw a few savages, who, though poorly clad, appeared to be faring well. Here we ran our first rapids; and in the afternoon we made a portage at the Récollet Fall, which, throwing itself from a slanting ledge of rocks almost in the direction of the river's breadth, leaves hardly room enough for a canoe to pass between the vortex at its foot and the perpendicular wall of the opposite bank. As we had the current in our favour, and were but little impeded by portages, we made our best march to-day, viz.: ninety-five miles. Encamping for the night, within a short distance of Lake Huron, we heard, for the first time, our little friend the whip-poor-will, a sure harbinger of warm weather; and a pair of these favourites of the voyageur serenaded us all night with their cheerful cry, which so closely imitates the name, that one is often inclined to suspect some person of imitating it.

Next morning we descended to Lake Huron through some remarkable rapids, which, in form and breadth, bear a close resemblance to canals cut in the solid rock. In one of these we were nearly snagged, after a fashion unknown on the Mississippi. While running down in gallant style, we perceived, by the dim twilight, a tree bridging the narrow current so as to form a complete barrier. The paddles were immediately backed; and a few blows from an axe quickly cleared our passage.

Before sunrise we entered Lake Huron, having now before us, with the single exception of Sault Sainte Marie, seven or eight hundred miles of still water to the head of Lake Superior.

We dined on an island celebrated for a stone which, when struck, emits a musical or metallic sound; and about eight in the evening we reached the Company's establishment, taking the name of La Cloche from the natural bell just mentioned. The northern shore of Lake Huron consists of rocky hills, dotted with stunted trees, chiefly pines; and the adjacent waters are closely studded with islands, varying from ten feet in diameter to many miles in length. Though the whole of this neighbourhood may be deemed an almost hopeless desert, yet the southern side of the lake is more fertile, as are also the Manitoulin Islands. These more promising districts are pretty well peopled either by Europeans or by Indians.

Next day, being the 16th of the month, and the thirteenth from Lachine, we reached the Sault Sainte Marie about five in the afternoon. This celebrated strait empties Lake Superior into Lake Huron, having a British settlement, with a post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the one side, and an American village, with an inconsiderable garrison, on the other. Having left our baggage to be conveyed across the portage in carts, we visited our establishment, under the charge of Mr. Ballenden; and we were here mortified to learn from Mr. J. D. Cameron, one of the Company's principal officers, that the ice of Lake Superior was still as firm and solid as in the depth of winter.

This was likely to be a far more serious and obstinate

business than that of Lake Nipissing. We, however, pushed forward, encamping at Pointe aux Pins, about nine miles distant, without having seen the enemy. We were accompanied by Mr. Cameron, who was bound for Michipicoton as well as ourselves, and also by Mr. Ballenden, who was to pass the night with us for the transacting of business; and, as a curious contrast to the proximity of the ice, the night was so warm, that we accomplished our reading and writing in the open air by moonlight.

Next morning, after proceeding six or eight miles, we found to our sorrow that Mr. Cameron's information was too true; and on landing at Gros Cap we discovered that, as far as the eye could reach, the lake was clad in its wintry garb. As our camp was likely to be a standing one, we arranged our housekeeping with more than ordinary care, cutting plenty of firewood, and strewing our tents with a fragrant carpet of the branches of the white pine. We here saw our first tokens of returning spring in many budding flowers; and, as partridges and other birds were plentiful, we contrived to pass this, our first, day of detention very pleasantly.

Next morning, as we had "nae motive" for rising, any more than the poet of the "Seasons" had, we luxuriated in bed till the fashionable hour of seven. To make amends for the delay, we had beautiful weather, the air calm, the sky cloudless, and the sun powerful; but to show how little influence all this had on the one thing needful, the thermometer, which stood at 73° in the shade, was not far above the freezing point in the water. In the afternoon, we managed to advance a mile, in order to gain an elevated point, whence we could give

our hopes and fears a wider range. We had really become very impatient. The heat of the weather appeared to be good for nothing excepting to broil ourselves, for we found the ice, thus at once our bane and antidote, a highly agreeable addition to our water and wine. Our brightest prospect, in fact, was that of eating our way through the luxury.

Early next morning, I received occupation enough for one day at least. A boat from our establishment brought me the journal and other papers of my late lamented relative, Mr. Thomas Simpson, whose successful exertions in arctic discovery and whose untimely end had excited so much interest in the public mind. By the same conveyance we got a supply of white fish. This fish, which is peculiar to North America, is one of the most delicious of the finny tribe, having the appearance and somewhat the flavour of trout.

In the afternoon, a trapper, who was proceeding to the Sault Sainte Marie with some natives in a canoe, informed us that there was open water for a little distance to the westward. This man's hint enabled us to gain six miles—a great deal, by the by, where every little helped.

During the night, a slight breeze broke the field, though the masses still continued to be closely packed. We started at three o'clock, and, after a hard day's work, accomplished about thirty miles. Our progress was much embarrassed by the *mirage*, which assumed various forms, being at one time an island, at another open water, and then again impenetrable icebergs.

Next morning, starting about seven, we made three or four miles in six hours; and then, as there was no

suitable spot for encamping, we were obliged to return to our old quarters, having toiled eight hours in vain, to great hazard of damaging our frail barks. Next day we did nothing, being partly deterred from moving by constant rain, and partly prevented by heavy fog from seeing the state of the ice. Here we lay, with a solid lake before us, within a month of midsummer, and below the latitude of London. To aggravate the evil, we had no provender remaining but biscuits, which, such as they were, would not hold out many days longer. Lord Mulgrave, however, fortunately knocked down a hare and a partridge for our dinner; while, curiously enough, Lord Caledon, when we were similarly detained in Lake Nipissing, supplied our table with fish.

Between three and seven in the morning, we advanced two miles, being obliged, after this exploit, to make a halt till noon, on account of the increase of the fog. After our next move, we pitched our camp, about eight in the evening, at the mouth of the Montreal River, not more than eighteen miles distant from our last encampment. Our march had been extremely tedious, being effected by forming a lane through the masses of broken ice. But the last few miles were much less obstructed, and we began to hope, in right earnest, that the troubles of a week in Lake Superior were drawing to a close. Resuming our course at two in the morning, we found fewer difficulties than yesterday, excepting that, soon after starting, we got enclosed in a field of ice, which was drifting rapidly out to sea. This circumstance might have proved to be our worst luck of all, for a heavy gale was blowing from the shore; and

before we could get clear of our dangerous neighbours, we were about three miles from the land. The weather was completely characteristic of this inland ocean, a heavy rain for about ten hours in the morning, and then a thick fog for the remainder of the day. About four in the afternoon, we reached Michipicoton, the good folks of the fort having been prevented by the mist from knowing anything of our approach, till the familiar song of the voyageurs struck their ears.

At this place, as I could not pay my usual visit to Moose Factory in July, I was to hold a temporary council for the Southern Department; and accordingly, after taking off our wet cloaks and coats, and stowing away a substantial meal, Mr. Cameron and myself proceeded to business along with Mr. George Keith, the gentleman in charge of the establishment, and Mr. Cowie, another of the Company's officers. Feeling the house uncomfortably close after so long an exposure to the open air, we preferred sleeping in our tents; and, as the rain fell heavily during the night, we found ourselves next morning in something of a puddle.

Having completed my work by eleven in the forenoon, I again resumed my journey, and we kept paddling away till eight in the evening, in spite of rain, fog, and wind. For a great distance to the westward of Michipicoton, the northern shore of Lake Superior consists of rugged mountains of bare rock, with a few scattered trees of stunted growth. The aboriginal population is, of course, very scanty, subsisting almost entirely on the produce of the waters, such as whitefish, sturgeon, trout, pike, herring, &c. Occasionally, however, the fisheries fail through the caprice of the finny

tribes, or from other causes; and in such cases the miserable natives are maintained, for weeks and months at a time, at our posts, on potatoes and salted fish. But it is not in this way alone that the poor savages are indebted to the fur-traders. To give them the benefit of moral and religious instruction, the Company has established a missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion at the Pic, our next halting-place on the lake, and it also assists two other missionaries, who pay periodical visits to the different camps. On this subject I do no more than bare justice in reminding the reader that, on these shores, as forming a part of Upper Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company neither enjoys the monopoly of trade, nor bears the responsibilities of government.

In illustration of the belief of the Indians in a special Providence, the following story may be worth telling. Some three or four years ago a party of Saulteaux, being much pressed by hunger, were anxious to cross from the mainland to one of their fishing stations, an island about twenty miles distant; but it was nearly as dangerous to go as to remain, for the spring had just reached that critical point, when there was neither open water nor trustworthy ice. A council being held to weigh the respective chances of drowning and starving, all the speakers opposed the contemplated move, till an old man of considerable influence thus spoke:—"You know, my friends, that the Great Spirit gave one of our squaws a child yesterday. Now, he cannot have sent it into the world to take it away again directly; and I would, therefore, recommend our carrying the child with us, and keeping close to it, as the assurance of our own safety." In full reliance on this reasoning,

nearly the whole band immediately committed themselves to the treacherous ice; and they all perished miserably, to the number of eight and twenty.

During the next two days we made beautiful progress, calling at the Pic, which is prettily situated at the mouth of a small river of the same name. Though we had not the pleasure of seeing the resident missionary, who was absent among the Indians, yet we carried off Mr. Mac Murray, the gentleman in charge, to our dining-hall, a little rocky island in the vicinity of his fort. Having a fair wind for part of the time, we hoisted sail, to the great relief of our men; and, with the benefit of the full moon, we pressed forward during the second night, in the hope of reaching Fort William about sunrise. By four o'clock, however, the breeze became rather too much for us, particularly as we had a long traverse ahead, and we accordingly took shelter at the Thunder Mountain till ten in the morning. The Thunder Mountain is one of the most appalling objects of the kind that I have ever seen, being a bleak rock, about twelve hundred feet above the level of the lake, with a perpendicular face of its full height towards the west; and the Indians have a superstition, which one can hardly repeat without becoming giddy, that any person who may scale the eminence, and turn thrice round on the brink of its fearful wall, will live for ever. About two in the afternoon, we gladly stepped ashore at Fort William, situated near the mouth of the Kaministaquoia River.

Before saying good-bye to Lake Superior, let me add that, since the date of my visit, the barren rocks which we passed have become an object of intense interest,

promising to rival, in point of mineral wealth, the Altai Chain and the Uralian Mountains. Iron had long been known to abound on the northern shore, two mines having been at one time worked, and abandoned chiefly on account of temporary obstacles, which the gradual advance of agriculture and civilization was sure to remove; and more recently, the southern shore, though of a much less favourable character in this respect, was found to possess rich veins of copper and silver. Under these circumstances, various enterprising inhabitants of Canada have prosecuted investigations, which appear to have satisfactorily proved that, in addition to their iron, the forbidding wastes of the northern shore contain inexhaustible treasures both of the precious and of the useful metals, of gold and silver, of copper and tin; and already have associations been formed to reap the teeming harvest.

At Fort William we exchanged our two canoes for three smaller vessels of the same kind, inasmuch as the waters would henceforward be shallower, and the navigation more intricate. During the interval occupied in arranging this important matter, with a new distribution of crews and baggage, I had an interview with a band of Saulteaux or Chippeways, who had been waiting my arrival near the fort. The chamber of audience was an empty floor in a large store, on one side of which we took our seats, while the Indians, in all about forty men, occupied the other, Mr. Swanston, the gentleman in charge, acting as interpreter. The ceremony of shaking hands with every person having been punctiliously performed, the Indians squatted themselves on the boards, excepting that their chief, known as

L'Espagnol, stood forward in the centre of the room. The orator, a tall and handsome man, somewhat advanced in years, was arrayed in a scarlet coat with gold epaulettes, the whole being apparently spick and span new, for the bright buttons were still enveloped in their original papers; and whether from the want of inexpressibles, or from a Highland taste, the tail of his shirt answered the purpose of a kilt.

Having again shaken hands with the air of a prince, L'Espagnol delivered himself very fluently to the effect, that he and his followers, after passing from the British to the Americans, had soon found reason to reflect that they had always been well treated by the Hudson's Bay Company; that, with our leave, they would now settle near the fort, so that the smoke of their homes might thenceforward rise among Canadian forests; and that, being all Catholics, they should like to have a priest among them. This speech, at its conclusion, elicited a unanimous grunt of approbation from L'Espagnol's people. In reply, I briefly reminded them that, in defiance of one promise already given, they had kept wandering from place to place; offering them, at the same time, protection, if they should decide henceforward to remain here, but declining to interfere in the matter of their religion. With the help of a present, this answer appeared to satisfy them, and the high contracting parties separated.

As the navigation for the first fifty miles was much obstructed by rapids and shallows, we were to be accompanied to that distance by a fourth canoe, as a tender; and at six o'clock, after a stay of six hours, our little squadron, in full song, darted merrily up the

beautiful river, whose verdant banks formed a striking and agreeable contrast with the sterile and rugged coast of Lake Superior. About eight, we encamped at Pointe de Meuron, the site of an establishment which was once maintained here by the Hudson's Bay Company as a check on Fort William, the grand rendezvous of the Northwesters.

In the morning, there was a sharp frost for some hours after starting, our extremities being nipped by the cold and the paddles being coated with ice. Early in the forenoon, we reached the Mountain Portage formed by the Kakabeka Falls. Out of sight of the main track—the scene being accessible only by a tangled path—the Kaministaquoia, here taking a sudden turn, leaps into a deep and dark ravine, itself a succession of leaps, while the spectator stands right in front, near enough to be covered with the spray. Inferior in volume alone to Niagara, the Kakabeka has the advantage of its far-famed rival in height of fall and wildness of scenery. About the middle of the descent, a beautiful rainbow, at the time of our visit, spanned the charming waters, harmonizing sweetly at once with the white foam, the green woods, and the sombre rocks.

The river, during the day's march, passed through forests of elm, oak, pine, birch, &c., being studded with isles not less fertile and lovely than its banks; and many a spot reminded us of the rich and quiet scenery of England. The paths of the numerous portages were spangled with violets, roses, and many other wild flowers, while the currant, the gooseberry, the raspberry, the plum, the cherry, and even the vine, were abundant. All this bounty of nature was imbued, as it

were, with life by the cheerful notes of a variety of birds, and by the restless flutter of butterflies of the brightest hues. Compared with the adamantine deserts of Lake Superior, the Kaministaquoia presented a perfect paradise.

One cannot pass through this fair valley without feeling that it is destined, sooner or later, to become the happy home of civilized men, with their bleating flocks and their lowing herds, with their schools and their churches, with their full garners and their social hearths. At the time of our visit, the great obstacle in the way of so blessed a consummation was the hopeless wilderness to the eastward, which seemed to bar for ever the march of settlement and cultivation. But that very wilderness, now that it is to yield up its long-hidden stores, bids fair to remove the very impediments which hitherto it has itself presented. The mines of Lake Superior, besides establishing a continuity of route between the east and the west, will find their nearest and cheapest supply of agricultural produce in the valley of the Kaministaquoia.

In the course of the afternoon, my canoe struck a rock in one of the rapids, tearing a hole in her bottom. Soon, however, the wreck was docked on dry land, and, with the aid of stitching and gumming, was again as good as new in no time. The rock must have been a sharp one, for the covering of bark is so tough, that a round stone has often been known to smash the ribs of the vessel without breaking the skin.

Next day, being Sunday, the 30th of the month, we crossed the Dog Portage, about two miles in length, early in the morning. The view from the summit is

justly admired by all who see it. At the spectator's feet is stretched a panorama of hill and dale, chequered with the varied tints of the pine, the aspen, the ash, and the oak, while through the middle meanders the silvery stream of the Kaministaquoia, often doubling and turning as if willing to linger for ever on so lovely a spot. According to the traditions of the natives, the portage derives its name from the circumstance that two enormous dogs, having taken a nap at the top of the hill, left the impress of their figures behind them; and certain it is, that such figures have been marked on the turf in the same manner as the white horse near Bath.

On Monday, being the last day of May, we crossed the height of land between Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, consisting of three considerable portages, the Prairie, the Milieu, and the Savanne. At the commencement of the first, we left behind us one of the thousand sources of the St. Lawrence in the form of a shallow pool strewed with the poles, which successive voyageurs, at this the head of their uphill work, have thrown away as useless. The last, which is nearly two miles long, lies through a perfectly level swamp, which, as far back as "Auld lang syne," has been paved with a triple row of round rails, placed end to end. Where this bridge happens to be entire, the traveller gets along wonderfully well with a groove for each shoe; where one rail has vanished, he is pretty sure to put one foot into it; and, where only one stick remains, or no stick at all, he has no help but to let both his legs take their chance of reaching the bottom. Your novice generally takes a paddle as

a crutch; and friends of mine have sometimes doubly armed themselves in this way.

At the farther end of the Savanne, we descended the little river Embarras, so named from the great number of fallen trees lying across its narrow channel. We sometimes cut through these obstructions, sometimes crept under them, and sometimes pushed them back, like swinging gates; but occasionally we found them so matted into dams, that we had to make portages round them.

On the 1st of June, soon after passing through the beautiful Lake of a Thousand Lakes, we descended a small and troublesome river, something like our yesterday's Embarras, to the French Portage, generally acknowledged to be the very worst in this part of the country. The path lay over a succession of steep ascents and descents, while the bottom was generally a miry swamp, obstructed by underwood and fallen trees. The length of two and a half miles cost even the unencumbered passengers a struggle of nearly two hours. Our troubles in wading through this combination of hill and valley, of morass and forest, were aggravated by clouds of sand-flies, which almost fatigued our arms in sweeping them from our faces and feet.

In the morning, we passed down a small river and through Sturgeon Lake into the Maligne, a stream abounding in sharp stones and short portages. Thence we proceeded through Lac la Croix to the Macan, which strikingly resembles the Maligne. At nearly all the rapids and falls on these two rivers, the Indians have erected platforms, which stretch about twenty feet from the shore; and on these they fix themselves, spear in

hand, for hours, as silent and motionless as possible, till some doomed fish comes within the range of their unerring weapon. If they take more sturgeon than what they immediately require, they tether the supernumeraries by a string, through the mouth and gill, to the bank; and this mode of confinement, at least for a week or two, affects neither the weight nor the flavour of the prisoners.

On the morrow, towards noon, we made a short portage from the Macan to a muddy stream, falling into Lac la Pluie. As we were passing down this narrow and shallow creek, fire suddenly burst forth in the woods near us. The flames, crackling and clambering up each tree, quickly rose above the forest; within a few minutes more the dry grass on the very margin of the waters was in a running blaze; and, before we were well clear of the danger, we were almost enveloped in clouds of smoke and ashes. These conflagrations, often caused by a wanderer's fire or even by his pipe, desolate large tracts of country, leaving nothing but black and bare trunks, and even these sometimes mutilated into stumps,—one of the most dismal scenes on which the eye and the heart can look. When once the consuming element gets into the thick turf of the primeval wilderness, it sets everything at defiance; and it has been known to smoulder for a whole winter, under the deep snow.

After traversing Lac la Pluie and five or six miles of the river of the same name, we reached our post between ten and eleven in the evening, being saluted by about a hundred Saulteaux, the warriors of a band of about five hundred souls; and these savages, after accompanying

us to the fort with one of their wild songs, presented me with a letter written by one of their own nation, who had been educated in Canada, and was now acting as interpreter for the Wesleyan Missionary of the establishment. The documeut ran thus:

FATHER,

We, the undersigned chiefs and principal men of the Indians, whom you now see encamped around this fort, do hereby present our good wishes on your safe arrival.

It is not known to any of us that you ever was so requested by any of the tribes inhabiting this country, as that which we now humbly request, which is, that you will be pleased to hear the words of your children, who are now awaiting to address you on things which concern the welfare of themselves and their children.

And now, Father, we know that you are the Governor of this our common country, and we know that your ear is open to the words of all therein.

We humbly hope that it may be so to uswards.

Signed on behalf of our people,

NAWAYAHNAQUAH,
MATWAYATH,
KECHENEGAH TE UN,
MASHONOYA,
WA NA NIE.

In accordance with this request, I invited my "children" to attend me at four in the morning; and, instead of pitching our tents among so many needy friends, we made our beds within Fort Frances. But, while I was napping, the enemy were pelting away at me with their incantations. In the centre of a conjuring tent—a structure of branches and bark forty feet in length by ten in width—they kindled a fire; round the blaze stood the chiefs and medicine-men, while as many of the others as could find room were squatted against the walls; then, to enlighten and con-

vert me, charms were muttered, rattles were shaken, and offerings were committed to the flames. After all these operations were supposed to have done their best, the hitherto silent spectators, at a signal given, started from their hams to their feet, and marched round the magic circle, singing, whooping, and drumming in horrible discord. With occasional intervals, which were spent by the performers in taking the fresh air, this exhibition was repeated during the whole night; so that, when the appointed hour arrived, the poor creatures were still engaged in their superstitious observances.

True to their time, two processions, one from either side of the establishment, met in the open square of the fort, waving their banners and firing their guns. They had all dressed, or rather decorated, themselves for the occasion; their costumes, being various enough to show that fashion, as it is called, had not yet got so far to the westward. Their glossy locks were plaited all round the head into tails, varying in number according to the thickness of the bush or the taste of the owner; at the ends of the different ties were suspended such valuable ornaments as thimbles, coins, buttons, and clippings of tin; their heads were adorned with feathers of all sorts and sizes; and their necks were encircled with rows of beads at discretion and large collars of brass rod.

As to clothing, properly so called, every one had leggings and a rag round the loins, while some of the chiefs, with the addition of scarlet coats and plenty of gold lace, had very much the cut of parish-beadles. The staple commodities, however, appeared to be paint and chalk. The naked bodies of the commoners displayed an inexhaustible variety of combinations of red

and white, often surpassing in brilliancy as well as in tightness of fit the dashing uniforms of the grandees; and every face, whether noble or ignoble, was smeared entirely out of sight, the prevailing distribution appearing to be, forehead white, nose and cheeks red, mouth and chin black.

Meanwhile, we had been stirring, to the utmost of our ability, not to be outdone in magnificence. Lord Caledon and Lord Mulgrave had donned their regimentals; and we, civilians, had equipped ourselves like so many mandarins in our dressing-gowns, which luckily happened to be of rather showy patterns and hues. After much shaking of hands, about sixty of the Indians squeezed themselves into the apartment, while the others, with the women and children, remained outside. When all were seated, each chief, in turn, sent round his calumet among us, in the costliness of which they appeared to emulate each other.

All these preliminaries being concluded, the spokesman of the party stepped forward; and, first ostentatiously displaying a valuable present of sundry packs of furs, he commenced his harangue, in a bold and manly voice, with great fluency and animation. After a tedious prelude, which I was obliged to cut short, about the creation, the flood, &c.,—the object probably being to show how and why and when the Great Spirit had made one race red and another white,—he plunged at once from this transcendental height into the practical vulgarities of rum, complaining that we had stopped their liquor, though we, or at least our predecessors, had promised to furnish it "as long as the waters flowed down the rapids." "Now," said he, in allusion to our

empty casks, "if I crack a nut, will water run from it?" In reply, I explained to the Indians that spirits had been withdrawn, not to save expense to us but to benefit them. I then pointed out the advantages of temperance, promising them, however, a small gift of rum every autumn, not as a luxury but as a medicine. In thanking them for their present of furs, I told them that, besides receiving a suitable present in return, they would be paid the usual price for every skin. In conclusion, there was another shaking of hands; and then this grand council between the English and Chippeways broke up about six o'clock, to the satisfaction of both nations.

The Salteaux, a branch of the Chippeways, were formerly one of the most powerful tribes in this country. By repeated visitations, however, of measles and small-pox, they have dwindled down to three or four thousand souls; and even this inconsiderable number, though scattered over a vast extent of territory, can scarcely keep body and soul together. As the fur trade, unless under systematic and judicious management, naturally tends to exhaust itself, the hunting-grounds of the Salteaux, as being nearer to a market than those of any other tribe, have been proportionally drained of their natural wealth; and, though the soil is fertile, producing wild rice in great abundance, yet the savages in question are at once too indolent and too proud to become, as they loftily express themselves, "troublers of the earth." This their love of a wandering life is the more deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as, till they settle down as agriculturists, they can derive little or no advantage from the proffered labours of the missionaries, whom the Hudson's Bay Company has introduced among them.

The following incident, which occurred during our short stay at Lac la Pluie, may serve to illustrate, in some important particulars, the character of these Indians. Before coming to take his seat in council, Lord Mulgrave left a dirk in his bedroom, near the open window; but, on his returning to his apartment, the weapon was nowhere to be found. As the Indians, excepting our conscript fathers, had been hanging about all the morning, they were immediately suspected; and when the chiefs were upbraided with this treacherous dishonesty, one of them addressed the people, urging them, for the honour of the tribe, to give up the offender. But, as neither the thief nor the booty was forthcoming, we started, somewhat chagrined at the occurrence. While preparing for breakfast, about ten miles below the fort, we were overtaken by a small canoe, from which three youths joyously rushed towards us with the missing dirk. The article having been discovered in the store soon after our departure, the chiefs despatched their myrmidons after us, with orders to follow us, if necessary, all the way to Red River.

Having been rewarded with a hearty meal and some tobacco, the three lads retraced their steps in excellent humour.

The river which empties Lac la Pluie into the Lake of the Woods is, in more than one respect, decidedly the finest stream on the whole route. From Fort Frances downwards, a stretch of nearly a hundred miles, it is not interrupted by a single impediment, while yet the current is not strong enough materially to retard an ascending traveller. Nor are the banks less favourable to agriculture than the waters themselves to navigation,

resembling, in some measure, those of the Thames near Richmond. From the very brink of the river, there rises a gentle slope of greensward, crowned in many places with a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, beech, elm, and oak. Is it too much for the eye of philanthropy to discern, through the vista of futurity, this noble stream, connecting, as it does, the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steamboats on its bosom, and populous towns on its borders?

In spite of a contrary wind, we next day got within fifteen miles of the farther end of the Lake of the Woods. Though the shores of this sheet of water are more rocky than those of Lac la Pluie, yet they are very fertile, producing the rice already mentioned in abundance, and bringing maize to perfection. The lake is also literally studded with woody islands, from which it has doubtless derived its name; and these islands, being exempted from nocturnal frosts, which exist chiefly in the neighbourhood of swamps, are better adapted than the mainland for cultivation.

Before sunrise in the morning, we reached our establishment of Rat Portage, situated at the head of the magnificent stream which empties the Lake of the Woods into Lake Winipeg. This river, which takes the same name as the inland sea that receives it, forms, along its rocky channel, so many falls and rapids, many of them of almost matchless grandeur, that its length of more than two hundred miles is broken by no fewer than thirty-seven portages. After an amphibious course of two days and a half, about noon on Tuesday the 8th of the month, we reached Fort Alexander, distant about a mile and a half from Lake Winipeg.

Starting again after a halt of a few hours, our progress was much impeded by a southerly wind, which had also had the usual effect of driving off the waters from this end of the lake to such an extent, that we were obliged to make a portage in a channel, which I had usually passed under full paddle.

Next morning, we entered on the grand traverse, leading to the mouth of the Red River. The adjacent shores are so low, that there is generally some difficulty in striking the entrance of the stream; but on this occasion we were assisted by a column of smoke, which, as we were informed, would guide us into our destined haven. About seven in the evening, we arrived at the Lower Fort of Red River Settlement, having previously passed a large village of Indians, settled as agriculturists under the charge of the Reverend Mr. Smithurst, of the Church Missionary Society. So far as musquitoes, sand-flies, and bull-frogs were concerned, this was our worst encampment on the whole route.

Next afternoon, we reached Fort Garry, twenty-three miles higher up the river, where we were kindly welcomed by my relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Finlayson. Thus had we accomplished in safety our long voyage of about two thousand miles. On the whole, we had been fortunate with regard to the weather. During our thirty-eight days, rain had fallen only on parts of six; and, though immediately on leaving Montreal we had encountered piercing winds and chilly nights, yet we soon had, in general, as delightful a temperature as we could wish.

About ten days after my arrival, I despatched Lords Caledon and Mulgrave to the plains, under the escort

of Mr. Cuthbert Grant, an influential native of mixed origin, and a party of hunters. Being desirous of encountering as many of the adventurers of the wilderness as possible, these young noblemen had determined on passing through the country of the Sioux to St. Peter's on the Mississippi; and for this purpose they had provided themselves with guides, &c. Lord Caledon succeeded in carrying his intentions into effect, gaining golden opinions among the hunters by his courage, skill, and affability; but Lord Mulgrave, from indisposition, retraced his steps, first to Fort Garry and thence to Sault Sainte Marie,—that connecting link between the canoe and the steamboat.

CHAPTER II.

FROM RED RIVER SETTLEMENT TO EDMONTON.

Red River Settlement, position, origin, condition—Departure from Red River Settlement — Face of country — Salt lake — Fort Ellice — Qu'appelle River, crank canoes—Wolverine Knoll, native legend — Native lodges — Rain and swamps — Dog Knoll— Salt lakes—Native lodge, hieroglyphics—Halt in heavy rain—Wanderings of Tom Taylor —Bow River—Indian story—War in the plains—Carlton—The Saskatchewan—Picturesque country—Crees—Scarcity of water—Red River emigrants, love of native spot—Buffalo hunt—Turtle River—Scarcity of water—Fort Pitt—Miseries of a native lodge—Alarm of Blackfeet—Effects of hail—Extreme vicissitudes—Oddity of native names—Edmonton—Native tribes—Visitors of quality.

Having safely arrived at the Red River of Lake Winipeg—as narrated in the preceding chapter—I may, previous to the continuation of my journey, take the opportunity of here laying before my reader a brief account of the British Establishment now settled on the banks of that stream.

In the year 1811, the Hudson's Bay Company ceded to the late Earl of Selkirk, in full right, a large portion of their territories in North America. The tract of land so granted was, in every respect, well calculated for the purposes of agriculture; and it was hoped that, together with the cultivation of the soil, successful measures might eventually be adopted to promote the civilization of the Indian tribes in that quarter.

The grant in question extended chiefly along the plains, watered by the Assiniboine and the Red Rivers,

and their tributary streams. From the former of these two rivers the general district received the name of Assiniboia, while the particular colony or settlement was named after the latter and larger stream, into which the waters of the former are discharged.

It was near the junction of these rivers—about forty or fifty miles from Lake Winipeg (lat. 50°, long. 97° west of London) — that Lord Selkirk first proposed to try the important experiment connected with his plans of British emigration. In the work which he published, in 1805, upon that subject — with relation chiefly to the highlands of Scotland at that time—he had fully developed his views as to the beneficial effects likely to accrue to the mother country by relieving it cautiously of its superabundant population. He had observed, however, with anxiety, the extent to which the highlanders were migrating from their native land, their movements being unfortunately directed, not towards British possessions abroad, where British colonies might be advantageously formed, but to the territories of foreign powers, and particularly to those of the United States of America. Strongly impressed with objections to these ill-directed movements, he did all that lay in his power to divert them into a better channel. In his endeavours, however, he found that most of the principal highland proprietors were averse to emigration of any sort, and that the successive administrations, and heads of departments, to whom he had, at the time, submitted his plans, held out to him little or no encouragement. The first memorial he had presented to Government was in 1802, regarding not only the state of the highlands of Scotland, but also that of Ire-

land. It met, however, with no very favourable reception. But this did not prevent him from persevering. He determined to support his theory by practical exertion, and at his own expense. In more recent times, however — and after his death — it would appear that the views and opinions he had entertained on this important subject were to receive a more impartial and unprejudiced consideration; and, accordingly, for a considerable period, emigration, from Great Britain and Ireland, has been aided, supported, and directed, by the British Government.

With respect to the Red River Settlement, it may be mentioned that the Hudson's Bay Company, after making the grant of land alluded to, appointed, by virtue of the powers given to them by their royal charter, a governor of the district in which the colony was to be planted; and Lord Selkirk nominated the same gentleman to take the principal and personal charge of his settlers. The first body of emigrants was composed chiefly of a small number of hardy mountaineers from Scotland, a party well adapted to act as pioneers, to encounter and overcome the difficulties they might meet with in their route. When the new governor of the district, thus attended, first arrived at the spot fixed upon for the settlement, he immediately began to prepare for the arrival of the first detachment of the regular colonists and their families, building houses for them, and making every practicable arrangement for their reception. In the beginning of the year 1813, the settlers amounted to about a hundred persons; early in 1814, there arrived about fifty more; and, in the autumn of the same year, their numbers amounted

to two hundred. An additional hundred soon afterwards arrived at Hudson's Bay from the highlands of Scotland to join the settlement; having been encouraged to migrate thither by letters they had received from their friends settled at Red River.

During the first years of the establishment—owing to occurrences of a peculiarly unfortunate nature, over which the colonists had no control — the settlement advanced but slowly. From about the year 1821, however, it seemed fixed and secure. A considerable number of the Scotch, indeed, were, at various times, tempted to remove to the United States; but the general body, consisting chiefly of highlanders, Orkneymen, together with a number of half-breeds, remained fixed at the settlement. The latter class, (half-breeds) of every stock, derive their aboriginal blood generally from the Swampy Crees, the similarity of whose language to that of the Chippeways would make one suppose they were branches of the same original trunk. Exclusive of the settlers above-mentioned, many of the old and retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company are in the habit of establishing themselves, with their families, at the settlement. Lord Selkirk died in 1820, since which event no efforts have been made to bring colonists to the Red River from Europe; but the census, which is taken at regular intervals, numbers, at present, above five thousand souls; and, in spite of the occasional emigrations from the Red River towards the Mississippi and the Columbia, it appears that the population is found to double every twenty years.

It was naturally to be expected, at the commencement of a colony of this description, located at so great

a distance from any civilized district, that many obstructions and inconveniences would unavoidably occur. Every practicable step, however, was taken to alleviate or remove the difficulties. The heads of families, as they arrived, were put in possession of lots of land which they immediately began to cultivate; additional houses were speedily built; a mill was erected; sheep and cattle were sent up to the settlement; and all means adopted to promote the success of the colony. The soil proved rich and productive, and the plough met with no obstruction. The usual American step necessarily taken for clearing away the forest previous to tilling the land was not required. The plains adjoining the settlement were not encumbered with wood, though, upon the immediate banks of the rivers, there was generally to be found an abundance and variety of fine timber. The rivers abounded with fish; the adjoining prairies with buffaloes, and the more distant woods with elk, deer, &c. The hunting-grounds of the neighbouring Indians were not interfered with; and their neighbours, the Saulteaux tribe, proved, from the first, friendly and well-disposed towards the settlers.

Some years after the original formation of the colony, it gradually extended itself down along the banks of the Red River, reaching, at present, to no great distance from the shore of Lake Winipeg.

Generally speaking, the Canadians occupy the Assiniboine and the upper section of the Red River, while the Europeans, more or less intermingled, are settled at the lower section of the latter stream; and, as the Canadians are almost universally Roman Catholics, and all the rest, including settled Indians, generally Protestants,

the local distribution of creeds and languages prevents those embarrassments with respect to education and religion, which perplex many other communities.

Among the Roman Catholics are a bishop and two or three priests, who, in addition to an allowance from the Hudson's Bay Company, receive tithes, amounting, as in Lower Canada, to the twenty-sixth bushel of all kinds of grain. Besides seminaries for elementary instruction, the bishop superintends a school of industry, where the young females are taught to turn their wool into cloth.

The Protestants have two clergymen of the Church of England, who do duty in four places of worship, three of them in the main settlement, and one among the aboriginal proselytes; and there are six principal schools for the ordinary branches of a plain education, two of them among the Indians, and four among the others. The charges of religion are defrayed partly by the Hudson's Bay Company, and partly by the Church Missionary Society,—the flocks neither paying their tithes nor wholly maintaining the sacred fabrics. As to the charges of education, four fifths of them fall on the pious and charitable association just mentioned, while the remaining fifth is borne by such individual parents as are able and willing to spare fifteen shillings a year for the moral and intellectual culture of a child.

Fort Garry, the principal establishment in the place, is situated at the forks of the Red River and the Assiniboine, being about fifty miles from Lake Winipeg, and about seventy-five from the frontier; and it occupies, as nearly as possible, the centre of the

settlement. This, which is the official residence of the Governor of the colony, is a regularly built fortification, with walls and bastions of stone. Nearly opposite, on the right bank of the united streams, is the Roman Catholic cathedral. The principal Protestant church is about two miles further down, on the left bank.

In the immediate neighbourhood of this last-mentioned place of worship stands the Red River academy, a large and flourishing school, kept by Mr. and Mrs. Macallum, for the sons and daughters of gentlemen in the service. Below Fort Garry many respectable dwellings, most of them of two stories, belong to the wealthier class of inhabitants. The lower fort, which is about four times the size of the upper establishment, is in process of being enclosed by loopholed walls and bastions. This is my own head-quarters when I visit the settlement; and here also resides Mr. Thom, the Recorder of Rupert's Land—so named in the royal charter.

On entering Red River from Lake Winipeg, the shores, for the first ten miles, are low and swampy, abounding in wild fowl of every kind; but, farther up, they rise to a height varying from thirty to sixty feet. On the eastern or right bank there is abundance of poplar, birch, elm, oak, &c., pines also being plentiful a few miles back; while the western side, generally speaking, is one vast prairie, with scarcely any timber. Nearly as far up as the forks, the houses and farms of the settlers are almost exclusively on the left bank, while each occupier generally owns, within a convenient distance, part of the opposite bush as a wood-lot.

The soil of Red River Settlement is a black mould of considerable depth, which, when first tilled, produces

extraordinary crops, as much, on some occasions, as forty returns of wheat; and, even after twenty successive years of cultivation, without the relief of manure or of fallow, or of green crop, it still yields from fifteen to twenty-five bushels an acre. The wheat produced is plump and heavy; there are also large quantities of grain of all kinds, besides beef, mutton, pork, butter, cheese, and wool in abundance. Agriculture, however, has not been without its misfortunes. In the year 1826, in consequence of the heavy snows and continued severity of the preceding winter, the thaws of the spring flooded the whole country, not only filling the channels of the two rivers, but also covering the adjacent plains to a great depth. Every stream, from mouth to source, was a torrent, and every swamp a lake; till, at last, swamp and stream, as they rose and rose, united to drown nearly all the labours of preceding years. Fence after fence, and house after house, floated away on the bosom of the deluge, while the helpless owners were huddled together on spots which the forbearance alone of the surging sea showed to be higher than the rest; and the receding waters left, and that at a period too late for successful cultivation, little but the site of Red River Settlement.

But the temporary evil, as is generally the case with the devastations of nature, brought with it a permanent benefit. The ruined hovels, (for many of the original settlers had been glad of any shelter) were gradually replaced by dwellings of more convenient structure; and the submerged lands were irrigated and manured into more than their natural fertility. For the next three seasons, however, frogs were, if possible, more

numerous than ever they were in Egypt; and, in a subsequent year, the crops were almost entirely devoured by caterpillars. Previously to the great flood, whole armies of locusts most seriously damaged the crops for three successive years.

The summers, though not quite so long as in Canada, are yet pretty much the same in other respects. The winters are not only more tedious but also more severe. For weeks together, the thermometer shows, at some hour or other of the four-and-twenty, upwards of thirty degrees below zero; and there is hardly a winter in which the mercury escapes being solidly frozen. During the hardest weather, however, horses may be left out of doors to find provender for themselves under the snow, provided they have been hardened by constant exposure to the advancing cold.

But cattle, though bearing so much of a general resemblance to the buffalo, cannot forage for themselves in this way; being unable to scrape away the snow from the grass. In the winter of 1833-4, I placed five hundred head in the most favourable spots to pass the winter in the open air. Two hundred of them died in the experiment, most of them in a very singular way. In order to guard against the wolves, the cattle were confined at night within a narrow enclosure, where, to say nothing of their mutilating or destroying each other's horns, the accumulation of dung, by freezing in their hoofs, lamed and disabled them. Within the settlement, the cattle find food for themselves about seven months in the plains and woods; but, during the remainder of the year, they are maintained on the straw of the farms, and on hay cut on the

boundless common behind the pasturing grounds of the flocks and herds.

In addition to agriculture, or sometimes in place of it, the settlers, more particularly those of mixed origin, devote first the summer, and then the autumn, and sometimes the winter also, to the hunting of the buffalo, bringing home vast quantities of pemmican, dried meat, grease, tongues, &c., for which the Company's voyaging business affords the best market; and even many of the stationary agriculturists send oxen and carts, on shares, to help the poorer hunters to convey their booty to the settlement.

The colony is governed by a corporation, called the Council of Assiniboia, which, under an express provision of the Charter, exercises judicial powers as well as legislative authority; and, in order to put both branches of the duty on a more satisfactory footing, the Company, two years ago, introduced into the country the professional gentleman already mentioned, as the pioneer of legislation, and the organ of the court.

To resume my journal. I had intended to remain at Red River till about the middle of July; but, having changed my contemplated route, in consequence of information obtained on the spot, I was obliged to start ten or twelve days earlier than I had proposed. As my new road was to lie through the country of the Blackfeet Indians, I was happy to obtain, for the whole way to Fort Vancouver, the escort of Mr. Rowand, who, having been in charge of the Saskatchewan for many years, had great influence among the tribes of the prairies. With that gentleman's aid, and a well-appointed party of eighteen

or twenty men in all, we had but little to fear from any Indians that we could meet.

As the country was practicable for wheels as far as Edmonton, we resolved to relieve our horses by taking as much of our baggage as possible in light carts; and, in order to save us a day, or perhaps more, in calling at Fort Pelly for a relay of horses, we despatched three men, about a week before our own start, to have the requisite band of nags brought for us from that establishment to a conspicuous landmark in the sea of plains, known as the *Butte aux Chiens*. Still farther to expedite matters, we sent off, about four days afterwards, three carts of heavy baggage, with six men and a few horses.

In addition to my fellow-travellers and myself, my own immediate party was thus reduced to six men, thirty horses, and one light cart; and accordingly, about five in the morning of the 3rd of July, our cavalcade left Fort Garry under a salute. While we defiled through the gates into the open plains with an horizon before us as well defined as that of the blue ocean, the scene resembled the moving of an Eastern caravan in the boundless sands of Arabia,—a medley of pots and pans and kettles, in our single vehicle, the unruly packhorses prancing under their loads, and every cavalier, armed to the teeth, assisting his steed to neigh and caper with bit and spur. The effect was not a little heightened by a brilliant sunrise, the firing of cannon, the streaming of flags, and the shouting of the spectators. Mr. Finlayson and his brother volunteered to accompany us on our first stage, so as to see us fairly out of the settlement.

Soon after starting, we were brought to a halt by an accident, which, besides producing more serious consequences, might have affected my comfort to a great extent. While coming out in the Caledonia, I had picked up, with a special reference to my long and arduous journey, a smart, active, and intelligent highlander of the name of McIntyre, who also possessed the peculiar recommendation of being able to communicate with me in one of the unknown tongues, the Gaelic of the north of Scotland. Well, whether the horse was too frisky, or the rider too ambitious to show off the animal's points, McIntyre's charger, taking fright and becoming unmanageable, contrived to dislodge its saddle, so as to throw the poor fellow heavily on his head. Though he was stunned for a few minutes, yet, on recovering his consciousness, he appeared to be but little injured; to make assurance doubly sure, however, in so important a matter, he had a little blood taken from him immediately, an operation which entirely removed every unpleasant symptom.

We halted for breakfast near the Roman Catholic chapel of the White Horse Plains, distant from Fort Garry about twenty miles. This meal, contrary to the snapping system of the aquatic part of our journey, now became quite a luxurious lounge, inasmuch as the horses could not eat, like the voyageurs, as fast as ourselves. On the important occasion in question, we regularly tarried three or four hours, turning our nags loose to make the most of their time. Having completed the grand business of internal improvement at our leisure, we killed the remaining interval, each man according to his taste, in dressing, or bathing, or sleeping, or reading, or

writing, or doing nothing. As the axle of our cart had broken at the very outset, it was here repaired by the neighbouring blacksmith; and, in order to provide against the recurrence of such a calamity under less favourable circumstances, a second vehicle was engaged to accompany us.

About two in the afternoon, the Messrs. Finlayson, after many farewells, returned to Fort Garry, while we entered on our second stage. We had hardly started, when, by a coincidence equally unexpected and unpleasant, our cart upset over perhaps the only stone within twenty miles of us,—the country being nearly as free of such impediments as the tidiest garden. In fact, the mould, which, as already mentioned, forms the soil, has nothing harder than itself to bind it together; so that the banks of every little creek melt under the influence of the freshets of spring, almost as readily as if they were wreaths of snow.

As we never encamped, at least with our own will, except in the vicinity of water, we kept marching along, till we reached, about nine in the evening, a small lake, and there, after a hearty supper, we turned in for the night, or rather some of us did so, for most of my friends slept in the open air. The musquitoes were so troublesome, that the horses, hungry and tired as they were, could neither feed nor rest. The scenery of the day had been generally a perfect level. On the east, north, and south, there was not a mound or tree to vary the vast expanse of greensward, while to the west were the gleaming bays of the winding Assiniboine, separated from each other by wooded points of considerable depth.

In the morning, we forded the Champignon. The country generally bore the same appearance as yesterday, excepting that our path occasionally ran through a clump of trees. We also crossed the beds of many shallow lakes, which contain water only during the spring, brushing the luxuriant grass with our very knees; and, on the hard ground, the surface was beautifully diversified with a variety of flowers, such as the rose, the hyacinth, and the tiger-lily. The rankness of the vegetation savoured rather of the torrid zone, with its perennial spring, than of the northern wilds, which, within two or three months, had been lying cold and dead in the embrace of a hyperborean winter.

In the course, however, of our afternoon's ride, the character of the country underwent a complete change. The plains gave place to a rolling succession of sandy hills, which were generally covered with brush; and now and then we passed through spots which looked like artificial shrubberies. This ridge, evidently one of Nature's steps from a lower to a higher level, may be traced from Turtle Mountain, in the neighbourhood of the international boundary, to the banks of Swan River in lat. 52° 30′, and even round to the Basqua Hill on the waters of the Lower Saskatchewan. It appears to have been, in former days, the shore of an inland sea, comprising, in one undistinguishable mass, Lakes Winipeg, Manitoba, and Winipegos, with many of their feeders. This view may perhaps derive confirmation from the fact, that the largest of the three fragments of the primeval sheet of water, namely, Lake Winipeg, still continues to retire from its western side, and to encroach on its eastern bank.

In our evening's encampment, the musquitoes were so numerous, that they literally mottled the poor horses with black patches of great size, extending at the same time a very unreasonable share of their attentions to ourselves. We had some compensation, however, for this annoyance in the excellence of the water, for we had been fortunate enough to fix our halt on a running stream, instead of being doomed to swallow the seething dregs of half-dried lakes; and we were the more ready to appreciate the difference, as we had not yet overtaken the heavy carts that contained our wine and tea.

Breakfasting next morning on the banks of a small rivulet, we found the last night's fires of our advanced guard still burning, a discovery which diffused general joy, for, to say nothing of the want of luxuries, even our necessary provisions had begun to look very lean upon it. On resuming our journey, we passed among tolerably well wooded hills, while, on either side of us, there lay a constant succession of small lakes, some of them salt, which abounded in wild fowl. In the neighbourhood of those waters, the pasture was rich and luxuriant; and we traversed two fields, for so they might be termed, of the rose and the sweetbriar, while each loaded the air with its own peculiar perfume. On reaching the summit of the hills, that bounded the pretty valley of the Rapid River, we descried an encampment, which we supposed to be that of our own people waiting for us. On a nearer approach, however, we distinguished merely some lodges of Saulteaux.

Though we spent about an hour in fording the stream under the very eyes of the savages, yet they offered us

no assistance; they endeavoured, on the contrary, to mislead us as to the grand object of our inquiries, saying that our friends ahead had passed before the sun was high, till, on being accused of telling an untruth, they admitted that the event in question had taken place several hours later. Their object, as it was now six o'clock, was to make us halt at the river for the night, that they might have an opportunity of teasing us for presents, besides the chance of increasing their stock of horses. About an hour afterwards, on reaching a slight eminence, we perceived our people just stopping to encamp; and, with our imaginations full of hyson and souchong, of tongues and biscuit, we quickly overtook our commissariat, once more enjoying the wanderer's best consolation in the shape of a good supper, washed down with tea at discretion.

Having now to regulate our pace by that of the loaded carts, we were obliged next day to march much more slowly than hitherto. Some of my utilitarian friends brought a good supply of wild fowl, which were very numerous in the small lakes among which we were still winding our way. About eight in the morning we came to a large lake, where we were prevented from attempting to breakfast by the experience of Mr. Rowand. While coming to meet me at Red River, in the spring, that gentleman, attracted by the beauty of the situation, had encamped for the night, with his kettle bubbling and steaming all comfortably about him, when, lo and behold!—the first sip of the welcome beverage revealed the horrible truth, that the lovely lake was filled with salt water!

We, therefore, jogged on for another hour, having to

wait for our heavy carts till eleven at night; a delay which induced me to threaten, in case of a repetition, the stopping of the drams of the delinquents. In the morning we crossed the end of Shoal Lake, lying in a hilly and well-wooded district. Our guide, George Sinclair, having volunteered to conduct us to a fine encampment on Birdtail Creek, we urged forward our jaded cattle till nine in the evening; but, being still at fault, we were obliged to stop at a stagnant lake, swarming with musquitoes, and yielding very bad water. Our horses were now beginning to be knocked up, having often deviated from the track to-day, and even sometimes lain down with their loads and riders.

During the night, the poor animals, in order to get rid of their tiny tormentors, strayed to the top of a hill, where the breeze was too much for the musquitoes; and this circumstance, as involving the delay of a search, prevented us from starting before five o'clock. After an hour's ride over hilly and rugged ground, we reached George Sinclair's promised encampment on the Birdtail Creek, a rapidly flowing tributary of the Assiniboine; and beyond this stream was an undulating prairie of vast extent, with the river last mentioned in the distance.

On a neighbouring height we saw three bands of antelopes. Some of our party attempted to approach them by skirting round the valley; but the watchful animals, bounding away with characteristic elegance and rapidity, were quickly out of sight, preserving their venison for some more fortunate visitors. With the exception of our own nags, and, of course, also of the horrible musquitoes, these were the first animals that

we had seen since leaving Red River Settlement; but we were now entering on prairies well known as the home of many varieties of the deer.

On ascending the hills, which formed the eastern embankment of the valley of the Assiniboine, we discerned, on the opposite side of the river, a large band of steeds. Thinking that the animals might belong to some of the daring tribes of the plains, we prepared our fire-arms, &c., for the possible visit of the owners, in their professional capacity of horsestealers; but, after firing signals, without attracting the attention of any human being, we came to the conclusion, and as it afterwards proved correctly, that the band in question was the stud of Fort Ellice, quietly grazing at some distance from the establishment. After breakfast we forded the river, sending our carts and baggage across in a *batteau*, which had apparently been left there for our use; then swimming the horses over; and, finally, making our own passage in the barge's last trip. About noon we arrived at Fort Ellice, remaining there three or four hours.

At this post, commonly known as Beaver Creek, from the name of the brook on which it stands, we obtained tidings of a large body of emigrants, who had left Red River for the Columbia a few days previously to our arrival from Montreal. They had reached Fort Ellice on the 22nd of June, and started again next day. As these people were pursuing the same route as ourselves, and would beat a good track, we resolved, as far as practicable, to follow their trail. In the first instance, however, we had to go out of their path, in order to keep our appointment aforesaid at the Butte

aux Chiens. To arrive more quickly at this rendezvous of our relay of horses, we here engaged, as a special guide, an old fellow of an Indian, who talked largely of knowing a short cut across the country to the Dog Knoll. Before starting, we exchanged some of our cattle and vehicles for fresher and better articles of the same kind, recruiting and renovating our little brigade to the utmost of our ability.

Passing through a swampy wood, we crossed the Qu'appelle, or Calling River. Our horses and carts forded the stream; and we ourselves traversed it in a canoe of alarmingly simple construction, being neither more nor less than a few branches, covered with buffalo robes. This makeshift barely served the purpose of taking us over, before it got altogether filled with water. On surmounting the steep hill which faced us, we found ourselves on a level meadow, several thousand acres in extent; and here, being informed by our new guide that we could not possibly reach any other water that night, we reluctantly encamped at the early hour of six in the evening.

To make up for the early halt of yesterday, we were again in the saddle by half-past three in the morning, trotting away with our fresh chargers through some extensive prairies, studded with clumps of trees. We soon stumbled on some lodges of Saulteaux, one very talkative fellow accompanying us for a few miles. His grandest piece of news was, that we were likely to overtake a large party of Crees, who, after starting on a campaign some time since, had been arrested in their progress by a fearful and fatal malady. Though the Indians have the knack of inventing enormous fables,

and also of fortifying them with a formidable array of circumstances, yet I issued a general order that every person should carry his gun loaded with ball. We were suffering considerable inconvenience, with regard to our provisions, from the heat of the weather. Even the meat which we had brought from Fort Ellice was already tainted; and we were, moreover, tantalized by seeing some antelopes, which, with the best intentions of hungry men, we failed to hit.

While we were encamped on a mound at breakfast, we observed some fires in the plains around us, while a solitary savage was seen firing signals. Our fears, or perhaps our discretion, immediately identified these symptoms with the Cree warriors, whom we were expecting to find in our path. Our people were quickly on the alert, answering the signals, and preparing for the reception of the enemy; who, so far as we could discern, turned out to be three poor Saulteaux, two men and a boy, on their way to Fort Ellice. In the vicinity of this mound there was a very remarkable knoll, known as the Butte à Carcajar, which, though not exceeding three hundred feet in height, is yet a conspicuous landmark in these generally level and open prairies. Like almost every river, hill, and vale, in this primitive country, it has its traditionary legend, which runs thus:—

Many, many summers ago, a large party of Assiniboines, pouncing on a small band of Crees, in the neighbourhood of this knoll, nearly destroyed them. Among the victors was the former wife of one of the vanquished, who, in a previous foray, had been carried off by her present husband from her ancient lord and

master. Whether it was that her new friend was younger than her old one, or that she was conscious of having been a willing accomplice in the elopement, the lady, rushing into the thickest of the fight, directed every effort against the life of her first lover. In spite, however, of the faithless Amazon's special attentions, the Wolverine, for such was his name, effected his escape from the field of carnage, while the conquerors were gloating over the scalps of his brethren in arms. Creeping stealthily along for the whole day, under cover of the woods, he concealed himself at nightfall in a hole on the top of the rising ground in question. But, though he had thus eluded the vigilance of his national enemies, there was one who, under the influence of personal hatred, had never lost sight or scent of his trail; and no sooner had he sunk, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, into a sound sleep, than the unswerving and untiring bloodhound sent an arrow into his brain, with a triumphant yell. Before the morning dawned, the virago proudly presented to her Assiniboine husband the bleeding scalp of his unfortunate rival; and the scene of her desperate exploit was thenceforward known as the Butte à Carcajar, or the Wolverine Knoll. In proof of the truth of the story, the Indians assert that the ghosts of the murderess and her victim are often to be seen, from a considerable distance, struggling together on the very summit of the height.

In our afternoon's march, we passed through a swampy country, which was beset by underwood. The old fellow, who had undertaken to guide us to the Dog Knoll, was several times at fault; and our compass was a very

unsatisfactory substitute in the matter, inasmuch as our route was constantly winding, like a river, round the extremities of lakes and swamps. At night we made our beds in a small hollow, where, in order to cheat, if possible, the renowned horsestealers of the neighbourhood, we did our best to conceal our fires and cattle from view. These rogues are so clever in their way, that they have been known, even under the very noses of a guard, to carry off every nag of a caravan at the dead of night.

Next morning, the prairie became harder and more open, while the grass was withering under the recent drought, from the want of shelter and the absence of inherent moisture. This was the very country for the antelope; and we accordingly caught many a glimpse of these beautiful creatures, bounding over the hillocks. On reaching the Broken-Arm River, we were obliged, by reason of an impassable swamp on either side, to lose a few hours in going round its sources. In the evening, just as we came in sight of the spot where we intended to halt for the night, we espied two lodges of natives; and, after waiting to collect our party, we advanced with due precaution. The savages, however, were evidently more afraid than we were, for, after much commotion, the men gradually disappeared, leaving the women and children to take their chance.

Between the two tents there was a vapour-bath, made of branches of willow, stuck in the ground and bent forward, so as to form a dome about three feet in height. This was covered with skins to confine the steam, generated by throwing water on a hot stone. On going up to the bath, we were much amused to see

the legs of a man hanging out like the tail of a snake, while a wreath of willow round the body gave the fellow the appearance of a statue of Bacchus. He never stirred at our approach; and it was not till the steam was subsiding, that he deigned to take any notice of us, though we were certainly the largest body of whites that he had ever seen in the country. When he condescended to move, one of the skins fell off, disclosing another Indian quietly squatted at his ease, who was just as regardless of our approach as his companion. This affectation of an indifference, which the bathers could not feel, any more than their fugitive brethren, was more peculiarly characteristic of the Saulteaux,—the tribe to which our new friends belonged.

The lodges of these people occupied a small knoll, in the middle of a dried swamp, round which the plains were on fire. Before we had pitched our tents in the vicinity, the two bathers came dashing towards us on horseback with turbans of otter skin, necklaces of bear's claws, and various other ornaments of a similar kind; their grand object appeared to be to get presents, if possible, from us. We traded with one of our visiters to the extent of exchanging one of our exhausted hacks for a fresh horse; and, one of them having very gracefully thrown his turban over my arm, I gave him an order on our nearest establishment for double its value. After this trafficking, with the addition of a gift of ammunition, we all parted excellent friends. In order to please us, these men told us a flattering tale, according to their custom in such cases, with respect to the proximity of the Dog Knoll, assuring us that we could not fail to reach it next afternoon.

In the morning, we forded the White Sand River, with the mud up to the bellies of our horses; and one of the carts, perversely enough, managed, in this bottomless mire, to upset over a stone, though luckily without damaging its load. Hitherto our weather had been dry, clear, and warm. Now, however, a cold rain fell all the afternoon and night. To aggravate the evil, our road lay through swamps and thickets, which were often almost impassable to our carts; and our guide became quite bewildered, leading us a dance first in one direction, then in another, and so on. What with the wet, and the chilliness, and the uncertainty, we were by no means in high spirits or good humour. The weather also deprived us of an excellent supper, for, though a red deer crossed the track within a few yards of some of our people, he escaped with impunity, inasmuch as every gun was unfit for service.

We spent a miserable night under the pouring torrent, while the wolves and foxes rendered our position more hideous by their howling, to the special discomfort of the novices, who considered the serenade merely as a prelude to an attack, — a kind of war-whoop on the part of the hungry quadrupeds. In the morning, after being dragged by our blundering guide through swamp and brushwood, and across two tributaries of the White Sand river, we degraded the old fellow to the ranks, placing ourselves once more under the direction of Sinclair; and, before breakfast, we caught a distant glimpse of the object of our long and anxious search. Pushing forward with renovated spirits, we speedily came in full view of the Butte aux Chiens, towering, with a height of about four hundred

feet, over a boundless prairie, as level and smooth as a pond. This vast plain has evidently once been the bed of a lake, with the Dog Knoll as an islet in its centre. It is covered with an alluvial soil of great fertility; it is strewed with water-worn stones; and it presents various aqueous deposits.

Reaching this giant among pigmies about noon, we found at the top, in a bundle of brushwood, a note to the effect, that our people, after waiting there for three days, had gone to encamp with their horses for three days more on the borders of a neighbouring lake. The note was dated on the 9th of July; and as we got it only on the 11th, we began to fear that the men might again shift their ground before we could catch them. They themselves, however, had seen us; and we soon had the satisfaction of receiving a valuable acquisition in the nineteen fresh horses. This reinforcement just came in time, for our poor animals were so jaded as to be scarcely able to go beyond a walk; and, this very morning, the sight of a wolf, which started under their noses, could not squeeze a canter or a trot out of the whole band.

For several days, I had been distressed by what I believed to be a rheumatic affection of the back; but an eruption soon showed itself on my side, depriving me of sleep and rendering me almost unable to travel. Still, however, I continued to press forward, deciding in my own mind that the pain was less of an evil than delay would have been. On leaving the Dog Knoll, we traversed about twenty-five miles of prairie, among several large and beautiful lakes. Our cavalcade now consisted in all of nineteen persons, fifty horses, and six

carts, the order of our march being as follows. The guide was followed by four or five horsemen to beat a track; then came the carts, each with a driver, attended by one or two cavaliers; and lastly followed the unmounted animals, whether loaded or light, under the charge of the rest of our people. Our ordinary rate of travelling was four or five miles an hour, for ten, twelve, or fourteen hours a day,—the carts sometimes requiring a longer time to accomplish the day's march.

Next morning, we followed, for about twenty miles, the shores of Lac Salé, having waters as briny as those of the Atlantic; and we were actually obliged, for want of fresh water, to ride along without any breakfast till half-past eleven, while, even for this late meal, we had pushed forward so rapidly as to leave our carts nearly four hours behind us. What with hunger and thirst, and the pain in my side, I had a wearisome forenoon of it.

The most curious circumstance, with respect to these saline lakes, is, that they are often separated from fresh water only by a narrow belt of land. This reminds me, by the by, of a somewhat similar phenomenon recorded in the work of my friend, Baron Wrangell, on Siberia and the Polar Sea. In the coldest parts of the country, there may be found lakes of different levels, within two or three feet of each other. In that case, the subterranean communication may be supposed to be barred by perpetual frost; but, in the other case, the anomaly cannot be so easily and satisfactorily explained.

For three or four days, the soil had been absolutely manured with the dung of the buffalo, so that myriads of these animals must recently have passed over the

ground; and we hoped soon to meet with a herd of them; for, independently of the sport, we wished to replenish our larder, which the heat of the weather did more to clear than our kettles and frying-pans.

Having encamped for the night within view of a native lodge, we sent a man to bring us intelligence as to the true state of affairs. He found no other lodge than the one which we had seen; and even that was deserted, while every thing betokened the rapid flight of its inhabitants,—clothes and utensils being thrown about in confusion, and the meat of a buffalo being scattered on the ground. Shouting after the fugitives, but receiving no answer, our emissary left for them an epistle, which he had written on a piece of bark, to this effect. In the first place, he drew the figure of a man with a hat on his head and a pipe in his mouth, thus presenting to the savages the well-known emblems of civilized beings and peaceable intentions; and he then added, in more mysterious hieroglyphics, "Why do you fly away and distress your children without cause, for we are your friends?" In the course of the night, the poor Saulteau, having read the letter, came to our camp, and explained that, having mistaken us for hostile warriors, he and his had fled into the woods, almost in a state of nudity. How wretched the lives of such poor creatures, obliged to wander about almost in single families for food, and scared at the sight of a fellow man, as the sheep is scared on the approach of the wolf!

Next morning, we marched till ten o'clock in a soaking rain. An encampment in such weather is by no means an exhilarating sight. On halting, we were wet

and chilly, but had no place to shelter ourselves from the shower. After a drawn battle of nearly an hour with the wind and rain in the way of making a fire, we at last succeeded; and then, heaping on whole piles of wood, we contrived to keep ourselves tolerably comfortable till our tents were pitched. The horses were the very picture of misery, as they huddled themselves together. To all this add drooping spirits and a murky sky, and you have a pretty correct idea of that kind of pic-nic breakfast on which the clouds drop their fatness.

The weather improving in the afternoon, we travelled a long distance through a picturesque country, crossing the end of an extensive lake, whose gently sloping banks of greensward were crowned with thick woods. Near this lake, to our no small satisfaction, we fell upon the trail of the emigrants already mentioned, which, besides preventing any uncertainty as to our route, gave us a well beaten track for both horses and carts. The business of a guide is no trifle in these regions, possessing, as they do, so few distinctive features. Our present leader, an Indian of the name of Mis-quasquisis, or Young Grass, was peculiarly cautious and skilful, ascending every rising ground, and scanning the different objects in view, hills, lakes, woods, &c.; and then, muttering a few words to himself, he would wind his way, till he again reached some other point of observation.

In the course of this day's march, we passed a spot, whose little history, within my own experience, forcibly illustrated the sameness of the scenery and the difficulties of pilotage. On my return from the Columbia in

1825, while the grass was still so short as hardly to retain any trace of the footsteps of my party, my faithful servant Tom Taylor, and another man of the name of George Bird, dismounted to follow a red deer; and, after an unsuccessful chase, they resolved to return to our party. After halting for twenty-four hours in order to be joined by them, I gave them up for lost. At the close of six weeks, I reached Norway House, on Lake Winipeg, with a gloom on my spirits, which even the completion of a long and arduous journey could not remove. I stepped ashore, with my mind full of the sad occurrence, when who should advance to welcome me but the invaluable Tom Taylor and his companion in misfortune. Of the story of their wanderings, which might fill a volume, the outline was as follows.

After abandoning all hope of falling upon the track of our party, they set themselves seriously to work in order to find their way to some encampment of the savages, or to one of the Company's posts. After a day or two, their ammunition was expended, and their flints became useless, while their feet were lacerated by the thorns, timber, stones, and prickly grass. They had no other clothing than their trousers and shirts, having parted from us in the heat of the day; so that they were now exposed to the chills of the night, without even the comfort of a fire—a privation which placed them, as it were, at the mercy of the wolves. From day to day, they lived on whatever the chances of the wilderness afforded them, such as roots and bark, and eggs in every stage of progress.

At length, after fourteen days of intense suffering, despair began to take possession of their minds, and they

were strongly tempted to lie down and die. Next morning, however, the instinctive love of life prevailed, and they slowly and painfully crept forward, when suddenly the sight of our track revived their energies and their hopes. Almost intoxicated with joy, they followed the clue of safety; till at length, after growing more and more indistinct for a time, it entirely disappeared from their eyes. At this awful moment of disappointment and despondency, Tom Taylor, as if led by a merciful Providence to the spot, slowly recognised the scenes of his infant rambles, though he had never seen them since his childhood.

Life was now in the one scale almost as certainly as death was in the other; and under the influence of this definite motive for exertion, the two famished and lacerated wanderers reached before night the Company's establishment on Swan River. Being well acquainted with Mr. McDonell, the gentleman in charge, they crawled rather than walked to his private room, standing before him with their torn and emaciated limbs, while their haggard cheeks and glaring eyes gave them the appearance of maniacs. After a minute inspection of his visitors, Mr. McDonell, with the aid of sundry expletives, ascertained by degrees that one of his friends was "The Governor's Tom;" and, having thus penetrated to the bottom of the mystery, he nursed them into condition, with the kindness of a father and the skill of a doctor, and then carried them to Norway House.

Next morning, we continued to follow the track of the emigrants, which led us over a great deal of burnt ground—a variety of surface, which, when it extends to more than the length of a single march, is the most

embarrassing of all the obstacles to which a horseman can be exposed. Men may triumph over physical privations through moral influences, but horses, as Murat said, have no patriotism. In this part of the country we saw many sorts of birds, geese, loons, pelicans, ducks, cranes, two kinds of snipe, hawks, owls, and gulls; but they were all so remarkably shy, that we were constrained to admire them at a distance. In the afternoon, we traversed a beautiful country, with lofty hills and long valleys, full of sylvan lakes, while the bright green of the surface, as far as the eye could reach, assumed a foreign tinge under an uninterrupted profusion of roses and blue-bells. On the summit of one of these hills we commanded one of the few extensive prospects that we had of late enjoyed. One range of heights rose behind another, each becoming fainter as it receded from the eye, till the farthest was blended, in almost undistinguishable confusion, with the clouds, while the softest vales spread a panorama of hanging copses and glittering lakes at our feet.

We were now within a day's march of Carlton, the lowest of the Company's establishments on the Saskatchewan; and, in order to make sure of reaching it on the morrow, we selected, at our night's encampment, the best horses for ourselves, intending to go a-head of our baggage in the morning, with no other incumbrance than a single day's provisions.

By half-past four, our detachment of eight in all got under way. Having passed over a hilly and partially wooded district, we reached the Bow River, being the south branch of the Saskatchewan, about ten o'clock. This stream, taking its rise in the Rocky Mountains,

near the international frontier, is of considerable size, without any physical impediment of any moment; but its upper waters are so much infested with warlike tribes, that, though believed to be rich in game, it is yet seldom ascended by traders. Some years back, indeed, three or four posts were established on its banks; but they were soon abandoned, after the sacrificing of several lives in their defence. In addition to these permanent forts, a flying expedition on a large scale was projected in the year 1822, with the view of testing the truth of the rumours as to the riches of Bow River.

The expedition in question, besides Messrs. McKenzie and Rowand, the gentlemen in charge, consisted of eight or ten subordinate officers and a hundred men. After ascending to the utmost limits of the navigation for boats, surveying detachments were despatched in every direction, which met with many natives, who had never seen a European before. These unsophisticated savages, however, had their curiosity most strongly excited by a negro of the name of Pierre Bungo. This man they inspected in every possible way, twisting him about and pulling his hair, which was so different from their own flowing locks; and at length they came to the conclusion that Pierre Bungo was the oddest specimen of a white man that they had ever seen.

These negroes, of whom there were formerly several in the Company's service, were universal favourites with the fair sex of the red race; and at the present day, we saw many an Indian that appeared to have a dash of the gentleman in black about him. Finding that the resources of the country had been overrated, our people retired the following year, with the loss of a considerable

part of the original outlay of £10,000, carrying with them an enormous quantity of leather, but very few furs. They had lived in the midst of plenty, having consumed, during the winter, fifteen hundred buffaloes, besides great quantities of venison of every kind.

About twenty years ago, a large encampment of Gros Ventres and Blackfeet had been formed in this neighbourhood for the purpose of hunting during the summer. Growing tired, however, of so peaceful and ignoble an occupation, the younger warriors of the allied tribes determined to make an incursion into the territories of the Assiniboines. Having gone through all the requisite enchantments, they left behind them only the old men, with the women and children. After a successful campaign, they turned their steps homeward in triumph, loaded with scalps and other spoils; and, on reaching the top of the ridge that overlooked the camp of the infirm and defenceless of their band, they notified their approach in the proudly-swelling tones of their song of victory. Every lodge, however, was as still and silent as the grave; and, at length, singing more loudly, as they advanced, in order to conceal their emotions, they found the full tale of the mangled corpses of their parents and sisters, of their wives and children. In a word, the Assiniboines had been there to take their revenge.

Such is a true picture of savage warfare, and perhaps too often of civilized warfare also — calamity to both sides, and advantage to neither. On beholding the dismal scene, the bereaved conquerors cast away their spoils, arms, and clothes; and then, putting on robes of leather and smearing their heads with mud, they

betook themselves to the hills, for three days and nights, to howl, and mourn, and cut their flesh. This mode of expressing grief bears a very close resemblance to the corresponding custom among the Jews in almost every particular.

At our crossing-place, the Bow River was about a third of a mile in width, with a strong current. About twenty miles farther down, it falls into the Saskatchewan; and the united streams then flow towards Lake Winipeg, forming at their mouth the grand rapid of about three miles in length, the finest thing of the kind in the whole country. We passed the river without difficulty in a bateau, which had been left there for our accommodation and that of the emigrants, while our horses swam over without any accident. After a rest of four hours, of which our cattle stood much in need, we had just mounted to resume our march, when Pierre Dunomais, who had guided the emigrants to Carlton, came up to us on his way back to Red River Settlement. Not to miss so favourable an opportunity of sending letters, we detained our new friend for a day.

Pierre brought news of a war, which had just begun to rage between the Crees and the Blackfeet, in the very country which we were about to traverse.—This unwelcome business, in which several lives had already been lost, arose from a very trivial cause. Peace having been made, perhaps for the hundredth time, between the two tribes, the Crees visited the Blackfeet, who were then encamped near Fort Pitt, for the purpose of buying horses; and, in return for the nags, they gave all that they possessed, even their guns and ammunition.

In order to celebrate their friendly meeting, according to custom, by a race—an amusement as keenly enjoyed by these savages as by the enlightened jockeys of Newmarket and Ascot — the two tribes laid down their united stakes in a heap. The Blackfeet, inasmuch as they had taken care not to sell their best chargers, were, of course, victorious. On proceeding, however, to appropriate the prize of victory, they were anticipated by a Cree, who rescued a tattered capot, doubtless an old friend of his own, from the pile of booty; and the Blackfeet, viewing this as a violation of the peace, betook themselves to their tents. On their way, they met a celebrated chief of the Crees, known as the Crow's Shoes, with two of his men, all unarmed; and, after a little conversation, they slaughtered all three on the spot. In order to revenge the death of their friends, the Crees, first seizing arms from the Blackfeet, slew nine of them, till, finding themselves outnumbered, they fled.

Such was Pierre's story; and, however improbable or inaccurate some of the details might be, the essential fact that we had to pass through a scene of military operations was established beyond a doubt. In fact, I give all such narratives chiefly as a picture of manners, for, whether true or false in themselves, they are always sufficiently correct for that purpose.

A smart ride of four or five hours from the Bow River, through a country very much resembling an English park, brought us to Fort Carlton, on the Saskatchewan, where we found every soul in the establishment enjoying a siesta with open gates — a conclusive proof of either of the carelessness of our people or of

the peaceful disposition of the neighbouring savages. Our day's work had been remarkable, almost to a ludicrous degree, from the number of falls that we encountered, for each of us had a roll or two on the turf, so harmless, however, as not to leave even a single bruise to boast of. Besides the exhausted state of our horses, the ground was drilled into a honeycomb by badger-holes, which, being pretty well-screened by grass at this season of the year, could seldom be discerned soon enough to be avoided.

At Carlton, we took up our quarters for a couple of nights. We had accomplished about six hundred miles in thirteen days—a very fair rate of travelling, considering that many of our horses had come the whole distance heavily laden. This fort stands in latitude 53° north; it is in the form of a lozenge, being surrounded by wooden stockades of considerable height, with bastions at each angle and over the gateway. In the immediate vicinity, there are large gardens and fields, which produce abundance of potatoes and other vegetables; but wheat, though it has sometimes succeeded, has been far more frequently destroyed by the early frosts of autumn, which, even on Red River, occasionally blight the hopes of the less active among the settlers.

The Saskatchewan is here upwards of a quarter of a mile wide, presenting, as its name implies, a swift current. It is navigable for boats, from Rocky Mountain House, in longitude 115°, to Lake Winipeg, in longitude 98°, upwards of seven hundred miles in a direct line; but, by the actual course of the stream, nearly double that distance. Though, above Edmonton,

the river is much obstructed by rapids, yet, from that fort to Lake Winipeg, it is descended without a portage alike by boats and by canoes, while, even on the upward voyage, the only break in the navigation is the Grand Rapid already mentioned.

The post of Carlton is visited by Saulteaux, Crees, and Assiniboines in great numbers, about three hundred of these different tribes being, in some measure, attached to the establishment as hunters; and occasionally, though not of late years, the Blackfeet have made hostile forays into the neighbouring country. In this district, and indeed on the whole of the Saskatchewan, though red deer and moose are now becoming scarce, yet the buffalo appears to multiply in spite of perpetual persecution on the part alike of the whites and the savages. Besides maintaining all our people and all the natives, during the whole year, in an apparently wasteful and extravagant manner, the animal in question is made up, at our three principal posts of Carlton, Pitt, and Edmonton, into pemmican and dried meat for the general supply of the Company's service. In spite of the abundance of the larger kinds of game, the fur-bearing animals were at one time remarkably numerous; and even now the diminution has arisen chiefly from the recklessness with which the Indians destroy, often in mere wantonness, all ages at every season.

The day after that of our arrival was devoted to the writing of letters, and to the making of preparations for the rest of our journey. Late in the afternoon, the main body of our people arrived, having crossed the Bow River with a good deal of difficulty and delay, in

consequence of the extreme weakness of many of the horses. As our route hence lay on the north or left bank of the Saskatchewan, the carts &c., as soon as they came, were despatched across the river in order to save time in the morning.

About noon, on Saturday the 17th of July, we resumed our journey, with about a week's work before us, to Edmonton. In place of sixteen completely exhausted horses, we received only six fresh steeds; and, as even they had strayed, we were obliged to start without them, leaving two men to bring them after us. Our route lay over a hilly country, so picturesque in its character, that almost every commanding position presented the elements of an interesting panorama. In the course of the evening, our two men with the six horses overtook us, while encamped for the night at a distance of thirty miles from the fort.

We were now in the hunting grounds of the Crees, probably the largest tribe in the country. Of this nation there are two distinct branches, the Crees properly so called, and the Swampies, who occupy the borders of Hudson's Bay, all round, from Churchill to East Main, to a depth of two or three hundred miles. Of the Swampies, nothing more is required to be said than what I have already stated under the head of Red River Settlement, while their inland brethren demand more particular notice.

About forty years ago, they were described by Sir Alexander McKenzie as having carried their victories as far as the borders of the Arctic Circle and across the Rocky Mountains, chiefly because the fire-arms, which they had purchased from the whites, had not yet found

their way as an article of traffic to the northern tribes. Thus formidably equipped, the Crees had a great advantage over their comparatively defenceless neighbours, whom they stigmatized as slaves,—a name still applied, though without any offensive reference to its original meaning, to the Chipewyans, the Yellow Knives, the Hares, the Dogribs, the Loucheaux, the Nihanies, Dahotanies, and others on the shores of M^c^Kenzie's and Liard's rivers and their tributaries.

Soon afterwards, however, the relative power of the Crees was considerably diminished. The measles and smallpox, finding their way into the country from the Missouri, swept off a large portion of their tribe, while the northern races, besides being exempted from this scourge, had been provided with fire-arms through the gradual advance of the white traders into the interior, so as even to become the assailants, instead of being the victims. Thus checked in one direction, the Crees, branching off into a variety of bands, gradually advanced towards the south, no longer confining themselves as hunters to the thickwood countries, but scouring the open prairies on horseback, with the buffalo to feed and to clothe them, and also, through the Company's establishments, to supply them with arms, ammunition, and tobacco. They extend from the most southerly waters of the Assiniboine to Athabasca, which forms part of the basin of M^c^Kenzie's river, and to Isle à la Crosse, which is situated on the most northerly feeder of any magnitude of Hudson's Bay.

Down to 1818, the Crees were believed to be regularly diminishing in numbers; but, in that year and the next,

they were carried off in thousands by a second visitation of the measles. Since then they have been recruiting their strength; and they are now perhaps fully as numerous as they were in the days of Sir Alexander McKenzie.

Next day, the hottest that we had yet had, we experienced a good deal of inconvenience from thirst. In the afternoon, after marching a considerable distance without seeing a drop of water, we reached a small lake; but, as the hour was too early for encamping, we passed it, more particularly as its stagnant surface was by no means attractive; but we soon regretted our fastidiousness, for, when the evening began to darken, we had seen neither lake nor brook, though searching for the luxury on both sides of our track. Having sent some men a-head to look for water, we were at length delighted, about nine in the evening, to learn, that they had discovered a large lake at some distance from our road. Huge fires were immediately lighted to serve as beacons to those who were behind; but it was not till eleven that the whole cavalcade reached the camp. The fatigues and discomforts of the day, being speedily drowned in oceans of tea, served only to make us relish our suppers and beds the more.

Since we had fallen upon the trail of the emigrants, we could observe, by the number of their encampments, that we were marching at three or four times their pace; so that, though they had started twenty-eight days before us, they were overtaken by us next morning, after we had been out exactly sixteen in all. From the information of Indians, we were looking out for

these people; and accordingly, about two hours after starting, we gained a view of their lengthened cavalcade, winding its course over the plains.

These emigrants consisted of agriculturists and others, principally natives of Red River settlement. There were twenty-three families, the heads being generally young and active, though a few of them were advanced in life, more particularly one poor woman, upwards of seventy-five years of age, who was tottering after her son to his new home. This venerable wanderer was a native of the Saskatchewan, the name of which, in fact, she bore. She had been absent from this the land of her birth for eighteen years; and, on catching the first glimpse of the river, from the hill near Carlton, she burst, under the influence of old recollections, into a violent flood of tears. During the two days that the party spent at the fort, she scarcely ever left the bank of the stream, appearing to regard it with as much veneration as the Hindoo regards the Ganges.

As a contrast to this superannuated daughter of the Saskatchewan, the band contained several very young travellers, who had, in fact, made their appearance in this world since the commencement of the journey. Beyond the inevitable detention, which seldom exceeded a few hours, these interesting events had never interfered with the progress of the brigade; and both mother and child used to jog on, as if jogging on were the condition of human existence.

Each family had two or three carts, together with bands of horses, cattle, and dogs. The men and lads travelled on the saddle, while the vehicles, which were covered with awnings against the sun and rain, carried

the women and the young children. As they marched in single file, their cavalcade extended above a mile in length; and we increased the length of the column by marching in company. The emigrants were all healthy and happy, living in the greatest abundance and enjoying the journey with the highest relish.

Before coming up to these people, we had seen evidence of the comfortable state of their commissariat in the shape of two or three still warm buffaloes, from which only the tongues and a few other choice bits had been taken. This spectacle gave us hopes of soon seeing the animal ourselves; and accordingly it was not long before we saw our game on either side of the road, grazing or stalking about in bands of between twenty and a hundred, to the number of about five thousand in all. In spite of their fatigue, such of our steeds as had been trained to the sport were quickly in the thick of the herd; and one old stager, that had been condemned as unfit alike for pack and rider, maintained the chace so eagerly, that he could not be brought back from the pursuit.

The buffalo is larger than the domestic cattle, excepting that its legs are shorter. Its large head, about a third part of its entire length, gives it a very uncouth appearance, while its shaggy beard and mane resemble the lion's, though on a larger scale; and, when running fast, it tosses its rugged frontispiece at every step. But, notwithstanding its terrific looks, it is really a timid creature, excepting that, when urged by despair to do justice to its physical powers, it becomes a fearful antagonist.

Several parties, of about six or eight men each, having been formed for the occasion, each division ap-

proached its own chosen quarry cautiously, till, within a few hundred feet of the devoted band, it rushed at full gallop on its prey. Taking the alarm, the animals immediately started off at a canter in single file, an old bull usually taking the lead. When alongside, as they soon were, the hunters fired, loading and discharging again and again, always with fatal effect, without slackening their pace. The dexterity with which the experienced sportsman can manage his gun is quite wonderful. While his steed is constantly galloping, he primes his lock, pours out the proper quantity of powder, first into his left hand and then into the muzzle, drops a ball upon the charge without wadding, having merely wetted it in his mouth, and then knocks down the fattest cow within his reach,—all in less than half a minute. The morning's chace resulted in about fifty killed; but so abundant were provisions at this moment, that, after taking the tongues, we left the carcases to the mercy of the wolves.

The affair, however, is very different when the professional hunters go in hundreds to the plains to make as much as they can of the buffalo. When they meet the herd, which often makes the whole scene almost black with its numbers, they rush forward, pell-mell, firing and loading as already mentioned; and, while the bullets fly, amid clouds of smoke and dust, the infuriated and bewildered brutes run in every direction with their tormentors still by their sides. By reason of the closeness of the conflict, serious accidents from shots are comparatively rare; and nearly all the casualties are the result of falls, which few riders have leisure either to prevent or to soften.

When the buffaloes are dispersed, or the horses exhausted, or the hunters satisfied, then every man proceeds to recognise his own carcases, having marked one with his cap, another with his coat, a third with his belt, a fourth with his fire-bag, and so forth; and then come into play the science and art of curing what has been killed. Sometimes dried meat is preferred, the bones being taken out, and the flesh hung up in the sun; but, if pemmican be the order of the day, the lean, after being dried, is pounded into dust, which, being put into a bag made of the hide, is enriched with nearly an equal weight of melted fat.

The buffaloes are incredibly numerous. In the year 1829, for instance, I saw as many as ten thousand of their putrid carcases lying mired in a single ford of the Saskatchewan, and contaminating the air for many miles round. They make yearly migrations from one part of the country to another, reversing, in this respect, the ordinary course of birds of passage. During the winter, they go north in order to obtain the shelter of the woods against the severity of the weather, while, on the approach of summer, they proceed to the open plains of the south with the view of eluding the attacks of the musquitoes. At this time of the year, they had deserted the country through which we had been travelling of late; and the wolves, thus deprived of their staple food, were so wretchedly thin, that we could have easily counted their ribs with the eye alone. During the autumn, the buffaloes resort in large numbers to the salt lakes, led thither by instinct to purge themselves.

While the hunting-parties were eagerly pursuing their game, the rest of the cavalcade moved slowly forward

till about noon, when we halted for breakfast at the Turtle River, the emigrants still being in company. In order to do honour to the day,—the first occasion perhaps on which two large bands of civilized men had met as friends in these vast prairies,—I put the men in high spirits with a dram, while a donation of wine, tea, and sugar rendered the women the merriest and happiest gossips in the world.

The elders of this little congregation sat in council with Mr. Rowand and myself on the subject of their route and various incidental matters. On leaving Red River, the emigrants had intended to perform the whole distance by land. Hitherto, however, they had been so slow in their movements, having taken forty-three days to one third of their journey, that, in this way, they could hardly reach their destination before the commencement of the winter. We, therefore, proposed that they should proceed by the Athabasca Portage of the Rocky Mountains to the Boat Encampment, and thence descend the Columbia to Vancouver. The people agreed to this change of their plan; but they subsequently, in accordance with the original arrangement, followed our track all the way to the westward.

Our breakfast was a complete specimen of a hunter's meal, consisting of enormous piles of roasted ribs, with marrow and tripe at discretion,—the spoils of the morning's chace. About three in the afternoon, we took leave of our fellow-travellers with mutual wishes for a prosperous journey, soon falling again upon the Turtle River. Of this stream the tortuous windings are very remarkable, sometimes flowing east, then north, next west, and finally south, and returning again, after all,

within a few paces of its original point of departure. As we were now on the verge of an immense prairie, where no water could be obtained, we filled every pot and kettle for our supper. During the whole day, comprising a march of fifty miles, we saw no other water than that of the Turtle River; nor was there any, for more than half that distance beyond our night's encampment.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of this necessary of life, animals of various kinds were abundant. In addition to the buffaloes, we saw wolves, badgers, foxes, beaver, and antelopes. Of the last-mentioned species, one of our men succeeded in bringing down a fine buck; but, as it was at some distance from the road, we were contented, in the present state of our larder, with the tongue alone. Soon after going to bed, we were startled by the cry of "Indians are coming!" With our imaginations full of horse-stealers, every man shook off his sleep, cocked his gun, and prepared himself for the worst. Indians did come, but they proved to be Crees, who, as their tribe had no reputation in this way, were allowed to remain with us all night.

It was the noon of next day before we found water, the grass along our route being completely withered; and, as a general rule, any neighbourhood that refused drink to our horses yielded them very little food. By five in the afternoon, we again entered the immediate valley of the Saskatchewan for the first time since leaving Carlton; and at this spot we came upon the only pines that we had seen after our departure from Red River. We reached Fort Pitt about dark; and, before passing through the gates, we were saluted by a volley from eleven lodges of Crees,—an honour which our nags by

no means appreciated, for, tired as they were, they evinced their terror by kicking and plunging.

These Crees, like all those that we had previously met with, were keeping out of the way of the Blackfeet. We visited one of the lodges, where a favourite warrior, who had been severely wounded at the battle of the race-course, was lying. On betaking himself to flight with his companions, this poor fellow had leant forward on his horse's neck, receiving, in that position, a wound of the most singular character. A ball hit him below the right shoulder, passed in a curved direction across the spine, and finally lodged near the joint of the left shoulder. After an interval of thirty-three days, we found his left arm dreadfully inflamed and swollen, while the rest of his body was a mere skeleton. With the view of extracting the bullet, the Indians, who profess surgery as well as physic in their own way, had made several punctures to no purpose; and all that any of us could do for the unfortunate sufferer was to administer a little medicine for temporary relief.

The whole scene in this lodge was of a most melancholy nature. On one side lay the dying warrior, his glassy eye and haggard looks revealing the agony which neither voice nor gesture deigned to tell; near him was a child about three years old, with its shrivelled flesh barely concealing its bones, whose ceaseless moaning formed a striking contrast with the stubborn endurance of its father; and perhaps the most pitiable object in the tent was the hapless wife and mother, sinking under anxiety and fatigue, and blending, as it were, in her silent dejection at once the apathy of her husband and the sensibility of her boy. But this physical misery

excited more of our sympathy on account of its superstitious accompaniments. During the night, the medicine-man was plying his mystic arts to restore health to the sick, while, to provide against the worst, drums were beating to drive away all evil spirits. What a picture of the fruits of barbarism and heathenism united!

Fort Pitt is prettily situated on the north or left bank of the river. It is frequented by the Crees, Assiniboines, and Blackfeet, having been planted among them only about ten years before our visit; and, as it is thus comparatively new among these dangerous tribes, it still keeps up, both by day and by night, the system of watch and ward, which has been discontinued at our older establishments on the Saskatchewan, Edmonton, Carlton, and Rocky Mountain House. At this place we exchanged all our horses, with the exception of two or three of the more hardy of the band; most of them had been rendered useless for any present purpose by soreness of backs, weakness of joints, &c.

Soon after our arrival, several mounted men were observed crossing from the opposite shore: they proved to be the commissariat of the fort returning home perfectly light. In the course of the morning, these hunters, while watching for moose in the neighbourhood of a wood and a lake, had discovered two Blackfeet crawling towards their horses. They fired at the thieves, learning immediately from a groan that they had not missed their aim; but, not knowing how many more of the enemy might be at hand, they fled, without taking time even to saddle their animals. However disagreeable this intelligence might be, we consoled ourselves by reflecting that, if travellers were to be influenced by wars and

rumours of wars, they would never pass through these plains at all.

Though we were now on the safer side of the Saskatchewan, in the country of the Crees, yet, in order to save a day's march on the distance between Fort Pitt and Edmonton, we resolved to cross the river into the territory of the Blackfeet, merely taking care to move in somewhat closer order than usual. Starting accordingly from the establishment about eleven in the morning, we had hardly gained the opposite shore, when an Indian dog on the track, whose master could not be far off, excited our vigilance, if not our fears.

On passing the spot where the hunters had seen the Blackfeet, we halted to make a search, but discovered no trace of an enemy, whether living or dead. We travelled about thirty miles through bolder scenery than that which we had previously traversed, breaking the axle of one of our carts, and replacing it by a rough kind of makeshift at the encampment. As unremitting caution was now indispensable, our horses were hobbled, and a guard mounted, for the night.

Next morning, being the 22nd of July, we had a sharp frost before sunrise, and afterwards a heavy dew. The whole country was so parched up, that no water could be found for breakfast till eleven o'clock; and again in the afternoon we passed over a perfectly arid plain of about twenty-five miles in length, encamping for the night at the commencement of the Chaine des Lacs, a succession of small lakes stretching over a distance of twenty or thirty miles. During the afternoon, we saw our first raspberries; they proved to be of large size and fine flavour. Two days previously, we had feasted on

the service-berry, or misasquitomina, a sort of cross between the cranberry and the black currant; and, before leaving Red River, we had found wild strawberries ripe. The misasquitomina, by the by, is generally an ingredient in the better sort of pemmican, which is made with marrow-fat instead of ordinary grease. In the course of the day, Mr. Rowand's horse, stepping into a badger-hole, gave him a very heavy fall, by which his face was much cut, and by which also, as appeared some months afterwards, his breastbone was broken.

Next afternoon we passed over a space of about four miles in length, where the grass was thoroughly beaten down, apparently the work of hail. Such storms, which are almost always partial in their operation, are often remarkably furious in this country. While travelling from Red River to Canada in the fall of 1837, I was overtaken near Lac la Pluie by a violent tempest of the kind, which, if we had not gained the fort in time, might have proved fatal. As the angular masses of ice rattled on the roof, we entertained fears for the safety of the building; and, in point of fact, the lodges of the Indians were thrown down and their canoes shattered; while their luckless dogs, tumbling about like drunken men, scrambled away howling in quest of shelter. Some of the pieces, measured in presence of Mr. Finlayson, of Red River, and Mr. Hargrave, of York Factory, we found to be fully five inches and a half in circumference.

Throughout this country every thing is in extremes—unparalleled cold and excessive heat; long droughts, balanced by drenching rain and destructive hail. But it is not in climate only that these contrarieties prevail;

at some seasons both whites and natives are living, in wasteful abundance, on venison, buffalo, fish, and game of all kinds; while at other times they are reduced to the last degree of hunger, often passing several days without food.

In the year 1820, when wintering at Athabasca Lake, our provisions fell short at the establishment, and on two or three occasions I went for three whole days and nights without having a single morsel to swallow; but then again I was one of a party of eleven men and one woman, which discussed three ducks and twenty-two geese at a sitting. On the Saskatchewan the daily rations are eight pounds of meat a head, whereas in other districts our people have been sent on long journeys with nothing but a pint of meal and some parchment for their sustenance.

Towards sunset we encamped on the confines of an extensive forest, a tongue of which, stretching away to the northward, is known as La Grande Pointe. In the afternoon we had come upon a large bed of the eyeberry, or oosquisikoomina, very nearly resembling the strawberry in taste and appearance. It grows abundantly in Russia; and flourishing, as it does, in the same soils and situations as the strawberry, it would doubtless thrive in England. The nights were getting chilly; and, whenever the sky was clear, a heavy dew fell from sunset to sunrise on particular spots, so as to look, when morning dawned, like large lakes in the distance. As the power of the sun increased, these mists gradually resolved themselves into streaks of various shapes and sizes, which, rising from the ground in the form of clouds, finally disappeared.

Next morning, being anxious to reach Edmonton before night, we proceeded in advance of our heavy baggage. For the first three or four leagues the country appeared to have been the bed of some large lake; and many spots, of several miles in area, were as smooth and flat as if they had been levelled by artificial means. The whole plain was covered with a luxuriant crop of the vetch, or wild pea, almost as nutritious a food for cattle and horses as oats. As we drew near to the Saskatchewan, we had to cross as many as five creeks, with steep and lofty banks, the last, in particular, being a stream scarcely twenty feet in span, between rugged declivities about two hundred feet in height.

The summit of one of the rising grounds in the neighbourhood of these creeks presented a man on horseback, who, catching a glimpse of us, suddenly disappeared down the opposite side of the hill. We urged our horses forward at full speed, in order to overtake the fugitive, closely examining every bush and every hollow, till, on reaching the last five creeks, we found the object of our pursuit in the shape of a native hunter attached to the fort. This man, who rejoiced in the name of Potato, while his brother was equally blessed with the title of Turnip, had, in two days, knocked down a moose, a red deer, and a buffalo—pretty good wages for less than half a week's work. While speaking of names, I cannot help mentioning that our guide from Fort Pitt was one of three brothers, who bore the congenial or uncongenial appellations of Sand-fly, Musquito, and Napoleon Bonaparte.

On arriving in front of Edmonton, which was on the

opposite bank of the Saskatchewan, we notified our approach by a volley of musketry, which was returned by the cannon of the fort. A boat was quickly despatched to convey us across the river; and on landing we found the residents of the establishment, and more particularly Mrs. Rowand and her daughters, assembled to receive us.

Edmonton is a well-built place, something of a hexagon in form. It is surrounded by high pickets and bastions, which, with the battlemented gateways, the flagstaffs, &c., give it a good deal of a martial appearance; and it occupies a commanding situation, crowning an almost perpendicular part of the bank, about two hundred feet in height. The river is nearly as wide as at Carlton, while the immediate banks are well wooded, and the country behind consists of rolling prairies.

This fort, both inside and outside, is decorated with paintings and devices to suit the tastes of the savages that frequent it. Over the gateways are a most fanciful variety of vanes; but the hall, of which both the ceiling and the walls present the gaudiest colours and the most fantastic sculptures, absolutely rivets the astonished natives to the spot with wonder and admiration. The buildings are smeared with a red earth found in the neighbourhood, which, when mixed with oil, produces a durable brown.

The vicinity is rich in mineral productions. A seam of coal, about ten feet in depth, can be traced for a very considerable distance along both sides of the river. This coal resembles slate in appearance; and though it requires a stronger draught of air than that of an ordinary

chimney, yet it is found to answer tolerably well for the blacksmith's forge. Petrifactions are also found here in abundance; and at the fort there was a pure stone, which had once been a log of wood about six feet in length, and four or five in girth; the resemblance being so complete, as even to deceive the eye.

The storm, of which we yesterday observed the effects in the beating down of the grass, had been severely felt here, though in the shape rather of lightning than of hail. One flash had fallen on the bank within a few yards of the walls, cutting two deep gulleys down to the water's edge.

The number of the native inhabitants of the Saskatchewan district may serve to demonstrate how scanty is the aboriginal population of North America at the present day, more particularly as the tract in question is, perhaps, the most populous in the country :—

SASKATCHEWAN DISTRICT.

TRIBES.	TENTS.	SOULS.
Crees	500	3,500
Assiniboines	580	4,060
Blackfeet	300	2,100
Piegans	350	2,450
Blood Indians	250	1,750
Sarcees	50	350
Gros Ventres	300	2,100
Saulteaux	20	140
Half-breeds	40	280
Totals	2,390	16,730

Small as this census is for a territory at least as large as England, the force of the Company's servants is infinitely smaller. But, in any case of inevitable colli-

sion, our people never recede from their purpose. To give an instance:—a band of Assiniboines had carried off twenty-four horses from Edmonton; and, being pursued, they were overtaken at the small river Boutbière. One of the keepers of the animals, a very courageous man, of the name of François Lucie, plunged into the stream, grappling in the midst with a tall savage; and, in spite of his inferiority of strength, he kept so close, that his enemy could not draw his bow. Still, however, the Indian contrived to strike his assailant on the head with the weapon in question, and thereby to knock him off his horse into the water. Springing immediately to his feet, Lucie was about to smite the Assiniboine with his dagger, when the savage arrested his arm by seizing a whip which was hanging to his wrist by a loop, and then, turning round the handle with a scornful laugh, he drew the string so tight as to render the poor man's hand nearly powerless. François continued, nevertheless, to saw away at the fellow's fingers with his dagger till he had nearly cut them off; and when, at length, the Assiniboine, of necessity, relaxed his grasp, François, with the quickness of thought, sheathed the deadly weapon in his heart.

In the spring of the year, Mr. Rowand had secured, as a guide to conduct us as far as the Rocky Mountains, a man of the name of Peechee, who, though himself a half-breed, had been brought up among the savages, and was, in fact, a chief of the Mountain Crees. Beyond Edmonton the country is impracticable for carts, so that all our baggage would have to be conveyed on horseback; and on this account we reduced

our wardrobes to the smallest possible compass, taking with us only such articles of clothing as were absolutely necessary for the voyage.

On the third day after our arrival, the firing of guns on the opposite side of the river, which was heard early in the morning, announced the approach of nine native chiefs, who came forward in advance of a camp of fifty lodges, which was again followed by another camp of six times the size. These chiefs were Blackfeet, Piegans, Sarcees, and Blood Indians, all dressed in their grandest clothes and decorated with scalp-locks. I paid them a visit, giving each of them some tobacco. Instead of receiving their presents with the usual indifference of savages, they thanked me in rotation, and, taking my hand in theirs, made long prayers to me as a high and powerful conjurer. They implored me to grant, that their horses might always be swift, that the buffalo might constantly abound, and that their wives might live long and look young. One of them vented his gratitude in a song; and another blessed the house in which he had been so well treated.

Our nine visitors remained the whole morning, smoking and sleeping: nor would they take their departure till they had obtained a present for each of the chiefs that were coming behind them. Though we had resolved to make a start to-day, yet we could not safely resume our journey while these Indians were hanging about the place, inasmuch as they would have given information to the approaching bands; and then we should have been annoyed, and perhaps plundered, by the fellows for whole days in succession.

In order to escape unseen and unsuspected, we

adopted the following expedient. A boat, which was loaded with our baggage, was sent about six miles up the river in the evening with orders to be concealed as much as possible; and early next morning we were to proceed with the horses, under cover of the woods, along the northern bank to join it. Then and there we were to cross the Saskatchewan, and pursue our journey towards the south-west.

On this our last afternoon, we made a tour of the farm. The pasturage was most luxuriant; and a large dairy was maintained. Among the cattle was a buffalo heifer seven years of age, procured for the purpose of crossing the breed; but every domestic bull had always appeared to be afraid of her. Sheep could not be kept, for, in addition to the severity of the climate, the packs of dogs and wolves in the neighbourhood would have destroyed them. Barley generally yielded a fair return; but wheat was almost sure to be destroyed by the early frosts. The garden produced potatoes, turnips, and a few other hardy vegetables.

CHAPTER III.

FROM EDMONTON HOUSE TO FORT VANCOUVER.

Departure from Edmonton—Rev. Mr. Rundle—Gull Lake—Native gossips—Duck hunt—Red Deer's River—Unexpected meeting—March through wet bush — Altered character of vegetation — State of commissariat — Difficulties of march — Rugged scene — Peechee's home— Perpendicular rocks — Indian skirmish, courage of a woman — The spout —Bow River Traverse—Porcupine—Natural gateway—Height of land —Reminiscence of Scotland—Improvement in climate—Kootonais River —Adventures of two of our men—Scarcity of water—Bad road—Columbia River—Search for horses—Gloomy ravine—Hieroglyphics—Tenacity of musquitoes—Fresh horses—Scenery now softer—Flatbow Indians—Hot springs—Burning forests—Park-like prairie—Kootonais Indians, chief's son—Grande Quête Lake, missing companion— Grande Quête River—Improvement in vegetation—Plunge of two loaded horses —Use of a horse—Starvation among natives—Female horse-dealer—Extensive and interesting view—March through wet bush—Kootonais River Traverse—Peculiar canoe—Kootonais village—Food of natives —Mr. and Mrs. Charlo—Natural pit—Burning woods—Kullespelm Lake—Pend' d'Oreille River—Pend' d'Oreille Indians—Card-playing—Results of education — Native dress — Fresh horses—Supper or no supper ?—Mr. McDonald from Colvile—Excellent breakfast—Ludicrous accident — Fort Colvile — Fine farm —Chaudière Indians—Peechee—Departure from Colvile — Chaudière Falls — Grande Coulée — Okanagan — Murder of Mr. Black — Scarcity of wood — Isle des Pierres Rapids—Sault du Prêtre—Rattlesnakes—Snake River—Wallawalla—Rev. Mr. Mungh—McKenzie's and Ross's Heads—Prairie fowl—Snake Indians—Basaltic rocks—Cayuse chief in love—Les Chutes, past and present — Petites Dalles — Long Narrows — Hair seals — Mission of Whaspicum — Aquatic forest — Cascades — Pillar Rock — Arrival at Vancouver.

About five in the morning of the 28th of July, we started from Edmonton in high spirits, with a fresh band

of forty-five fine horses, and struck into the adjacent woods, before the Indians made their appearance on the opposite side of the river. Crossing the Saskatchewan at the place, where we found our boat, we breakfasted in a secluded spot; and thence we pursued our course, during the whole day, through a land of marshes and thickets, forming a remarkable contrast with the rolling prairies which we had recently traversed. As the forests had been almost entirely destroyed by fire, the fallen timber, often concealed alike from horse and rider by the high grass, occasioned a good deal both of delay and of danger. In spite, however, of all our difficulties, we contrived, with our new stud, to accomplish sixty miles by eight in the evening.

In the afternoon, we had met Mr. Rundle, the Wesleyan missionary of Edmonton, who had been visiting a camp of Crees on the borders of Gull Lake; and, as that gentleman was anxious to have some communication with me, he returned with us to our encampment, which we made near the Atcheskapesequa Seepee, or Smoking-weed River. This stream flowed in a deep and shady valley; and its clear water afforded us an exquisite treat after our long and hot ride.

In the morning, Mr. Rundle accompanied us as far as the Battle River, which falls into the Saskatchewan, near Fort Pitt. We were now beyond the level prairie with its badger holes, which have obtained for the people of the Saskatchewan the name of Les Gens des Blaireaux; but we had woods instead, which, if they were less perilous, were fully more embarrassing. The scenery, as we approached the mountains, was becoming bolder every hour. The plains were replaced by ranges

of lofty hills; and we were straining our eyes to catch the first glimpse of the perpetual snows of the mighty barrier that lay in our path. The weather continued to be exceedingly warm, the thermometer showing 83° in the shade; and the flies of every species, from the bull-dog, which takes out the bit from man and beast, to the diminutive moustique, annoyed, to an almost insupportable degree, both ourselves and our cattle. To make matters worse, we were this morning attacked, for the first time, by wasps, which every now and then made our poor animals dance and bolt, and roll on the ground; and so much did the horses dread the insect in question, that not one in the band would approach the spot where any other had been stung,—the whole of them sometimes dashing off, in all possible directions, at full gallop.

After passing two or three very beautiful lagoons, we encamped for the night on the banks of the Gull Lake, a fine sheet of transparent water of about twenty miles in length by five or six in width, surrounded by high hills, of which the remotest summits to the westward command a view of the Rocky Mountains. Though we saw no traces of Mr. Rundle's Crees, yet the report of a musket, booming like that of a cannon along the lake, indicated their vicinity; and, on our answering what was probably meant as a signal, we were visited by a few of them, who proved to be relations of some of our men. Our object in desiring an interview was to obtain, if possible, a supply of fresh meat, inasmuch as the small stock, which we had brought from Edmonton, was already exhausted. The Indians, who were almost as badly off as ourselves, had nothing to

spare but the remains, the inferior joints of course, of a red deer; but these, such as they were, they promised to bring us in the morning.

On decamping, a heavy fog threatened us with a wet day. Gradually, however, the sun dispersed the vapours; and, as there was no wind, the heat became excessive, while our work grew harder in consequence of the gradual rise of the country. After fording the Paskap Seepee, or Blind River, we reached Reedy Lake; and thence, crossing a range of high hills, we breakfasted on an extensive prairie beyond them. Our friends of Gull Lake had brought us a little meat, and that not very tempting in its appearance; but, such as it was, it saved our pemmican for one day longer. They remained with us two or three hours, smoking and chatting; and, our guide Peechee being a great man among them, they formed a circle round him, whiffing and talking and listening; for, notwithstanding the taciturnity of savages among whites, they are, when by themselves, the most loquacious of mortals, apparently regarding idle gossip as one of the grand objects of life. In addition to the venison, which we got from the Indians, our breakfast was enriched by the presence of a few ducklings—without green peas. We had caught a sight of a colony of ducks in a small swamp; and, after scrambling in the high grass and shallow water with a most zealous combination of all our talents and appetites, we succeeded in bagging seven of the rising brood. The excitement of such a hunt cannot possibly be appreciated by your civilized sportsman, inasmuch as his larder is not materially interested in the question of failure or success.

Soon after the commencement of our afternoon's

march, we had to cross the Red Deer's River, a large and beautiful stream flowing between well wooded banks of considerable height; and, while we were riding three or four miles down the current in quest of a ford, we found on the bank perfectly fresh tracks of bear, red deer, moose, antelopes, and wolves. Had we been on a hunting excursion instead of travelling against time, we might here have enjoyed a few days of excellent sport. While the horses were fording the river, we had a pleasant bath, after which we continued our march across a prairie almost covered with dwarf willows.

While quietly forcing our way through the bushes with our party very much scattered, we suddenly encountered a small band of Sarcees, the boldest of all the tribes that inhabit the plains. The savages appeared to be taken as much by surprise as ourselves; and, in a moment, the guns were uncovered on both sides. A halt, of course, was made; and a parley ensued, the subject of discussion being the present war between the Crees and the Blackfeet. The Sarcees, as allies of the latter tribe, naturally blamed the former; and we took credit to the whites for having kept their common enemy comparatively quiet. With the aid of a little tobacco and ammunition, we prolonged the conversation for a sufficient length of time to allow all our people to get fairly out of sight; and we then parted from our fickle customers on the most friendly terms. We came almost immediately to a small river, whose banks of two hundred feet in height were so steep, that our horses slid sideways the greater part of the distance to the water's edge; and, however troublesome the operation was in itself, we were not sorry to place so formidable

a barrier between the Sarcees and ourselves. In order to give our somewhat doubtful friends as wide a berth as possible, we marched more briskly than usual till the evening, selecting for our night's encampment a rising ground which commanded the view to a considerable distance; and, to make assurance doubly sure, every gun was loaded, while four men mounted guard.

Still remembering the Sarcees, we made an early move, and marched vigorously for about seven hours. Before breakfast, however, we met a new object of alarm in the fresh trail of a large party of horsemen, who must have passed as late as last evening; but, on second thoughts, we were glad to observe that the band in question had kept a good deal to the westward of our track. In this same neighbourhood, we got up an amusing scene in the shape of a hunt of some young geese. Some of the men, without taking time to strip, jumped into the water, splashing and tumbling about after their prey, while the others from the bank kept up a constant fire on the birds; and thus, between killed, and wounded, and taken, the whole flock fell into the hands of our cooks.

In the course of the afternoon, we descended into a glen between ranges of steep and lofty hills, through which flowed the river La Biche, at one place contracted into a mere rivulet, and at another spread over a channel of two hundred feet in width. In forcing our way through the tangled underwood of this valley, we were almost as thoroughly drenched by the deposits of a recent shower on the leaves, as if we had been actually exposed to the rain itself; and this thicket again led us into a dense forest of pines, through which the track,

besides being obstructed by fallen timber, was so narrow as seriously to impede the pack-horses.

We encamped for the night in an open space amid an amphitheatre of towering hills, which were covered with dark forests. Every hour of this day's march had marked our ascent to a higher level. At Fort Pitt, as already mentioned, we had seen our first pines; since then we had passed few trees of the kind, till they began, this morning, to increase rapidly in number, while, in the same proportion, every other species gradually disappeared. The willow and poplar were the last to dispute the sway of this evergreen child of the mountains, though, before reaching our encampment, even they had given up the contest; and nothing was to be seen but the black, straight, naked stem of the pine, shooting up to an unbroken height of eighty or a hundred feet; while the sombre light, as it glimmered along numberless vistas of natural columns, recalled to the imagination the gloomy shades of an assemblage of venerable cathedrals.

In the way of eating, we had now little to expect beyond our own stores of pemmican and dried meat. Our supper of to-day was the first meal, at which we had not fresh viands of some kind or other; and we had no great reason to expect any considerable improvement for some time to come. Next day, indeed, we crossed several small plains, which are often well stocked with buffalo, one of them in particular being on this account distinguished as La Prairie de la Graisse; but, as our luck would have it, not a hoof was to be seen. This disappointment was the more to be regretted, inasmuch as the increasing cold — increasing

both with the advance of the season and with our own elevation — would now have kept any booty much longer sound and sweet.

In La Prairie de la Graisse we caught our first view of the white peaks of the mountains, looking like clouds on the verge of the horizon. Beyond this point, our track lay through swamps, which, even in this the driest month of a dry season, were almost impracticable. The horses constantly sank to their girths; and, in endeavouring to extricate themselves, they occasionally dislodged their packs or riders into the seething morass. Nor was our progress much more expeditious in the woods than in the bogs. The horses were, every now and then, diving into the pathless forest, with the drivers at their heels, whose cries might be heard ringing through the usually solitary glades for miles; and the fugitives, when overtaken, were generally found to have either slipped their packs altogether, or else to have them hanging loose under their bellies. In adjusting all this, the men would lose the track, so that we had to make occasional halts to collect our people. One man in particular was missing for several hours this morning; and others, who were sent in search of him, found him trying to drive three obstinate brutes before him. Though this poor fellow had fired fifteen signals for assistance, yet not one of them had been heard by us; and this was the more extraordinary, as the report of one's own gun appeared to reverberate through the woods like the discharge of a heavy piece of ordnance.

About ten we halted for breakfast, that some of our

hunters might follow a recent track of the buffalo; but they saw only three stragglers, which, however, were out of reach. In the afternoon, we emerged from the woods on a long open valley terminating in a high ridge, whence we obtained one of those majestic views, found only "'midst mountain fastnesses." As far as the eye could reach, mountain rose above mountain, while at our feet lay a valley surrounded by an amphitheatre of cold, bare, rugged peaks. In these crags, which were almost perpendicular, neither could tree plant its roots nor goat find a resting-place; the "Demon of the Mountains" alone could fix his dwelling there. On the stony bosom of the valley in question we pitched our tents for the night. Here we found one of the sources — in spring, a torrent, but now almost dry — of the river La Biche; and here we bade adieu to that stream, which, during the last three days, we had crossed at least forty times. One of the overhanging peaks, from its bearing a rude resemblance to an upturned face, is called the Devil's Nose.

The path, which we had been following, was a track of the Assiniboines, carried, for the sake of concealment, through the thickest forests. The Indians and Peechee were the only persons that had ever pursued this route; and we were the first whites that had attempted this pass of the mountains.

In the morning, we entered a defile between mountainous ridges, marching for nine hours through dense woods. This valley, which was from two to three miles in width, contained four beautiful lakes, communicating

with each other by small streams; and the fourth of the series, which was about fifteen miles by three, we named after Peechee, as being our guide's usual home. At this place he had expected to find his family; but Madame Peechee and the children had left their encampment, probably on account of a scarcity of game. What an idea of the loneliness and precariousness of savage life does this single glimpse of the biography of the Peechees suggest!

Having marched for nine hours over broken rocks and through thick forests, we found, on halting for breakfast, that six of our horses, three of them with packs, were missing; and we instantly despatched all our men but two in quest of them, determining at the same time to remain for the rest of the day in order to await their return. The beauty of the scenery formed some compensation for this loss of time. Our tents were pitched in a level meadow of about five hundred acres in extent, enclosed by mountains on three sides, and by Peechee's lake on the fourth. From the very edge of the water, there rose a gentle ascent of six or eight hundred feet, covered with pines, and composed almost entirely of the accumulated fragments of the adamantine heights above; and on the upper border of this slope there stood perpendicular walls of granite, of three or four thousand feet, while among the dizzy altitudes of their battlemented summits the goats and sheep bounded in playful security.

As ill luck would have it, one of the missing horses carried our best provisions; but, by stewing two partridges and making a little pemmican into a kind of

burgoo, we contrived to produce both breakfast and supper for eight hungry travellers. Though we had considerably increased our elevation by this morning's march, yet the heat was great, reaching as high as 70° in the shade.

The defile, through which we had just passed, had been the scene of an exploit highly characteristic of savage life. One of the Crees, whom we saw at Gull Lake, had been tracked into the valley, along with his wife and family, by five youths of a hostile tribe. On perceiving the odds that were against him, the man gave himself up for lost, observing to the woman that, as they could die but once, they had better make up their minds to submit to their present fate without resistance. The wife, however, replied that, as they had but one life to lose, they were the more decidedly bound to defend it to the last, even under the most desperate circumstances; adding that, as they were young and by no means pitiful, they had an additional motive for preventing their hearts from becoming small. Then, suiting the action to the word, the heroine brought the foremost warrior to the earth with a bullet, while the husband, animated by a mixture of shame and hope, disposed of two more of the enemy with his arrows. The fourth, who had by this time come to pretty close quarters, was ready to take vengeance on the courageous woman, with uplifted tomahawk, when he stumbled and fell; and, in the twinkling of an eye, the dagger of his intended victim was buried in his heart. Dismayed at the death of his four companions, the sole survivor of the assailing party saved himself

by flight, after wounding his male opponent by a ball in the arm.

It was six o'clock next morning before our people returned with the missing horses, which they had found about fifteen miles behind. On starting, we proceeded up a bold pass in the mountains, in which we crossed two branches of the Bow River, the south branch, as already mentioned, of the Saskatchewan. From the top of a peak, that rose perpendicularly at least two thousand feet, there fell a stream of water, which, though of very considerable volume, looked like a thread of silver on the gray rock. It was said to be known as the Spout, and to serve as a landmark in this wilderness of cliffs.

About two in the afternoon, we reached, as Peechee assured us, the Bow River Traverse, the spot at which a fresh guide from the west side of the mountains, of the name of Berland, was to meet us with a relay of horses. But, whether this was the Bow River Traverse or not, no Berland was here to be found. Thinking that the two guides might have different notions as to the precise place of rendezvous, we despatched two men to another crossing-place about two miles farther up the stream, instructing them, according to circumstances, either to return to this point and pursue our track, or else to cut across the country in order to join us. The river, the same as that which we crossed before reaching Carlton, was here about a hundred and fifty yards in width, with a strong and deep current. We conveyed baggage and horses, and everything else, on a raft covered with willows; and, as we finished the

operation only at sunset, we encamped for the night on the south or right bank of the stream.

As we were always glad to make our guns save our pemmican, we had to-day knocked down a porcupine which, being desperately hungry, we pronounced to be very good fare. We had also tried, but in vain, to get within shot of some of the goats and sheep that were clambering and leaping on the peaks; the flesh of the latter is reckoned a great delicacy; but that of the former is not much esteemed.

The water of the river was cold, being formed chiefly of melted snow; and the temperature of a small tributary in the neighbourhood of our camp proved to be only 42°, while, in the course of the afternoon, the mercury had stood at 70° in the shade. We enjoyed the coolness both for drinking and bathing, though the water, like that of the Alps, was known to give the goitres, even as far down as the fork of the two grand branches of the Saskatchewan, to such as might habitually and permanently use it. Our men, poor fellows, had had quite enough of the luxury, in the swimming way, for, in managing the raft, they had been three or four hours in the current.

Next morning, we began to ascend the mountains in right earnest, riding where we could, and walking where the horses found the road too steep to carry us, while by our side there rushed downwards one of the sources of the Bow River. We were surrounded by peaks and crags, on whose summits lay perpetual snow; and the only sounds that disturbed the solitude were the crackling of prostrate branches under the tread of our horses, and

the roaring of the stream, as it leaped down its rocky course. One peak presented a very peculiar feature in an opening of about eighty feet by fifty, which, at a distance, might have been taken for a spot of snow, but which, as one advanced nearer, assumed the appearance of the gateway of a giant's fortress.

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

From the vicinity of perpetual snow, we estimated the elevation of the height of land to be seven or eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, while the surrounding peaks appeared to rise nearly half of that altitude over our heads. Still this pass was inferior in grandeur to that of the Athabasca Portage. There, the road, little better than a succession of glaciers, runs through a region of perpetual snow, where nothing that can be called a tree presents itself to relieve and

cheer the eye. There, too, the relative position of the opposite waters is such as to have hardly a parallel on the earth's surface; for a small lake, appropriately enough known as the Committee's Punch-bowl, sends its tribute, from one end to the Columbia, and from the other to the McKenzie.

In addition to the physical magnificence of the scene, I here met an unexpected reminiscence of my own native hills in the shape of a plant, which appeared to me to be the very heather of the Highlands of Scotland; and I might well regard the reminiscence as unexpected, inasmuch as, in all my wanderings of more than twenty years, I had never found anything of the kind in North America. As I took a considerable degree of interest in the question of the supposed identity, I carried away two specimens, which, however, proved, on a minute comparison, to differ from the genuine staple of the brown heaths of the "land o' cakes." We made also another discovery, about which there could be no mistake, in a troublesome and venomous species of winged insect, which, in size and appearance, might have been taken for a cross between the bull-dog and the house-fly.

On resuming our march, we had not descended half a mile, before we felt a difference in the climate, a change noticed by all travellers in these regions; and the trees were also of fine growth. Whatever may be the reason of the sudden alteration, the same clouds have been known to clothe the eastern side with hail and snow, and to refresh the western with gentle rain. With reference, however, to this state of the atmosphere, the

temperature of the water is somewhat anomalous, for, after a lapse of two or three days, the stream, which we followed, was subsequently found to be still half a degree cooler than the source of the Bow River on the height of land. In the progress of our descent, we took some interest in tracing, as it were, Nature's manufacture of a river; as every rill that trickled down the rocks, with its thread of melted snow, contributed its mite to the main current of various names, the Kootonais, or the McGillivray, or the Flat-bow. Even at our first encampment, after only half a day's march, the flood had already gathered a breadth of fifty feet.

Next morning, we forded the river twenty-three times, each attempt becoming, of course, more difficult than the preceding one; and we crossed it once more, immediately before breakfast, near its confluence with another stream of about equal magnitude. During this single march, the fifty feet of yesterday evening had swollen out into a hundred yards; and the channel was so deep, that the packs got soaked on the backs of the horses. Here we made a meal of our third porcupine, the only fresh meat that we could get; for, though our track bore the recent marks of the bear, the buffalo, the antelope, the sheep, the moose, the red deer and the wolf, yet the noise of our cavalcade seemed to scare all these animals into the woods.

Our two men, who had been sent to the upper traverse of the Bow River in quest of Berland, were here to rejoin us; and accordingly, just as we were mounting for our afternoon's march, they arrived with the unwelcome news that they had seen no trace either of

horses or of guide. If Berland had kept his appointment at all, our only remaining chance was to look for him at a crossing place on the Bow River, about a day's march below our own traverse; and accordingly, as La Graisse, one of the men who had just returned, gallantly volunteered, along with an Iroquois of the name of José Tyantas, to undertake this forlorn hope of an expedition, we forthwith despatched the hardy fellows with a little pemmican and a few pairs of mocassins, leaving them to supply all other wants with their guns. In fact, they were not so liable to starve as ourselves; for, being on foot, they were less likely to frighten the game of the country to a distance; and, in proof of this, La Graisse had brought us part of a red deer that he had shot, which, though tough and hard, we relished as a great luxury.

Our afternoon's work was exceedingly slow and laborious, as we had to pass through an intricate forest along the banks of the river. Having crossed a very steep hill with the view of encamping, by Peechee's advice, on the borders of a small lake, we were disappointed to find nothing but its dried bed without a single drop of water in it; and, being alike unable to advance and unwilling to return, we sent back our men for water with the whole of our surviving stock of pots and kettles. As an evidence of the difficulties of our route, our whole day's march did not exceed twenty miles.

Next morning, however, our bad roads surpassed themselves. Besides being mountainous, the ground was rugged and boggy; the forests were thick and

tangled; and prostrate trees of large dimensions, piled and interlaced together, barricaded our track. Leading our horses, we forced our way along by winding about in every direction, by hewing or removing fallen trunks, and by making the animals, according to circumstances, leap, or scramble, or crouch. At the end of about four hours, we had not accomplished more than two miles.

Emerging from this labyrinth on a clear plain, where a good road lay along the precipitous bank of the river of about a hundred and fifty feet in height, one of the horses, which fortunately had neither rider nor pack, missed its footing, but was caught by the trees on its way down. We breakfasted near a lofty mountain, which was to form our afternoon's mark. Its base was marked not only by the Kootonais but also by the Columbia properly so called, the former sweeping far to the south, and the latter still further to the north, in order to unite their waters a little above Fort Colvile. After marching about an hour, we reached the nearer side of the mountain, where, in consequence of Peechee's representations as to the impossibility alike of our crossing it before dark, and of encamping on it for the night, we reluctantly halted at the early hour of five o'clock. Three wearied and disabled horses were here abandoned with a faint hope of their being subsequently recovered, if, in their present helpless condition, they could only protect themselves from the wolves.

Soon after midnight, the people began to search for the horses, some of which were found in the woods at a distance of five or six miles; and the mere fact that the

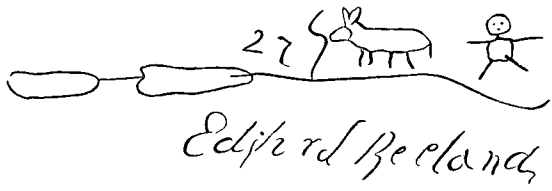
animals could be caught at all amid thick forests in the dark, spoke volumes for the patience and steadiness, the carefulness and sagacity, the skill and tact, of our half-breed attendants. Perhaps, all the grooms in an English county could not have done that morning's work. After all the delay, we were still able to start by five.

The ascent of the mountain was rugged and difficult. Though the forests were more practicable than those of yesterday, yet our track lay generally on the steep and stony edge of a glen, down which gushed the sources of the Columbia. At one very remarkable spot, known as the Red Rock, our path climbed the dry part of the bed of a boiling torrent, while the narrow ravine was literally darkened by almost perpendicular walls of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet in height; and, to render the chasm still more gloomy, the opposite crags threw forward each its own forest of sombre pines, into the intervening space. The rays of the sun could barely find their way to the depths of this dreary vale, so as to render the darkness visible; and the hoarse murmur of the angry stream, as it bounded to escape from the dismal jaws of its prison, only served to make the place appear more lonely and desolate. We were glad to emerge from this horrid gorge, which depressed our spirits even more than it overawed our feelings.

Our road then lay over some high hills of parched clay, where the reflection of the heat from below and a scorching sun above almost roasted us alive; every shrub and every blade of grass was brown and sapless, just as if newly swept by the blast of a sirocco. During the hottest part of the day, our thermometer was

stowed away in one of our packages; but, when obtained in the evening, it still stood at 81° in the shade.

From these hills an abrupt descent brought us into a large prairie, through which our river wound a serpentine course; and, as the loaded horses did not arrive till five o'clock, we here encamped for the night, making one hearty meal for the day after a fast of twenty-four hours. Our day's work of twenty miles had fatigued us all to excess; for, by reason of the steepness and ruggedness of the road, we had been obliged to walk, or rather to climb and slide, a great portion of the way. On one of the trees, however, we found something that made us forget our toils—a hieroglyphic epistle, sketched thus with a piece of burnt wood:



We speedily interpreted this welcome letter to mean, that Edward Berland was waiting us with a band of twenty-seven horses at the point where our river received a tributary before expanding itself into two consecutive lakes. As the spot in question was supposed to be within a few miles of us, Peechee was despatched to secure our phantom guide; and two men were also sent in the opposite direction to bring up a missing pack-horse.

This prairie had perhaps been selected by our corre-

spondent as his post-office, from its being the place at which the only two routes, by which we could have crossed the height of land in this part of the country, happened to converge. The emigrants, having been treacherously deserted at Bow River by their guide, a half-breed of some education, providentially met an Indian of the name of Bras Croche, who, being better acquainted with the mountains than Peechee, carried them through a little to the southward by a pass infinitely superior to ours; and they fell upon our track again near our present encampment.

The valley, for the prairie was surrounded by mountains, swarmed with musquitoes to a greater degree than any place that we had hitherto seen. These insects were as formidable as they were numerous, for they found our horses and ourselves such a treat in this their lonely haunt, that they kept coolly and steadily sucking our blood, after the whole of us, both men and beasts, were nearly suffocated by the smoke that had been raised in order to drive them away. We could neither eat, nor write, nor read, our hands being constantly employed in repelling or slaughtering our small but powerful enemies. The Canadians vented their curses on the old maid, who had the credit of having brought this scourge upon earth, by praying for something to fill up the hopeless leisure of her single blessedness; and, if the tiny tormentors would but confine themselves to nunneries and monasteries, the world might see something more like the fitness of things in the matter.

Wherever the soil was composed of clay, we had noticed large holes at the roots of trees, which had

literally been eaten out by the wild sheep. These animals use argillaceous earth as a medicine, just as the dog nibbles grass and the fowl swallows gravel; and probably their instinct teaches them that, in the situations in question, the vegetable fibres, something in the nature of yest, render the stuff both softer and lighter.

About nine in the morning, Peechee brought Berland to us, who had been prevented, as he said, by illness, but, as we suspected, by laziness, from going forward to the Bow River. Of our new guide's horses, many, having never carried either rider or pack, were comparatively useless; and we were, therefore, obliged to complete our muster with a few of the best and hardiest of our old band. We left three men to take back the remainder to Edmonton; and by them we forwarded letters to the east side of the mountains.

It was eleven o'clock before we evacuated this fearful nest of musquitoes. As we advanced, the mountains gradually became softer, while their summits were no longer clad with snow. The scenery, from having been sublime, was now merely picturesque. Our path lay along a prairie of about two miles in width, skirted on the right by sloping hills, and on the left by the mountains, presenting at their bases an apparently artificial arrangement of terraces and shrubberies. In consequence of the recent drought, every horse raised such a cloud of dust as almost to conceal itself from view; and as, through the same cause, the country was on fire, the atmosphere was filled with smoke, which gave the sun the same appearance of a red wafer which he so often assumes in the murky skies of London.

In the afternoon we saw a lodge of Flat-bow Indians, our first natives on the west side of the continent. Compared with the Crees, their skins were darker, their features less pleasing, and their figures less erect. The head of the house wore a robe thrown over his shoulders; the mother sported a chemise of leather, rather short and dirty; the younger children had no other dress than what nature had given them; and two grown lads, whose bodies were mapped with shreds and patches, had decorated themselves with caps of green baize and plumes of feathers. We encamped at the commencement of the second Kootonais Lake, obtaining for supper a few small trout of excellent flavour, absurdly enough called by the Canadians *poisson connu*.

About six in the morning, the two men returned with the missing packhorse. Near our encampment we observed that the stones in the bed of a little stream were covered with a yellow crust. Before starting for the day, Berland conducted us to three hot springs, about three miles distant, which doubtless caused the phenomenon in question. The waters tasted slightly of alum, and appeared to contain a little magnesia; and, though we had neglected to take our thermometer with us, yet, on returning to the camp, we estimated the three temperatures respectively at about ninety, a hundred, and a hundred and twenty degrees. Two winters back, Berland, while suffering from a severe illness, made a bathing-place of these springs; and he either actually was, or believed that he was, benefitted by them.

Our route lay at first along the face of a steep hill, which rose abruptly from the shores of the lake; and

the footing was so bad, that two of the wild horses, which had been loaded with packs by way of experiment, slid or rolled down the rugged surface, thereby lacerating themselves dreadfully. After getting beyond the end of the lake, we crossed over a lofty mountain to the well-wooded banks of the river. The forest, which was still burning, had been on fire for some weeks, and many a magnificent tree lay smouldering in our path. We encamped in a thick and gloomy wood, on an uncomfortable bottom of decaying vegetables and rank weeds. To-day we had left an Indian, with horses, provisions, &c., for the use of our two men, who had gone back a second time to Bow River; and on the occasion of sending our tired cattle to Edmonton, we had provided in the same way for the safety and comfort of our courageous emissaries.

On decamping, we marched three hours through burning forests, in which our track was blocked up by fallen piles of still smoking timber. After crossing a small river, we entered a prairie lying along the Kootonais, which bore a considerable resemblance to a fine park. Here and there were thick clumps, which yielded an inviting shade; in other places, the trees, standing apart, formed themselves into grand avenues; and the open sward was varied with gentle slopes and mounds. We here encamped for breakfast, a temperature of 85° in the shade imparting an exquisite zest to the cold and clear water of the Kootonais; and the stream afforded us a highly agreeable addition to our meal, in the shape of some fine trout.

However dexterous our people were in collecting our

horses from the pasture for each of our two daily starts, they were rather reckless and cruel in their treatment of the poor animals. We had an example of this to-day, when one of our best horses had its skull wantonly fractured by a blow. Continuing our march along the prairie, we reached, towards sunset, a camp of six or eight lodges of Kootonais Indians. The whole premises appeared to be in a state of great consternation, till we were ascertained to be only whites; and then all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, rushed forth, to the number of sixty or seventy, to shake hands with us. They were a miserable set of beings, small, decrepit, and dirty. Though of the men there were two that might be called handsome, yet of the women there were none; and, in fact, the more venerable members of the fair sex, particularly when they shut their eyes and scratched their heads, hardly bore the semblance of human beings. The camp was under the command of an old chief, who, in virtue of a long pigtail, had formerly got the name of Grande Queue. Many years ago, when selecting some boys to be sent from the Columbia to Red River for their education, I had taken a son of this chief as one of them, naming him Kootonais Pelly, after his own tribe, and the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The youngster, a fine, clever, docile lad, died—a blow from which the father never recovered; and though the mention of the deceased would have been utterly repugnant to savage etiquette, yet I was pretty sure that the Grande Queue, as well as myself, was thinking rather of the poor boy than of any thing else.

Being in great want of provisions, we offered a liberal reward to such as would follow us to our next encampment with either meat or fish; and though we travelled ten or twelve miles farther, till we reached Mac Donald's River, near its confluence with the Kootonais, yet almost all our friends, young and old, male and female, were there as soon as ourselves, bringing with them some raspberries and a considerable quantity of dried moose. Hungry as we were, this meat was so dry and tough as to be scarcely eatable. These people remained with us the whole night, squatting themselves in a double ring, the men in the inner circle, and the women and children in the outer one; and in this position they were contented to smoke and sleep. While we were drinking our wine, they looked very wistfully at the flagon; and, to humour their silent solicitations, we gave a glass to two or three of the leaders, who drank it, with all becoming gravity, as "Great Chief's Rum," though they were evidently disappointed by the want of pungency in the draught. They were all very dirty, dressed in skins; but, squalid and poor as they were, they possessed a band of about two hundred fine horses. The hair of the oldest among them was as long, and dark, and luxuriant as that of the young people—a peculiarity observable among Indians in general, arising probably from their knowing neither care nor thought, or perhaps from their always going bareheaded.

After passing slowly through some woods in the morning, we crossed a hill of considerable height; and on reaching the valley below, where we intended to breakfast, we were surprised to find it preoccupied by

a party of whites and their horses. Our new friends proved to be a guide and two men, whom Mr. McDonald, of Fort Colvile, immediately on hearing of Berland's illness, had sent to take his place. They, of course, brought no horses, expecting to have to take charge of the sick man's band. This was unfortunate, for at this particular time we had far greater need of cattle than of guides. The three men, however, did bring us letters from the Columbia, which gave satisfactory intelligence of both friends and business in that quarter.

In the afternoon, we skirted along the shore of the Grand Quête Lake of about twenty miles in length and four in width. From the borders of this sheet of water there rose abruptly on all sides lofty mountains of black rock, covered from base to summit with cheerless forests of pine, while the fathomless depths of the mirror that reflected them might have been taken for a lake of ink, in which the very fishes might have been expected to perish. Through the woods on the eastern side lay our path,—if path it could be called, where fragments of ironstone, with edges like scythes, were cutting the feet of our poor horses at every step.

On encamping for the night at the southern end of the lake, one of the party was found to be missing, a circumstance which—considering the perils that we had encountered even with the help of daylight—excited a good deal of alarm. Signals were fired, and people were sent to search for him. At length, about eleven o'clock, the night being as dark as pitch, we were planning a closer and more extensive exploration of the scene of our after-

noon's march, when, to our infinite relief, our missing companion was brought to the camp safe and sound. Having lingered behind the party, he had lost his way, which he succeeded in finding again only by the last glimmer of the twilight; and had not his good fortune thus come to his aid, his night's lodging would have been on the cold ground, with no other covering than what he had been wearing during the heat of the day. This little event reminded us more forcibly than ever of the long absence of our two men who had gone back to Bow River; and we could only hope and trust for the best. Nor was this adventure the sole misfortune of the day, for one of our horses had strayed with a valuable box of papers, and had only been again caught, after an anxious hunt of several hours.

Next morning, our new guide, a half-breed of the name of Pion, was installed in office, while Berland was sent ahead as far as the Kootonais River Traverse with a letter, which he was thence to despatch to Fort Colvile by some of the neighbouring Indians. Our path led us along the Grand Quête River, a stream which, in depth and blackness, appeared to retain the characteristics of its reservoir. The trees and underwood, however, beset us so closely that we could catch only occasional glimpses of anything beyond them. We were now getting down into a region of varied vegetation. In addition to the pine, of which one of our party counted no fewer than sixteen sorts, there were the poplar, the birch, the cedar, &c.; and the underwood, which gave us a vast deal of trouble, consisted of willow, alder, thorn, rose, and poire. Of wild fruits we found a large

choice, raspberry, service-berry, gooseberry, currant, bear-plantberry, grain de chapeau, grain d'original, atchekapesequa, hips and haws, &c., with two almost unknown berries—a red one, that was deemed poisonous, and a white one, that was said to be eaten by the natives. The blue berry, usually growing here in great abundance, had this season entirely failed.

The banks of the river showed good signs of beaver, that animal having been carefully protected against destructive waste by the comparatively thrifty and provident Kootonais; and there were also many fresh tracts of deer and bighorn, which, as they crossed our line of march in every direction and at every angle, were sometimes apt to be confounded with our own road—our nags, in such cases, being generally better pilots than ourselves. Some of our party, having got bewildered to-day among the numerous paths, determined to follow a couple of pack-horses that were trotting along before them, when both the animals, probably thinking rather of allaying their thirst than of prosecuting their journey, suddenly dropped into the current through its screen of brushwood. The foremost of those who were following these faithless guides had barely time to rein up his steed within a single step of the shelving bank, while the apparently lost horses were seen swimming away as if nothing had happened. With considerable difficulty the animals were extricated from the deep water, though, as ill luck would have it, one of them had soaked part of our clothing, and the other our lighter provisions, such as biscuit, tea, sugar, salt, and the like. The accident might have been more serious, for, if the two nags

had not been followed in their aberrations, they would have made a total loss of it.

Next morning, we met a few miserable Kootonais with some horses, which they appeared to turn to profitable account. Each of the animals might well be styled a family horse, being led by the father, and loaded with the mother and younger children, along with pots, kettles, mats, &c. On asking one of them, who was more destitute than the rest, how he came to be so wretchedly poor, we were told by him, with a boastfulness of tone and manner, that he had lost his all by gambling,—the grand amusement of Indians in general, but more particularly of those on the west side of the mountains. Where we halted for breakfast, we were gradually joined by thirty or forty more of these miserable savages, all wending their way after their friends to the lake. These unfortunate creatures were very grateful for some victuals and a little tobacco, which we bestowed on them out of our own rather meagre stores. They declared that they were starving, while, even if their tongues had been silent, their haggard faces and emaciated bodies would have told the same melancholy tale.

Before leaving these Indians, we had a specimen of their ingenuity at a bargain. From a female chief we had bought a fine mare with her colt of two years of age, giving in exchange one of our own horses, a blanket, twenty rounds of ammunition, and a fathom of tobacco. When we were all ready, however, for starting on our afternoon's march, the lady, who had doubtless come to the conclusion that she had sold her favourite too cheap, tried to jockey us into paying for the foal which the mare

was to produce next spring. This demand, though most seriously meant, we treated as an excellent jest, setting out forthwith, in order to avoid any farther extension of so fertile a principle of extortion.

In the afternoon, while traversing some thick forests, we met about fifty or sixty of the same tribe, all starving like those that had gone before them, while the red paint with which their faces were smeared did not at all tend to improve their appearance. With but two or three exceptions, the women were diminutive in size, and absolutely ugly. One female, who was tolerably comely, was riding a beautiful horse, cross-legged, of course, with a pet dog in her arms, and when we shook hands with herself, we drew forth her blandest smiles by patting her little favourite also.

After several hours of execrable travelling, we obtained, from the top of a high hill, a very extraordinary view. At our feet lay a valley of about thirty miles in length, and six in width, bounded on the western side by lofty mountains, and on the eastern by a lower range of the same kind, while the verdant bottom, unbroken by a single mound or hillock, was threaded by a meandering stream, and studded on either side with lakes, diminishing in the distance to mere specks or stars. As a recent fire had cleared the eminence on which we stood, excepting that, towards the foot, the more abundant moisture had preserved a rich belt of timber from the flames, there was not a single tree or shrub to obstruct our prospect. To heighten the interest of the scene, the sun's rays gilded one part of the valley, while the rain was falling in another; and, as the clouds flitted

athwart the sky, the rapid succession of light and shade gave an endless variety to the landscape. Before halting for the night, we passed through ground where the fire was still raging in the woods; and many a noble tree lay prostrate, while other blackened trunks were ready to fall under the first gale that might visit them.

Rain alone was wanting to complete the misery of forcing our way through thick forests and prickly underwood, over almost impassable tracks; and a heavy storm during the night supplied this deficiency, for, in our morning's march, every twig and every leaf gave forth its little shower on the slightest touch. About noon we reached the Kootonais River Traverse, whence Berland had despatched my letter to Fort Colvile by two of the natives the night before. We crossed the stream, which was here very deep and wide, in canoes of a peculiar construction. They are made of a slight framework, covered with sheets, and sometimes even with a single sheet, of the bark of the pine, the bottom being broader and longer than the top. They will carry two or three people, being both steered and propelled by one man in the stern, who, with a single paddle, gives a stroke first on one side and then on the other. These little vessels, however, are so crank, that the least movement will upset them; and, while crossing the river, we were afraid to budge an inch, lest we should have capsized our frail bark.

In the immediate neighbourhood was a standing camp of the Kootonais, beautifully situated within a furlong of the river. An amphitheatre of mountains, with a small lake in the centre, was skirted by a rich sward of

about half a mile in depth, on which were clumps of as noble elms as any part of the world could produce. Beneath the shade of these magnificent trees the white tents were pitched, while large bands of horses were quietly grazing on the open glades. The spot was so soft and lovely that a traveller fresh from the rugged sublimities of the mountains might almost be tempted here to spend the remainder of his days amid the surrounding beauties of nature. We had the good fortune, however, to see this little paradise in its best state, for the lake was said to rise in the spring to the height of twenty feet—to form, in fact, one sheet of water out of all the lower grounds.

The lake in question was the rendezvous, where Berland, on behalf of the company, used to collect the hunts of the Kootonais; and, as he was now daily expecting his goods, we left him here to commence his trading. The people of this neighbourhood were superior in appearance to such of their tribe as we had hitherto met, while they were extremely ready to assist us in carrying our baggage, catching our cattle, &c. They numbered about a hundred and fifty souls in all, possessing, notwithstanding their apparent poverty, upwards of five hundred fine horses, besides a large stud concealed in the mountains from the inroads of the Blackfeet; and these marauders, when they openly show themselves, are generally beaten off by the Kootonais, who, when they must fight, are bold and unyielding.

After exchanging three of our horses, we resumed our journey; and, having passed the lake, we ascended a very steep mountain, near the top of which we met a

Kootonais on his way to the camp with the meat of an antelope, which he had killed. He proved to be one of three, whom Berland, immediately on arriving among them with my letter, had despatched to procure some fresh provisions for us. Though the supply was thus destined for us, yet we hesitated about depriving the poor man of an article which he most probably required for himself; and, when we asked him how much he could spare, his only answer was to repeat several times, "My children are starving, but take as much as you please." We paid the man liberally for one half of his booty, leaving the other half to his family; and, as a proof of the scarcity of game at this season, the two other hunters either failed, or pretended to have failed, to obtain any thing. This venison was a seasonable relief, for, during several days, we had been reduced to a skinny description of dried meat, which was little better than parchment.

Along our route, and especially in the vicinity of native camps, we found many large trees cut down, which from their enormous size must have cost great labour; and as they had not obstructed the track, we were very much at a loss to account for the expenditure of so much toil. We afterwards learned, however, from the Indians, that their object was to collect from the branches a moss having the appearance of horse-hair, which they used as food. By being boiled for three days and nights, this moss is reduced to a white and tasteless pulp; and in this state it is eaten with the kammas, a root somewhat resembling an onion. To these unsavoury viands are occasionally added insipid,

or rather nauseous, cakes of hips and haws. Such was the principal, if not the only, food of these Indians at the present time.

Just as we were ready to start in the morning, La Graisse and José Tyantas made their appearance to our great satisfaction, having been absent from us no less than ten days in the second fruitless search for Berland. So far from suffering, as we dreaded on their behalf, from hunger, they had never missed a single meal, having killed partridges, porcupines, a red deer, &c., and having moreover stumbled on Peechee's family, who, out of their own abundant stock, supplied them with provisions.

We had not proceeded far on our morning's march, when we met a man of the name of Charlo, conveying from Fort Colvile the goods that Berland was expecting at the grand camp of the Kootonais, in company with Madame Charlo and a child. The lady, a smart, buxom woman of the Pend' d'Oreille tribe, sat cross-legged on a fine horse, while the youngster, about four years old, was tied on his saddle on a steed of his own, managing his reins and whip in gallant style. Charlo had with him a bag of biscuit and another of flour for our use; and he also informed us that he had left a boat at the Kullespelm Lake to carry us down the Pend' d'Oreille River to a place where we should find a band of fresh horses waiting us. This intelligence was highly agreeable in both its branches. The exchange of the saddle for the boat would be a great relief to ourselves; and, as to our present animals, to say nothing of mere exhaus-

tion, their backs were galled and their legs were lacerated.

During our afternoon's march, one of the loaded horses was observed suddenly to disappear. On running to the spot, one found a hole of about ten feet deep, apparently too small to admit the body of a horse, and could just distinguish the poor animal lying on its load with its legs uppermost. This pitfall, perhaps the bed of an old brook, had apparently been concealed from view by the spreading roots of trees, which had gradually got covered with moss. After widening the mouth of the cavity and cutting the straps which attached the load, we drew the animal out of the pit first by cords tied to its legs. If a rider had occupied the place of the pack, he must have been crushed to death on the spot.

About six in the evening we reached the Kullespelm Lake, a beautiful sheet of water, embosomed in mountains, to which the burning woods, more particularly at night, gave the appearance of volcanoes. Our boat proved to be a flat-bottomed bateau, capable of carrying all our baggage and ourselves, with a crew of five men. The rest of our party went forward by land to the rendezvous, where we were to meet our fresh horses.

Starting about five in the morning, we crossed the lake in two hours; and, thence running down the Pend' d'Oreille River, we reached our rendezvous about eight in the evening. The banks were well covered with excellent timber, while behind there rose on either side a line of lofty hills. The soil appeared to be rich; and the stream was deep and navigable, excepting that,

at one cascade, a portage was necessary. At our landing-place we found an encampment of two or three hundred Pend' d'Oreilles, who were preparing to go to hunt the buffalo. We were soon visited by about a dozen chiefs, who remained with us two or three hours. They were handsomer in their appearance and more stately in their manners than any savages that we had yet seen on this side of the mountains; and their graceful bow, as they shook hands, was rivalled only by their bland smile. In fact, their behaviour was elegant and refined. Amongst our visitors was one individual, who had been intrusted with Charlo's horses; and he promised to bring them to us next morning.

Near our encampment there was a native cemetery, the neat little tombs being surrounded by pickets. We were surprised, however, to see a wooden cross placed at the head of each grave, the result of a recent visit of some Catholic priests; but, as a practical illustration of the value of such conversions, we found on a neighbouring tree a number of offerings to one of the departed spirits, and a basket of provisions for its voyage to the next world. If the Indians had any definite idea at all of the cross, they put it merely on the same footing as their other medicines or charms.

Next day, while we were waiting the arrival of such of our people as were coming by land from the Kullespelm Lake, we employed our leisure in paying a visit to the native camp, crossing, for this purpose, a small stream in canoes closely resembling those that we had seen on the Kootonais River. On our arrival, all the inmates of about twenty-five lodges,—at least, all such

as could move,—rushed to shake hands with us. The tents were of every conceivable shape, some oblong, others round, and so on, while the clumsy framework was covered with mats, or bark, or boughs, or skins, or any thing else that had come in the way. The interior, to say nothing of swarms of vermin, contained a most heterogeneous collection of mats, skins, guns, pots, pans, baskets, kammas, berries, children, dogs, ashes, filth, and rubbish; and round the sides were arranged the beds of mats, generally raised a little from the ground. Though the men were doing little or nothing, yet the women were all busily employed in preparing kammas and berries, including hips and haws, into cakes against the winter.

The kammas, which deserves a more particular description, is very like the onion, excepting that it has little or no taste. It grows on swampy ground; and, when the plant, which bears a blue flower, has produced its seed, the root is dug up by the women by means of a stick about two feet long with a handle across the head of it, and thrown into baskets slung on their backs. As the article is very abundant, each of the poor creatures generally collects about a peck a day. When taken home, the kammas is placed over a gentle fire in the open air, fermenting, after about two days and nights, into a black substance, which has something of the flavour of liquorice. After being pounded in a trough, this stuff is formed into cakes, which, when thoroughly baked, are stowed away in baskets for the winter. After all this preparation, the kammas is but a poor and nauseous food. These people, however, were

likely soon to have something better as a result of their contact with civilization. In one of their lodges, we were surprised to find several baskets of potatoes; and, in answer to our inquiries on the subject, we were shown two patches of ground where they had been produced, the seed and implements having been supplied from Fort Colvile.

We next crossed the river, to a camp of about the same size on the other side, where the men were lounging and the women labouring pretty much in the same way as those that we had just left. In one tent a sight presented itself, which was equally novel and unnatural. Surrounded by a crowd of spectators, a party of fellows were playing at cards obtained in the Snake Country from some American trappers; and a more melancholy exemplification of the influence of civilization on barbarism could hardly be imagined than the apparently scientific eagerness with which these naked and hungry savages thumbed and turned the black and greasy pasteboard. Though the men who sold the cards might have taught the use of them, yet I could not help tracing the wretched exhibition to a more remote source,—a source with which I was myself, in some measure, connected. In this same hell of the wilderness, I found Spokan Garry, one of the lads already mentioned as having been sent to Red River for their education; and there was little reason to doubt that, with his superior knowledge, he was the master spirit, if not the prime mover, of the scene. On his return to his countrymen, he had, for a time, endeavoured to teach them to read and write; but he

had gradually abandoned the attempt, assigning as his reason or his pretext that the others "jawed him so much about it." He forthwith relapsed into his original barbarism, taking to himself as many wives as he could get; and then, becoming a gambler, he lost both all that he had of his own and all that he could beg or borrow from others. He was evidently ashamed of his proceedings, for he would not come out of the tent to shake hands even with an old friend.

Some of the Indians were almost destitute of clothing; some had blankets, and others had shirts. The prevailing dress, however, was the native costume, which, when clean, might be deemed classical. It consists of a tunic reaching to the knees, leggings of dressed skin and moccasins, the whole being fringed and garnished according to the taste or means of the wearer; and the head-gear is nothing more than the indigenous crop of black locks, streaming over their shoulders. The apparel of both sexes is pretty much the same, excepting that the tunics of the ladies are longer and gayer than those of the gentlemen.

Several individuals of both sexes were comely enough; and in particular, one girl of fourteen or fifteen, the newly-married wife of a young chief, might have passed for a beauty even in the civilized world. On the whole, the Pend' d'Oreilles possessed more regular features and better figures than any savages that we had hitherto seen, excepting the tribes of the plains. But how they had become so superior I could not imagine, for the naked urchins of both sexes, that were swarming in the camp like so many fleas, afforded

very little promise of passable men and women, tottering, as they were, on their spindle shanks under the weight of enormous heads and bellies.

During our visit, the Indians showed us every attention. They explained all that we saw; but, as our knowledge of their language was limited to *kammas* and *patac*, we profited very little by their communicativeness. Thinking that we might like a ride, they caught horses for us; and at the same time they made a still greater sacrifice in offering us a share of their scanty stock of food. But the most agreeable evidence of their politeness was the fact, that many of them washed themselves, but more especially their hands, before they came to salute us. After rewarding them for their civility with presents of tobacco, ammunition, provisions, &c., we parted with mutual expressions of friendship.

The Pend' d'Oreilles are generally called the Flatheads, the two clans, in fact, being united. They do not muster in all more than a hundred and fifty families. Like their neighbours, the Kootonais, they are noted for the bravery with which they defend themselves and also for their attachment to the whites. Still, the two races are entirely distinct, their languages being fundamentally different. The variety of tongues on the west side of the mountains is almost infinite, so that scarcely any two tribes understand each other perfectly. They have all, however, the common character of being very guttural; and, in fact, the sentences often appear to be mere jumbles of grunts and croaks such as no alphabet could express in writing.

Early in the afternoon our people arrived from the Kullespelm Lake, bringing us such a report of the roads as made us doubly thankful for the accommodation of the boat. Leaving our old band of horses under the charge of the Indians, we immediately started with thirty-two fresh steeds. After crossing a prairie of two or three miles in length, we spent two hours in ascending a steep mountain, from whose summit we gained an extensive view of ranges of rocky hills; and, while the shadows of evening had already fallen on the valley at our feet, the rays of the setting sun were still tinging the highest peaks with a golden hue.

We encamped at the foot of the mountain with wolfish appetites, for, though we had a good deal of exercise during the day, yet we had eaten nothing since seven in the morning; but what was our disappointment to find that six horses,—one of them, as a matter of course, being the commissariat steed,—were missing! Having exhausted our patience, we went supperless to bed about midnight; but hardly had we turned in, when a distant shout made us turn out again in better spirits. The horses quickly arrived; and, before an hour had elapsed, we had despatched a very tolerable allowance of venison-steaks and buffalo-tongues.

This had been a very hot day, the thermometer standing at 85° in the shade. The nights, however, were chilly, while in exposed situations there was even a little frost. The power of the sun was very strikingly evinced by the gradual rise of the temperature during this forenoon. At eight the mercury was still down at 45°; by ten it had mounted to 67°; and in two hours

more it stood, as already mentioned, at 18° higher. In consequence of these rapid changes, we felt the heat so much more oppressive, that we were obliged to throw off nearly all our clothing.

Next morning, as Fort Colvile was only fifty miles distant from our encampment, we resolved, in reliance on fresh horses and tolerable roads, to wind up with a gallop. We accordingly raced along, raising from the parched prairie such a cloud of dust as concealed every thing from our view. In about five hours we reached a small stream, on the banks of which four or five hundred of the Company's horses were grazing. Not to lose so fine an opportunity of changing our sweating steeds, we allowed our cavalcade to proceed, while each of us caught the animal that pleased him best; and then, dashing off at full speed, we quickly overtook our party at a distance of six miles. Being again united, we here halted for breakfast. Meanwhile, Mr. McDonald, who had received my letter at Fort Colvile on the preceding evening, had met our people, before we came up with them, but, by mistaking the road, had missed us. Sending a messenger after him, we had him with us in half an hour, and along with him such materials for a feast as we had not seen since leaving Red River. Just fancy, at the base of the Rocky Mountains, a roasted turkey, a sucking pig, new bread, fresh butter, eggs, ale, &c.; and then contrast all these dainties with short allowance of pemmican and water. No wonder that some of our party ate more than was good for them.

While breakfast was preparing, we went, according to our custom, to bathe; but, after our hard and dusty

ride, we were so much more impatient than usual, that Mr. Rowand, after splashing about for some time and descanting on the pleasures of swimming, struck against his watch. Handing ashore the luckless chronometer, he cast off his inexpressibles on the bank, but, as misfortunes never come alone, he found, on attempting to dress, that the soaked garment had drifted away of its own accord to complete its bathe. In order to supply Mr. Rowand's indispensable wants, a quarter of an hour elapsed in searching for a superfluous pair of trousers,—the enthusiastic swimmer enjoying all this additional time in the water.

As soon as we had finished our morning's meal, we set out for the fort, having an hour's good ride before us. On reaching the summit of a hill, we obtained a fine view of the pretty little valley in which Colville is situated. In a prairie of three or four miles in length, with the Columbia River at one end, and a small lake in the centre, we descried the now novel scene of a large farm, barns, stables, &c., fields of wheat under the hand of the reaper, maize, potatoes, &c. &c., and herds of cattle grazing at will beyond the fences. By the time that we reached the establishment, we found about eighty men, whites and savages, all ready, in their Sunday's best, to receive us at the gate.

Here, then, terminated a long and laborious journey of nearly two thousand miles on horseback, across plains, mountains, rivers, and forests. For six weeks and five days, we had been constantly riding, or at least as constantly as the strength of our horses would allow, from early dawn to sunset; and we had on an average been

in the saddle about eleven hours and a half a day. From Red River to Edmonton, one day's work with another amounted to about fifty miles; but, from Edmonton to Colvile, we more generally than otherwise fell short of forty. We had great cause to be thankful that no serious accident had occurred to man or beast, more particularly as we had traversed every kind of ground, rocks, and swamps, rugged mountains, and rapid rivers, tangled bush, and burning forests. Our clothes were the only sufferers; and, in fact, we made our appearance among the men, who waited at the gate to do us honour, with tattered garments and crownless hats, such as many of them would not have deigned to pick up at their feet. The weather had been such as we could hardly have anticipated, an almost unbroken spell of cloudless skies. During seven weeks, we had not had one entire day's rain; and we had been blessed with genial days, light winds, and cool nights.

Colvile is a wooden fort of large size, enclosed with pickets and bastions. The houses are of cedar, neatly built and well furnished; and the whole place bears a cleaner and more comfortable aspect than any establishment between itself and Red River. It stands about a mile from the nearest point of the Columbia, and about two miles from the Chaudière Falls, where salmon are so abundant, that as many as a thousand, some of them weighing upwards of forty pounds, have been caught in one day with a single basket. Between the salmon of this river and the fish of the same name in England, there appears to be a slight difference.

The flesh of the former is whiter, while its head is more bulky and less pointed; but its flavour, in the proper season, is delicious.

The soil around Colvile is sandy; and the climate is so hot and dry, that there a fine season means a wet one,—hardly any rain falling, with the exception of occasional showers, in spring and autumn. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the farm is remarkably productive. Cattle thrive well, while the crops are abundant. The wheat, which weighs from sixty-three to sixty-five pounds a bushel, yields twenty or thirty returns; maize also flourishes, but does not ripen till the month of September; potatoes, pease, oats, barley, turnips, melons, cucumbers, &c., are plentiful. A grist mill, which is driven by water, is attached to the establishment; and the bread, that we ate, was decidedly the best that we had seen in the whole country.

Colvile stands in latitude 48° 37′ North, the winter being many degrees milder than that of the same parallel on the East side of the mountains. Amongst the wild flowers in the neighbourhood of the fort we noticed the helianthus, the lupine, the monkshood, and the fuschia in great abundance. In the afternoon, we took a ride round the farm, and were much gratified by an inspection of the buildings, crops, and cattle. The Indians had now commenced agricultural operations on a small scale; but, having made a beginning, they might be expected to extend their labours in proportion to the benefit which they might reap from their new pursuit.

The tribe in the vicinity is known as the Chaudière, whose territory reaches as far up as the Columbia Lakes.

The fort has dealings also with the Kootonais, the Spokans, the Pend' d'Oreilles, &c., who either visit the establishment or trade, as in the case of Berland, at some distant rendezvous. Next morning, being the 19th of August, many of the Chaudières came to visit me. Among them was an aged chief, with a name far too guttural to be written, who, in the year 1824, had made me a formal cession of the neighbouring soil. On that occasion, he had given the Company the land and the woods, because the whites would make a better use of them than himself; but he had reserved the Chaudière Falls as necessary to his own people, remarking that the strangers, being able to get food out of stones and sand, could manage to live very well without fish. During his visit, he recited the terms of the contract with perfect accuracy; and, at the close of half an hour, the old fellow, whose whole wardrobe was the hide of a buffalo, was sent away as happy as a king, with a capote, a shirt, a knife, and a small stock of ammunition and tobacco. Finding that speeches were so well paid, the chief's heir apparent and several others came to have their talk out, taking care, of course, to continue the palaver till the equivalents were forthcoming.

At Colvile we left our guide, Peechee, whom I made the happiest of men, by presenting him with a telescope, to which he took a mighty fancy. The old fellow afterwards came to Vancouver, where, unaccustomed as he was to any scene of such various occupations, he used to complain bitterly that the unusual smells would kill him. Poor Peechee, however, lived to die in a very different way. Having lost a horse at gambling, and

refused to give it up, he was shot through the head for his pains by the winner. How truly may every man, in the savage state, be said to hold his life in his hand! Peechee's own previous experience suggests another instance of this. A medicine-man, having dunned Peechee in vain for a present of a fine horse, told him that thenceforward all his stud would have large feet; and when Peechee, suspecting foul play, found the knave hammering away at the hoofs of his horses with a stone, he very quietly sent a bullet through his head.

As the canoe, in which we were to descend the river, was awaiting us below the Chaudière Falls, we set out on horseback, on the morning of the 20th, for the place of embarkation. These falls might more properly be called a rapid, inasmuch as the highest of the three leaps appeared to be barely ten feet, while the whole length of the broken water was about a furlong. The name, which is to be found over the whole country, is derived not from any supposed resemblance to the boiling of a kettle, but from the shape into which the perpetual eddy of the torrent moulds the stones. In the Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa, for instance, there is a countless number of these water-worn cauldrons.

Our canoe was worked by six oars, besides bowsman and steersman, being of the same construction as that in which we had descended the Pend' d'Oreille River. As the water was high, and the current strong, we glided quickly down the stream. We were soon obliged to lighten our craft, to enable her to run a rapid; and thence we proceeded without any interruption, save that of dining ashore near the Spokan River, till half-past

nine, having accomplished more than a hundred miles in fifteen hours.

The banks of the Columbia, as far back as the eye could reach, were dull and monotonous, consisting of a succession of sandy flats, with very scanty herbage, and still less wood, which were varied, in a few places, by rocky hills. The drought had, as usual, parched the whole country, which appeared to be pretty generally on fire wherever there was anything to burn; and the atmosphere was so charged with smoke, that we were often unable to distinguish objects even at a short distance. The average breadth of the river was about three quarters of a mile, though here and there was a narrow channel between precipitous rocks, down which, in spite of the proportional increase of the current, our canoe flew in perfect safety.

Along the banks we had seen a few natives encamped for the purposes of fishing, while large bands of horses, which, notwithstanding the dryness of the pasture, were in very excellent condition, were feeding near them. From one of these camps four lads came off to us in a small canoe; and, when we held out to them a present of tobacco, they were so eager to seize it, that they drove their tiny vessel against our craft, and pitched their bowsman headlong into the stream. But the youth, who seemed to be as much at home in the water as on the land, was soon again in his place, at the hazard, however, of nearly swamping his canoe; and, as the day was sultry, with the mercury at 86° in the shade, we rather envied the youngster his cooling dip, more particularly as he was quite prepared for it, being

unencumbered with a single scrap of clothing. Had we passed two or three weeks sooner, we should have seen a far greater number of people. During three months of the summer, the Indians congregate from all parts to the shores of the river to fish for salmon; but, as the season was now closing, most of them had retired into the interior, to prosecute their other grand business of gathering berries.

Next day, we accomplished upwards of a hundred and twenty miles without any interruption whatever. Among our rapids, down which we glided very pleasantly, the most important was Les Petites Dalles. For about two miles, the river was penned up between rocky shores, with many stones in the stream; and so impetuous was the torrent, that it carried us down the whole distance in six or eight minutes. The scenery was pretty much the same as yesterday, alternately rock and sand, with little or no timber, and with the pasturage withered.

This morning, we passed the upper end of the Grande Coulée, a dry channel,—apparently the ancient bed of the river,—which again reaches the Columbia after a course of more than a hundred miles. This parallel cut is about three quarters of a mile in width, with high banks and a fertile bottom, being, as nearly as possible, a counterpart of the corresponding section of the actual stream. Either the level of the Grande Coulée must have been raised or its upper end must have been obstructed: of one or other of the two suppositions there is but little room for reasonable doubt.

About eleven in the forenoon, we called at the Company's post of Okanagan, situated at the mouth of the

stream of the same name, and maintained merely as an entrepôt for the district of Thompson's River. We found the fort garrisoned by half a dozen women and children, the person in charge being absent at the farm, which, on account of the sterility of the immediate neighbourhood, proved to be a few miles distant. We remained only long enough to rifle some pans of milk.

At Okanagan we were concerned to learn, that the Indians of the interior, as far back as New Caledonia, principally the Schoushwaps, were in a state of considerable excitement. The cause was as follows. In the month of February last, a chief of the name of Kootlepat visited Mr. Black, the gentleman in charge of Thompson's River, at his post of Kamloops, when a trivial dispute took place between them. Immediately on returning to his camp, at a place called the Pavilion, Kootlepat sickened and died, enjoining his people with his last breath to keep on good terms with the whites. Whether or not the chief's dying injunction was interpreted into an insinuation that he had perished in consequence of having quarrelled with his white brother, the Indians came to the conclusion that Kootlepat's death had been caused by Mr. Black's magic or medicine. In pursuance of this idea, the widow of the deceased worked upon the feelings of her nephew, till he undertook to revenge her husband's untimely fate. The avenger of blood forthwith set out for Kamloops; and, when he arrived, both cold and hungry, he was, by the orders of his destined victim, placed before a good fire and supplied with food.

During the whole day, Mr. Black, who was a hard student, remained writing in his own apartment; but, having gone out towards evening, he was returning through the room where his guest was sitting, and had just reached the door of his chamber, when he fell down dead, with the contents of the savage's gun in his back. In the appalling confusion that ensued, the murderer was allowed to escape from the fort, betaking himself immediately to the mountains. He was chased from place to place like a wild beast, being obliged to abandon first his horses and lastly his wife and family; but it was not till after eight months of vigilant pursuit, that he was finally hunted down on the banks of Frazer's River by some of his own people. As a proof of his comparative estimate of civilization and barbarism, this miserable being, with the blood of Mr. Black on his conscience, earnestly begged to be delivered up to the whites; and, on being refused this last boon, he leaped into the stream, swimming away for his life, till he was despatched, just like a sea-otter, by arrow after arrow. It was in consequence of this event that the excitement, of which we heard at Okanagan, had gained a footing among the friends of Kootlepat and his nephew, who had now to place two deaths at the white man's door.

As we had more of the sun in the boat than on horseback, three baths a day were scarcely sufficient to make the heat endurable; the thermometer stood at 85° even in the shade, while in the water it showed only 65°. Cooking also was a more troublesome business than it had ever been before. The scarcity of

bush was so great, that both yesterday and to-day we had to search along two or three miles for fuel; and, after all, we had to make our fires of drift-wood. So scarce, indeed, was timber here, that the pickets around graves, generally deemed sacred, appeared to have been pillaged, in order to be burned.

At our night's encampment we were visited by a chief from the Isles des Pierres, and about a dozen followers, who remained the greater part of the night smoking round our fire, without giving us any trouble.

Shortly after starting in the morning, we ran down the Isle des Pierres Rapids. For about two miles the river rushed between lofty rocks of basalt, while the channel was obstructed by rocky islets, against which the eddying waters foamed in their fury. The descent, of course, required all the skill and coolness of the bowsman and steersman; the vessel was tossed on the surging waters, with the surf and spray continually dashing over her bows; and all at once, as if by magic, we were gliding silently along, without even a ripple on the surface. Soon afterwards, we came to the Sault du Prêtre, where the river was wide and shallow. Some few years ago a boat struck on a rock in this rapid, five men being drowned, and most of the valuable cargo being destroyed. The accident must have arisen entirely from the fault of the bowsman, inasmuch as the fatal stone was at some distance from the proper channel.

For the first twenty or thirty miles of our day's work the banks of the river were bold and rocky, all the rest being sandy, flat, and most uninteresting, excepting

that, for several miles, the southern shore was a sandy cliff, known as the White Banks, of two or three hundred feet perpendicular. We encamped a few miles above the mouth of the Snake River, experiencing much difficulty in obtaining firewood; and, indeed, with the exception of a dozen stunted cedars, we saw no vegetation to-day. Though this sandy district was believed to swarm with rattlesnakes, yet we had the good fortune to see but a single specimen. One of our men, while collecting drift-wood on the beach, had been warned off in time by the rattle; and then, giving notice of his discovery, he held the reptile by the throat with a stick till we examined it. It was from four to five feet in length, with a beautifully variegated skin; and nine joints in its rattle indicated its age to be nine years. These creatures are decreasing in number near the Company's posts, being eaten, according to general belief, by the pigs. This was decidedly our hottest period of twenty-four hours, the thermometer showing 89° in the shade at noon, and 83° near midnight.

We saw a few Indians, who, if we might judge from their unusual state of perfect nudity, felt the weather as severely as ourselves. Their canoes were merely hollowed trunks, of about thirty feet in length by two or three in width, and the same in depth, and just large enough to enable them to paddle on their hams. The wonder was, how they prevented these shells from capsizing, more especially in the whirling eddies of a rapid; and yet, while racing with us this morning in the Sault du Prêtre, they left us far behind. In the long run, however, savages stand no chance against whites, being

inferior alike in steadiness, and perseverance, and strength.

A few miles of our next day's work brought us to Snake River, known also as the South Branch, Lewis and Clarke's, &c. Though, at the point of confluence, it was equal in size to the Columbia, yet the stream below did not appear to be larger than either of the united floods. About eight or ten miles farther down, the Wallawalla poured its tribute into the Columbia; and here we halted for breakfast at the Company's establishment.

A more dismal situation than that of this post can hardly be imagined. The fort is surrounded by a sandy desert, which produces nothing but wormwood, excepting that the horses and cattle find a little pasturage on the hills. As not a single tree grows within several miles in any direction, the buildings are constructed entirely of drift-wood, about which many a skirmish has taken place with the Indians, just as anxious, perhaps, to secure the treasure as ourselves. This district of country is subject to very high winds, which, sweeping over the sands, raise such a cloud of dust as renders it dangerous, or even impossible, to leave the house during the continuance of the gale. The climate is dry and hot, very little rain falling at any season.

Shortly before our arrival, Mr. Pambrum, who was in charge, had met a melancholy death, by being injured by the raised pummel of his Spanish saddle, leaving a wife and a large family of young children to bewail his untimely fate. This event, of course, threw a gloom over our visit.

We met here an American missionary, of the name of Munger, who had been two years on the Columbia along with his family. This gentleman was grievously disappointed with the country—a feeling common, in his opinion, to most of his fellow-citizens. But the ministers of the Gospel, moreover, had a grievance peculiar to themselves; for, instead of finding the savages eager to embrace Christianity, as they had been led to expect, they saw a superstitious, jealous, and bigoted people. They soon ascertained that they could gain converts only by buying them; and they were even reproached by the savages on the ground that, if they were really good men, they would procure guns and blankets for them from the Great Spirit merely by their prayers. In short, the Indians, discovering that the new religion did not render them independent of the traders any more than their old one, regarded the missionaries as nothing better than impostors. Under these discouraging circumstances, Mr. Munger was desirous of returning home. Accordingly, last spring, he accompanied one of the Company's parties to the Snake Country, in hopes of meeting a caravan which used to come from St. Louis with supplies for the trappers; but, as the caravan in question either did not arrive, or at all events did not return, he retraced his steps to Wallawalla.

Soon after our visit, the establishment was accidentally destroyed by fire during the night. The property, however, was nearly all saved, and that mainly through the assistance of the Cayuses and other natives, who, besides rescuing what they could from the flames,

protected the goods from pillage, and Mr. and Mrs. McKinlay from insult. This conduct of the savages was equally creditable to both parties, indicating past liberality on the one side, not less clearly than present humanity on the other. With Indians, in fact, firmness and management can do every thing. As a negative proof of this, these same Cayuses, who had so zealously exerted themselves on behalf of the Company, had a short time previously assaulted Dr. Whitman, by pointing his own gun against his breast, merely because the worthy missionary's people had rudely turned one of their tribe out of the doctor's house. Now, this same kind of discipline is often enforced with perfect impunity by the Company's servants, who contrive either to carry their point without giving offence, or to soothe any irritation which may be excited. Wood, as already mentioned, being caught at Wallawalla only by fishing for it, Mr. McKinlay, with the aid of his aboriginal friends, was obliged to rebuild his establishment with adobes, or unbaked bricks.

At Wallawalla we exchanged our craft, which was very leaky, for another of the same size and build; and, as the Indians below were more likely to be troublesome than any that we had hitherto seen, Mr. McKinlay provided us with an interpreter. A short distance below the fort we passed between basaltic rocks; and one of them, a truncated pyramid of about a hundred and eighty feet in height, supported, on its square platform, two oblong blocks of stone, something like chimneys, of about twenty-five feet in height, and ten in width, known respectively as McKenzie's

and Ross's Heads. Below these rocks our course lay through dreary plains of sand, which presented no other vegetation than wormwood and prickly pear, and possessed no other inhabitants than the rattlesnake and the prairie fowl. In the spring, however, the plains behind were said to be clothed with fine herbage, which, as if to aggravate the withering influence of summer, the Indians used to set on fire, in order to dry the seeds of the helianthus, as part of their provender against winter.

In consequence of a stiff breeze, which was blowing right up the river, we were obliged to encamp by three in the afternoon. Here our people shot a brace of prairie fowl, a bird peculiar to this country: it appeared to be a species of grouse, excepting that it had gayer plumage, and was nearly twice as large. During the day, we passed several encampments of Snake Indians, a poor, miserable, degraded race. Their huts were made of drift-wood, mats, &c.; and, whether through love of festivity, or from motives of superstition, drums, which were audible from a great distance, were beating in one of them.

Soon after midnight, the wind having abated, we resumed our journey, finding our way with ease by the light of the stars. The character of the banks of the river was now completely changed. The sandy plains had given place to bold cliffs of basaltic rocks, not merely along the narrow channels of the stream, but even round its broader expanses. Some of the bays, indeed, presented grand amphitheatres, whose columnar tiers of seats comparatively reduced the Roman Coli-

seum to a toy; and doubtless, in times not very remote, those who could enjoy the agonies of a dying gladiator might here have found congenial recreation, in the voluntary contests of bloodthirsty barbarians.

Being now in the country of the Cayuses, we saw a few individuals of the tribe. Their chief, who rejoiced in the name of Five Crows, was said to be the richest man in the country, possessing upwards of a thousand horse, a few cattle, many slaves, and various other sources of wealth. Having, in addition to all this, the recommendation of being young, tall, and handsome, he had lately raised his eyes to a beautiful and amiable girl, daughter of one of the Company's officers. After enduring the flames of love for some time in silence, he determined to make his proposals in proper form; and accordingly, having first dismissed his five wives, he presented himself and a band of retainers, master and men all as gay as butterflies, at the gates of the fort, where the father of his "ladye love" resided. To his dismay, and perhaps also to his astonishment, his suit was rejected; and, in the first transports of his anguish, he so far forgot himself as to marry one of his female slaves, to the great scandal of his family and his tribe.

As we descended, the rocks became loftier, and the current stronger. About two in the afternoon, we reached Les Chutes, where we made a portage, after having run nearly four hundred miles without even lightening our craft. As my own experience, as well as that of others, had taught me to keep a strict eye on the "Chivalry of Wishram," always congregated here

in considerable numbers, I marshalled our party into three well-armed bands, two to guard either end of the portage, and the third to transport the baggage.

My own difficulties with these people occurred in 1829, on my upward voyage. About that same time, ten Americans had been murdered in the Snake Country; a party of twenty-one men had been destroyed on the Umqua; and the crew of one of the Company's vessels, to the number of twenty-seven, were supposed to have been butchered, after shipwreck, at the mouth of the Columbia. As no means had been taken to avenge these massacres, the Indians began to think of rooting the whites out of the country; and accordingly, when they heard that I was to proceed up the river in the summer, they assembled a force of four or five hundred warriors at this very portage. My party consisted of Mr. McMillan and Dr. Todd, and twenty-seven men. We effected the lower two portages without difficulty, but not without indications of hostility; but, before we arrived at Les Chutes, a friendly native warned Mr. McMillan of a plan laid to attack us here. We crossed, however, to the upper end without interruption, where the portage terminated in a steep rock, with a narrow ledge below, on the immediate margin of the stream. On the narrow ledge in question about two-thirds of our party were busily occupied in the embarkation of our baggage, while the remainder, consisting, besides myself, of Mr. McMillan, Dr. Todd, Tom Taylor, already mentioned, and his brother, and about half-a-dozen Sandwich Islanders, showed front to the enemy on the platform above. When we were nearly ready to

take our departure, the Indians, instead of squatting themselves down to smoke the pipe of peace, crowded round us, gradually forcing us to the edge of the declivity, and then, as the concerted signal for commencing the attack, ordered their women and children to retire.

With a precipice behind us, and before us a horde of reckless and bloodthirsty savages, our situation was now most critical, more particularly as the necessity of concealing our danger from our people below embarrassed our every movement. At this moment of anxiety, the chief grasped his dagger. In the twinkling of an eye, our ten or eleven guns were levelled, while some of my Sandwich Islanders, with the characteristic courage of their race, exclaimed, as if to anticipate my instructions, "She broke him." With my finger on my trigger, and my eye on that of the chief, I commanded that no man should fire till I had set the example, for any rash discharge on our part, though each shot, at such close quarters, would have told against two or three lives, might have goaded the savages into a desperate and fatal rush. The chief's eye fell, his cheek blanched, his lips grew livid; and he ceased to clutch his weapon. Still, however, he retained his position, till, after again preparing to strike and again quailing before the tube which to himself at least would be certain death, he recoiled on his people, who again, in their turn, retreated a few paces. The distance to which we had thus driven the enemy by the mere display of firmness, was less valuable to us in itself than on account of the reaction of feeling which

it evinced; and, availing ourselves of the favourable opportunity, we immediately embarked, without having either sustained or inflicted any injury.

But now these pirates had degenerated into something like honesty and politeness. On our approaching the landing-place, an Indian, of short stature and a big belly—the very picture of a grinning Bacchus—waded out about two hundred yards, in order to be the first to shake hands with us. We were hardly ashore, when we were surrounded by about a hundred and fifty savages of several tribes, who were all, however, under the control of one chief; and on this occasion the "Chivalry of Wishram" actually condescended to carry our boat and baggage for us, expecting merely to be somewhat too well paid. The path, about a quarter of a mile in length, ran over a rocky pass, whose hollows and levels were covered with sand, almost the only soil in this land of droughts.

The Chutes vary very much in appearance, according to the height of the waters. At one season may be seen cascades of twenty or thirty feet in height, while, at another, the current swells itself up into little more than a rapid, so as even to be navigable for boats. At present, the highest fall was scarcely ten feet; and as the stream, besides being confined within a narrow channel, was interrupted by rocks and islets, its foaming and roaring presented a striking emblem of the former disposition of the neighbouring tribes. At the lower end of the portage, we intended to dine on salmon, which we had procured from the Indians; but, after cooking it, we felt so incommoded by the crowd, that

we pushed off to eat our dinner, while we were drifting down the river. Our meal was brought to an abrupt termination by our having to run down Les Petites Dalles Rapid. Some Indians on the bank were watching, spear in hand, for salmon; and so intent were they on their occupation, that they never even raised their eyes to look at us, as we flew past them.

A short space of smooth water, like the calm that precedes the storm, brought us to Les Dalles or the Long Narrows — a spot which, with its treacherous savages of former days and its whirling torrents, might once have been considered as embodying the Scylla and the Charybdis of these regions. At the entrance of the gorge, the river is suddenly contracted to one third of its width by perpendicular walls, while the surges, thus dammed up, struggle with each other to dash along through its narrow bed. Our guide, having surveyed the state of the rapid, determined to run it, recommending to us, however, to walk across the portage in order to lighten our craft. At the landing-place we found about thirty women and children, all the men being absent, fishing. These good folks, generally speaking, were nearly as naked as when they were born—a remark which would apply, with peculiar force, to the natives between this and the sea, and along the coast. With such a disregard of external decency, chastity, of course, is a mere name, or rather it has not a name to express it in any one of the native languages. We found the portage to consist of a heap of volcanic rocks; the hollows and levels, as on that of Les Chutes, being covered with sand.

After shipping a good deal of water, our little vessel reached the place of embarkation, opposite to a small rocky island, where a melancholy accident happened a few years ago. At a season when the water was very high, one of the Company's boats was descending the river; and, through the rashness of an American who happened to be on board, the crew were induced to run this rapid, while the gentleman in charge more prudently resolved to prefer the portage. Hurled madly along by the boiling waters, the boat was just emerging into a place of safety, when, in the immediate vicinity of the island just mentioned, she was sucked, stern foremost, into a whirlpool; and, in a single instant, a tide, that told no tales, was foaming over the spot, where eleven men, a woman, and a child, had found a watery grave.

Below the Long Narrows, we saw numbers of hair seals, as many as seventeen in one group; and we succeeded in shooting one of them, which, however, was lost to us—the creature sinking, if killed, at once; but floating, if dying, afterwards, of its wound. These animals ascend the Columbia in quest of the salmon; and certainly that fish is sometimes taken with a hair seal's mouthful out of its side.

At a distance of two or three miles below the rapids, we reached the American mission of Whaspicum, remarkable to us as the place where we saw growing timber, for the first time since leaving Okanagan. On visiting the establishment, we were much pleased with the progress that had been made in three years. Two comfortable houses, in which five families resided, had

been erected; a field of wheat had this year yielded about ten returns; and the gardens had produced abundance of melons, potatoes, and other vegetables, while the dairy gave an adequate supply of milk and butter. The missionaries said that they were as happy in their new home as they could expect to be in such a wilderness, admitting, at the same time, that they had not found the land of promise which they came to seek. The climate, however, was, at least in point of temperature, rather favourable than otherwise, the greatest heat in the shade, during the past summer, having been 101°, and the most intense cold of the preceding winter having been 14° above zero. But the soil was not good; nor could it possibly be so, where twenty-one rattlesnakes, reptiles delighting in sands and rocks, had been killed within the last three months.

Mr. Lee, the head of the mission, accompanied us to our encampment to supper; and while that meal was preparing, we enjoyed a delicious bath by moonlight in the stream that now glittered so placidly before us. As we expected to reach Vancouver next day, we raised camp immediately after satisfying our hunger, and, by eleven o'clock, were once more pursuing our way towards the Pacific. Wrapping our cloaks around us to keep off the mists, we laid ourselves down on the bottom of our craft to sleep.

In the morning, the banks of the river, no longer sublime, were merely picturesque, being covered with forests to the water's edge, or even farther, for there were stumps or remains of large trees growing in the

very stream. This aquatic forest was there when the country was first visited by Europeans; and the Indians then stated that the appearance had always been the same as far back as their memory could carry them. Doctors differ as to the probable cause of the phenomenon. Some think that the bed of the river must have subsided, while others are of opinion that the thing has drifted bodily, by what is called a land-slip, from above.

We breakfasted on the lowest of the three portages of the cascades; the highest point, by the by, reached by the tide. At this succession of small cataracts, the river falls about fifty or sixty feet in a distance of about half a mile. We here saw some of the Company's men curing salmon for exportation to the Sandwich Islands and California. We also met here several Chinook canoes, large and small, very elegantly formed, with an elevated prow, out of a single log.

The rocks along the shore were bold and lofty; and, in the bed of the river, one detached mass, about a hundred feet perpendicular on all sides, bore the appropriate name of Pillar Rock. This part of the river was about a mile and a half wide, receiving several cascades — an index of a moister climate — from the cliffs and its banks. About two in the afternoon, we met, in the neighbourhood of a waterfall of some hundred feet in height, a boat proceeding from Vancouver to Wallawalla with letters, and we took out of her such as belonged to ourselves.

About sunset, we called at the Company's saw and grist mills, distant six miles from the fort, while the Com-

pany's schooner Cadbord, that was lying there, honoured us with a salute, which served also as a signal of our arrival to the good folks of Vancouver. Being anxious to approach head-quarters in proper style, our men here exchanged the oar for the paddle, which, besides being more orthodox in itself, was better adapted to the quick notes of the voyageur songs. In less than an hour afterwards, we landed on the beach, having thus crossed the continent of North America at its widest part, by a route of about five thousand miles, in the space of twelve weeks of actual travelling. We were received by Mr. Douglas, as Mr. McLaughlin, the gentleman in charge, was absent at Puget Sound.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM VANCOUVER TO SITKA.

Departure from Vancouver—The Willamette—Wappatoo Island—The Cowlitz—Variety of races in bateau—Cowlitz Farm—Enormous trees—The Checaylis—Natural mounds—Fort Nisqually—Embarkation on Beaver Steamer—Frazer's River—Feveda, superior fuel—Wooding and watering—Comouc fleet—Quakeolth chief—Johnston's Straits—Dense fog—Quakeolth fleet—Trading—Food, &c., of Quakeolths—Native pronunciation of English—Manners of natives generally—Dishonesty and treachery of natives—Shushady harbour—Trading with Newettees—Hiaquay shells—Humming-birds—Canoeing alone with a native chief—Native blankets, canoes, &c.—Indignant harangue of a chief—Dense fog, danger of shipwreck—Shark—Calvert's Island—Sir Alexander McKenzie—Fort McLoughlin—Ballabolla Indians—Large canoe—Lip-piece—Power of chiefs—Fort Simpson—Ingenuity of natives, North-west Arrowsmith—Smallpox—Fort Stikine—The Secatquouays—Humanity of female chief—Condition of Slaves—Messrs. Shakes and Quatkay—Hanego Joe—Stephen's Passage—Fort Taco—Abundance of deer—Big-horn sheep and mountain goat—Taco River—Lynn's Canal—Ancke Indians—Arrival at Sitka.

At Vancouver, we found two vessels of the United States exploring squadron, under the command of Commodore Wilkes, which had come hither with the view of surveying the coast and river; and we here spent a week all the more agreeably on this account. As I should afterwards have a better opportunity of noticing this fort in connexion with the neighbouring country, I left my journal untouched, till I resumed my voyage, in

order to inspect our own posts to the northward, and to visit the Russians at Sitka.

On the 1st of September, my party, now strengthened by the accession of Mr. Douglas, took leave on the beach of Commodore Wilkes and his officers with mutual wishes for safety and success; and, by eleven in the forenoon, we were under way in a large and heavy bateau with a crew of ten men. On reaching the mouth of the Willamette, on the left side of the Columbia, we ascended the stream, till, after rounding Multonomah or Wappatoo Island, we were retracing our steps to the main river by the lower channel of its tributary. Our object in thus deviating from our proper course was to call at the Company's dairy: and accordingly, after following the current of the west branch of the Willamette for about five miles, we landed on the delta in question, in the neighbourhood of our establishment.

This beautiful island is fifteen miles in length by seven at its greatest breadth, covered with abundance of timber and the richest pasturage; and it doubtless owes much of its fertility to the fact, that it is regularly overflowed in spring, with the exception of its higher ridges, on one of which our dairies stand. It consists entirely of alluvial soil, formed most probably by the accumulation of mud and drift-wood against a rock at its lower extremity.

At the dairy, we found about a hundred milch cows, which were said to yield, on an average, not more than sixty pounds of butter each in a year; and there were also two or three hundred cattle that were left, merely with a view to their breeding, to roam about at will.

The whole were under the charge of three or four families that resided on the spot.

In addition to the rock already mentioned—the backbone, so to speak, of all the alluvial accretions — the island contains, in its interior, a block of black basalt, rudely chiselled by the Indians of ancient days into a column of four feet in height and three feet in diameter. Around such a curiosity superstition has, of course, thrown her mantle. The savages, and indeed the dairymen also, religiously believe that any person who may touch the lonely pillar will bring down on himself the vengeance of its deity. Though we had not time at present to enter the lists against this jealous spirit, yet Mr. Douglas, a year or two ago, had been rash enough to try to move his mysterious shrine from its place. On returning to the dairy to sleep, he got out of favour with the Canadian, who was in charge, for having thus dared the demon of the stone to do his worst; and, after a good deal of argument, they parted for the night, the master as sceptical, and the man as credulous, as ever. The darkness, however, decided this drawn battle in the Canadian's favour, for a fearful storm, the work, of course, of the indignant goblin, almost pulled down the house over the impious head of Mr. Douglas.

About sunset, we again entered the Columbia, endeavouring to reach Deer's Island for supper. Failing in this attempt, we snapped up a hasty meal on the left bank of the river; and then, after wrapping ourselves in a blanket each, we lay down to sleep in the boat, while she should be drifting down the stream all night. In the morning, we were toiling up the Cowlitz, a

northerly feeder of the Columbia, its lofty banks being crowned with beautiful forests, whose leafy bowers, unincumbered by brushwood, realized the poet's "boundless continuity of shade." As a proof of the occasional height of the waters of this narrow and rapid river, drift-wood and other aqueous deposits were hanging high and dry on the overshadowing branches at an altitude of thirty or forty feet above the present level of the stream. When the Cowlitz thus fills its bed, it ceases to be navigable, at least for upward craft, by reason of the violence of the current; and perhaps the same circumstance may explain the otherwise inexplicable fact, that, though the salmon enter this river in autumn on their way from the sea, yet in spring, when the waters are, of course, at their highest, they never do so by any chance.

Even at present, the current was so powerful, that our rate of progress never exceeded two miles an hour.

When I descended the Cowlitz, in 1828, there was a large population along its banks; but since then the intermittent fever, which commenced its ravages in the following year, had left but few to mourn for those that fell. During the whole of our day's course, till we came upon a small camp in the evening, the shores were silent and solitary, the deserted villages forming melancholy monuments of the generation that had passed away. Along the river, large quantities of an imperfect coal are found on the surface.

Our bateau carried as curious a muster of races and languages as perhaps had ever been congregated within the same compass in any part of the world. Our crew

of ten men contained Iroquois, who spoke their own tongue; a Cree, half-breed of French origin, who appeared to have borrowed his dialect from both his parents; a North Briton, who understood only the Gaelic of his native hills; Canadians who, of course, knew French; and Sandwich Islanders, who jabbered a medley of Chinook, English, &c., and their own vernacular jargon. Add to all this, that the passengers were natives of England, Scotland, Russia, Canada, and the Hudson's Bay Company's territories: and you have the prettiest congress of nations, the nicest confusion of tongues, that has ever taken place since the days of the Tower of Babel. At the native camp, near which we halted for the night, we enriched our museum with one variety more, by hiring a canoe, and its complement of Chinooks, to accompany us.

Next morning, Mr. Douglas, in company with our Chinook allies, started a little before us, in order to get horses, &c., ready for us at the landing-place; and by noon, when we reached the spot in question, we found that, in his lighter craft, he had gained four hours on us, having thus had time to bring our steeds from the Cowlitz Farm, about ten miles distant. Right glad were we to leave our clumsy bateau, after an imprisonment of eight and forty hours.

Between the Cowlitz River and Puget Sound, a distance of about sixty miles, the country, which is watered by many streams and lakes, consists of an alternation of plains and belts of wood. It is well adapted both for tillage and for pasturage, possessing a genial climate, a good soil, excellent timber, water

power, natural clearings, and a seaport, and that, too, within reach of more than one advantageous market. When this tract was explored a few years ago, the Company established two farms upon it, which were subsequently transferred to the Puget Sound Agricultural Association, formed, under the Company's auspices, with the view of producing wheat, wool, hides, and tallow, for exportation.

On the Cowlitz Farm there were already about a thousand acres of land under the plough, besides a large dairy, an extensive park for horses, &c.; and the crops of this season had amounted to eight or nine thousand bushels of wheat, four thousand of oats, with due proportions of barley, potatoes, &c. The other farm was on the shores of Puget Sound; and, as its soil was found to be better fitted for pasturage than tillage, it had been appropriated almost exclusively to the flocks and herds; so that now, with only two hundred acres of cultivated land, it possessed six thousand sheep, twelve hundred cattle, besides horses, pigs, &c.

In addition to these two farms, there was a Catholic mission, with about a hundred and sixty acres under the plough. There were also a few Canadian settlers, retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company; and it was to this same neighbourhood that the emigrants from Red River were wending their way.

The climate is propitious, while the seasons are remarkably regular. Between the beginning of April and the end of September there is a continuance of dry weather, generally warm and often hot, the mercury having this year risen at Nisqually to 107° in the

shade. March and October are unsettled and showery, and during the four months of winter there is almost constant rain, while the temperature is so mild that the cattle and sheep not only remain out of doors, but even find fresh grass for themselves from day to day.

Of the aborigines there are but three small tribes in the neighbourhood—the Cowlitz, the Checaylis, and the 'Squally—now all quiet, inoffensive, and industrious people; and, as a proof of this their character, they do very well as agricultural servants, thereby forming an important element in estimating the advantages of the district for settlement and cultivation.

Having halted five miles beyond the Cowlitz Farm, we raised camp next morning at four. The belts of wood, which separated the plains from each other, were composed of stately cedars and pines, many of them rising without a branch or a bend to a height of a hundred and fifty feet. Some of these primeval children of the soil were three or four hundred feet high, while they measured thirty in girth at a distance of five feet from the ground; and, by actual measurement, one fallen trunk, by no means the largest that could have been selected, was found to be two hundred and fifty feet long, and to be twenty-five round at eight feet from the root.

Like the Meltonomah Island, these plains have their mysterious stone. This rudely carved block, the only thing of the kind in the neighbourhood, was carried to its present position from a considerable distance by a mighty man of old times, who could lift a horse by stooping under its belly, and carry about the brute, all

alive and kicking, for a whole day. It is perhaps a blessing that the human race in these parts has degenerated, for otherwise horses would have been as likely to bridle and spur men, as men to bridle and spur horses. The stone, which weighs about a ton, still remains where the skookoom, to use the native term, dropped it, a monument of the degeneracy of all succeeding sojourners in the country, whether red or white.

We breakfasted at the Checaylis, a navigable stream falling into Gray's Harbour, about forty miles to the north of Cape Disappointment. Near this river was a narrow belt of wood, which divided the stronger soil, that we had passed, from the lighter soil that lay before us, no clay being found to the northward as far as Puget Sound, and no sand to the southward as far as the Cowlitz River.

Beyond the Checaylis the plains became more extensive, with fewer belts of wood, though there was still more than a sufficiency of timber for every purpose.

Towards the 'Squally, or, as the whites term it, by way of elegance, the Nisqually River, we passed over a space of ten or twelve miles in length, covered with thousands of mounds or hummocks, all of a perfectly round shape, but of different sizes. They are from twelve to twenty feet in diameter, and from five to fifteen in height: and they all touch, but barely touch, each other. They must have been the work of nature, for, if they were the work of man, there would have been pits adjacent, whence the earth was taken; but,

whatever has been their origin, they must be very ancient, inasmuch as many of them bear large trees.

After crossing the 'Squally river, we arrived at Fort Nisqually, on the evening of our fourth day from Fort Vancouver. Being unwilling to commence our voyage on a Sunday, we remained here for six and thirty hours, inspecting the farm and dairy, and visiting Dr. Richmond, an American missionary, stationed in the neighbourhood. The surrounding scenery is very beautiful. On the borders of an arm of the sea, of about two miles in width, are undulating plains of excellent pasturage, presenting a pretty variety of copses of oak and placid lakes, and abounding in chevreuil and other game.

The sound yields plenty of fish, such as salmon, rock cod, halibut, flounders, &c. The dogfish and the shark are also numerous, some of the latter having been caught here this summer of five or six feet in length.

Near the Fort there was a small camp of 'Squallies, under the command of Lackalett, a good friend of the traders. The establishment is frequented also by the Clallams, the Paaylaps, the Scatchetts, the Checaylis, and other tribes, amounting in all, the 'Sqallies included, to nearly four thousand souls.

At noon, on Monday, the 6th of September, we embarked on board of the Beaver steamer, Captain McNeill, leaving Mr. Hopkins in temporary charge of Nisqually, along with Mr. Heath. Starting under a salute of seven guns, we pushed along against a strong breeze, till we anchored, about five in the afternoon, to enable the engineer to repair some damage which the

machinery had sustained; but the job being completed by nine, we then steamed on all night.

About seven in the morning we passed along the inner end of Fuca's Straits, the first of the numberless inlets of this coast that was ever discovered by civilized man. The neighbouring country, comprising the southern end of Vancouver's Island, is well adapted for cultivation; for, in addition to a tolerable soil and a moderate climate, it possesses excellent harbours and abundance of timber. It will doubtless become, in time, the most valuable section of the whole coast above California.

As a foul wind and a heavy sea prevented us from making more than two miles and a half an hour, we resolved to wood and water behind Point Roberts, near the mouth of Frazer's River—a stream which, after traversing New Caledonia on its way from the Rocky Mountains, falls into the Gulf of Georgia in lat. 49°. If this parallel, as proposed by the Americans, should become the international boundary on the west side of the height of land, Britain would not only be surrendering all the territory of any agricultural value, but would also virtually cut off the interior and the coast of her own shore from each other. Frazer's River had never been wholly descended by whites previously to 1828, when, in order to explore the navigation all the way to the sea, I started from Stuart's Lake with three canoes. I found the stream hardly practicable even for any craft, excepting that, for the first twenty-five miles from its mouth, it might receive large vessels. This river, therefore, is of little or no use to England

as a channel of communication with the interior; and, in fact, the trade of New Caledonia, the very country which it drains, is carried on overland to Okanagan, and thence down the Columbia.

Behind Point Roberts there was a large camp of about a thousand savages, inhabitants of Vancouver's Island, who periodically cross the Gulf to Frazer's River, for the purpose of fishing. A great number of canoes assisted us in bringing our wood and water from the shore, some of them paddled entirely by young girls of remarkably interesting and comely appearance. These people offered us salmon, potatoes, berries, and shell-fish for sale.

The wind having moderated, we weighed anchor about one in the morning, and continued our course between Vancouver's Island and the mainland till three in the afternoon. The channel rarely exceeded six miles in width, and the shores on both sides were so mountainous, that the peaks, though situated only in 50° of latitude, were covered with perpetual snow. In the course of the forenoon, we crossed the parallel of the once famous Nootka Sound, breasting the open ocean on the other side of Vancouver's Island—an inlet which, after nearly involving Spain and England in war, was reduced into insignificance by the discovery of the very path which we were traversing. So long as the port in question was supposed to be on the solid continent, it promised to be a channel of communication with the interior, the more valuable on account of the absence of any rival; while, with the help of the imagination, it was magnified into the mouth of the great river of the west.

We anchored in the snug little harbour of the Island of Feveda, to take in wood and water. Captain McNeill generally preferred halting here on account of the superiority of the fuel, which was both close in the grain and resinous; and he stated that a cord of it was almost as durable as two cords of any other growth. For this singular fact there must be a reason, which may be expected to lurk rather in the soil than in the climate; and, whether or not the two peculiarities be respectively cause and effect, the isle in question is almost entirely composed of limestone, which, if it exist elsewhere on the coast, is found only in very small quantities.

Rather with the view of beguiling the time than in the hope of enriching our larder, we went ashore to shoot deer, which were said to be here very numerous; and we certainly did see several chevreuil, which took care, however, to keep at a safe distance from us. But we found one object of interest in an old beaver-dam of great extent; none of us had ever seen signs of the beaver in a similar situation, or ever suspected any predilection on the part of the animal for salt water. Perhaps, with so mountainous a coast and so narrow a sea, Nature may have formed a congenial path over the briny depths by means of the freshets of spring, just as every rapid river overlays an extent of ocean proportioned to the strength of its current.

Failing in our attempt on the deer, I resolved to angle away the hours, without caring much what I might hook, and I succeeded to admiration in hauling up several dogfish—the presence of those sharks in

miniature sufficiently accounting for the absence of more delicate prey.

So far as utility was concerned, our failures in the sporting way were remedied by an Indian, who, with his pretty wife and a child, brought us off a brace of deer; and then the industrious fellow, for some trifling consideration or other, assisted us in wooding and watering; a kind of help which, in order to save time, Captain McNeill was always glad to accept.

We were detained the whole of the next day by the same indispensable business of supplying the steamer with fuel. In fact, as the vessel carries only one day's stock, about forty cords, and takes about the same time to cut the wood as to burn it, she is at least as much at anchor as she is under way; a good deal of her delay, however, being rendered necessary, without reference to the demands of her furnace, by wind and weather, and also for the purpose of dealing with the natives. Still, on the whole, the paddle is far preferable to canvass in these inland waters, which extend from Puget Sound to Cross Sound, by reason of the strength of the currents, the variableness of the winds, the narrowness of the channels, and the intricacy and ruggedness of the line of coast. We found Vancouver's charts so minute and accurate, that, amid all our difficulties, we never had to struggle with such as mere science could be expected to overcome; and, in justice both to our own navigator and to one of his successors in the same path, I ought to mention, that Commodore Wilkes, after a comparatively tedious survey from the mouth of the Columbia to that of Frazer's River, admitted that he

had required to make but few and inconsiderable corrections.

Leaving Feveda early on the morning of the 10th, we steamed against a strong wind, till at dusk we got into the safe harbour of Port Neville. In the course of the forenoon, three villages of Comoucs, that were opposite to Point Mudge, sent off forty or fifty canoes to us, whose inmates, amounting perhaps to eight hundred of all ages and both sexes, made all sorts of noises to induce us to stop. They appeared to be a well-made race, the women in particular having a soft and pleasing expression of countenance. The ladies, who obviously appreciated their own beauty, attempted, by a liberal display of their charms, and by every winning way that they could devise, to obtain permission to come on board. We did allow a chief of the Quakeolths to embark, along with his wife and child; as he was desirous of obtaining a passage to his village, about seventy miles distant, while his canoe, a pretty little craft of about twelve paddles, was taken in tow. This was not this grandee's first trip in the Beaver. On a former occasion, he had made love to the captain's wife, who was accompanying her husband; and, when he found her obdurate, he transferred his attentions to Mrs. Manson, who happened to be on board along with Mr. Manson himself, till, on being sent by her to negociate with her husband, he gravely backed his application by offering him a large bundle of furs. On the present occasion, also, this ardent admirer of the fair sex was true to his system, for he took a great fancy to an Englishwoman on board, while, at the same time, with

more generosity than justice, he recommended his own princess, not to the woman's husband, but to myself.

In the fleet that swarmed around us we observed two peculiarly neat canoes, with fourteen paddles each, which savoured very strongly of honeymoon. Each carried a young couple, who, both in dress and demeanour, were evidently a newly-married pair. The gentlemen, with their "arms around their dearies O," were lavishing their little attentions on the ladies, to the obvious satisfaction of both parties. The brides were young and pretty, tastefully decked out with beads, bracelets, anklets, and various ornaments in their hair, and, above all, with blankets so sweet, and sound, and clean, that they could not be otherwise than new. The bridegrooms were smart, active, handsome fellows, all as fine as a holiday, and more particularly proud of their turbans of white calico.

In the afternoon, we passed another village, near the narrowest point of Johnston's Straits. Here we were greatly impeded by deep whirlpools and a short sea, which were said generally to mark these narrows, and to be caused by the collision of the tides or currents flowing round the opposite ends of Vancouver's Island from the open ocean. Johnston's Strait might be reckoned, as it were, the height of land in the Gulf of Georgia.

Next morning, a dense fog threatened to detain us all day, and might have detained us for weeks. In fact, Mr. Finlayson, of Red River, was, in the year 1837, held a prisoner for a fortnight within a few miles of his home by a fog worthy of keeping Christmas in London.

Luckily, however, we got out of limbo about noon, and, passing within an hour the home of our Quakeolth Lothario, we entered McNeill's Harbour for the purpose of trading, where we were soon visited by thirty or forty canoes, crowded with men, women, and children. The standard of prices being fixed after two hours of higgling, the business then went on briskly. To avoid the inconvenience and danger of a crowd, half a dozen only of the savages were to be admitted on deck at once; and, in order to enforce the regulation, five sentinels were stationed at the gangways, on the poop, and on the paddle-boxes, while the boarding netting, as amounting to a mystery or a medicine, formed a better protection than all the watchmen put together.

Stationing himself at the steerage hatchway, Captain McNeill threw down each skin, as he examined it, with its price chalked on it—the equivalents being handed up from below by the two or three men that were in charge of the store. The natives, now that they no longer dare to employ force against the whites, still occasionally resort to fraud, practising every trick and devise to cheat their trader. One favourite artifice is to stretch the tails of land-otters into those of sea-otters. Again, when a skin is rejected as being deficient in size, or defective in quality, it is immediately, according to circumstances, enlarged, or coloured, or pressed to order, and is then submitted, as a virgin article, to the buyer's criticism by a different customer. In short, these artists of the north-west could dye a horse with any jockey in the civilized world, or "freshen up" a faded sole with the most ingenious and unscrupulous

of fishmongers. As he has neither mayor nor aldermen to invoke in such cases, Captain McNeill dispenses summary justice on his own account, commissioning his boatswain to take the law, and the rope's end as its emblem, into his own hand.

Both men and women were well grown, with regular and pleasing features; indeed, the girls were exceedingly pretty, and looked quite healthy. In fact, besides living well on the best of fish and the best of venison, these people have comparatively few diseases among them. They have been exempted from the smallpox, though their brethren, both to the south of the Columbia and in Russian America, have suffered severely from that terrible scourge. To secure to them a continuance of this happy immunity, we begged permission from the chiefs of the Quakeolths to vaccinate the children of the tribe; but, as they neither did nor could appreciate the unknown blessing, we preferred leaving things as they were, knowing well, from our experience of the native character, that our medicine would get the credit of any epidemic that might follow, or perhaps of any failure of the hunt or the fishery.

Instead of letting their hair flow loosely over the shoulders, as most of the aborigines of North America do, these people brush it up all round, tying it in a bunch at the crown of the head, or else hanging it down the back in the form of a thick pigtail. This mode of dressing the hair naturally gives the head something of a conical appearance; and, as custom always more or less influences one's ideas of beauty, the Quakeolths

deliberately cherish this peculiarity of aspect by the application of ligatures in infancy. Whether they are obliged to sleep with their eyes open, like the drummer boy who escaped a flogging for doing so by showing that his queue held back his eyelids, I cannot tell. This much, however, I did observe, that the denuding of the face produced a good-humoured semblance of candour and honesty which their whole history belied.

Speaking of the dressing of hair, there was on board one of the ships of the American squadron a captive chief of the Feejee Islands, who, when "forced from home and all its pleasures," had begged, almost with tears in his eyes, that his friseur might be allowed to accompany him into exile. So careful are the grandees of that group said to be of their well-curled locks, that, to prevent any derangement of the same, they sleep with their necks across a bamboo and their heads in free space.

In addition to the mode of dressing the hair, the people of this coast have several other peculiarities, which appear to indicate an Asiatic origin. In taking a woman to wife, the husband buys her from her father for a price as his perpetual property; so that, if she separate from him, whether through his fault or her own, she can never marry another during his life. Again, with respect to funerals, the corpse, after being kept for several days, is consumed by fire, while the widow, if any there be, rests her head on the body, till dragged from the flames, rather dead than alive, by her relatives. If the poor creature recovers from the effects of this species of suttee, she collects the ashes of

her deceased lord and master, which she carries about her person for three long years; and any levity on her part during this period, or even any deficiency in grief, renders her an outcast for ever.

Though these tribes no longer dare to massacre or plunder white visitors, yet they are still as treacherous as ever to each other. About a hundred and fifty of the Quakeolths were recently proceeding by canoe to Nootka, partly for the purpose of trading, and partly with the view of paying off some old score or other to a hostile clan. On their way they found a party of armed Sebassamen, about thirty in number, on a small island, whom they coolly determined to destroy by stratagem. Accordingly, making signs of peace, and lying on their paddles, they explained that they were going to make war in the neighbourhood of Nootka; adding, at the same time, that, with reference to this object of their expedition, they would be glad to give the Sebassamen a capital bargain of sea-otters in exchange for their guns and ammunition. Conscious of their weakness, the Sebassamen accepted the insidious offer, and that the more readily, inasmuch as the particular skins in question, the only equivalent received at our forts for arms, &c., might soon be made to double the stock that they were surrendering. Meanwhile, the Quakeolths were landing, one canoe after another, till at last, besides recovering their sea-otters, they butchered four and twenty of their credulous customers. The six wretches, whom the villains spared for a bondage worse than death, we saw in the little fleet that was lying alongside of ourselves.

But the Quakeolths, notwithstanding all their guile

and ferocity, religiously observe, even towards their foes, the laws of hospitality. If a stray enemy, who may find himself in the vicinity of one of their camps, can proceed, before he is recognised, to the chief's lodge, he is safe, both in person and in property, on the easy condition of making a small present to his protector. The guest remains as long as he pleases, enjoying the festivity of the whole village; and when he wishes to depart, he carries away his property untouched, together with a present fully equal to what he himself may have given. Moreover, the Quakeolths, more honourable and consistent than the Arabs, are so far from following their guest, in order to plunder him, that they guarantee his safety to the utmost limits of their territory.

To resume my narrative: our traffic continued till the following noon; and, meanwhile, such of our men as were not occupied in trading or watching had been cutting wood, which the Indians conveyed on board in their canoes. The furs, amounting in value to about five hundred pounds sterling, consisted of martens, racoons, beaver, bears, lynxes, and both kinds of otters; while the equivalents were blankets, tobacco, vermilion, files, knives, a small quantity of cloth, and only two guns, with a corresponding allowance of ammunition. Generally speaking, the natives were tiresome in their bargaining, and they were ever ready to suspend business for a moment in order to enjoy any passing joke. They appeared, however, to understand the precise length to which they might go in teasing Captain M'Neill. They made sad work, by the by, of his name; for, whenever his head showed itself above the bulwarks,

young and old, male and female, vociferated, from every canoe, Ma-ta-hell, Ma-ta-hell, Ma-ta-hell—a word which, with the comparative indistinctness of its first syllable, sounded very like a request on their part that their trader might go a great way beyond the engineer's furnace. Their organs of speech are altogether too feeble for the enunciation of English words; and, as a proof of this, *Macubah* and *Binfins* are stated in "Astoria" to have been their cleverest imitations of *Vancouver* and *Broughton.*

Along the whole coast the savages generally live well. They have both shell-fish and other fish in great variety, with berries, seaweed, and venison. Of the finny race, salmon is the best and most abundant, while, at certain seasons, the ullachan, very closely resembling the sardine in richness and delicacy, is taken with great ease in some localities. This fish yields an extraordinary quantity of very fine oil, which, being highly prized by the natives, is a great article of trade with the Indians of the interior, and also of such parts of the coast as do not furnish the luxury in question. This oil is used as a sauce at all their meals—if snapping at any hour of the day or night can be called a meal—with fish, with seaweed, with berries, with roots, with venison, &c. Nor is it less available for the toilet than for culinary purposes. It is made to supply the want of soap and water, smearing the face or any other part of the body that is deemed worthy of ablution, which, when well scrubbed with a mop of sedge, looks as clean as possible. In addition to this essential business of purifying and polishing, the oil of the ullachan does duty as bear's

grease for the hair; and some of the young damsels, when fresh from their unctuous labours, must be admitted to shine considerably in society.

While our people were chopping wood, they got one of their axes stolen. They said nothing, however, about it, till they came on board; and then a beaver was taken from a noisy fellow with a hint that, if he wished to have his skin back, he had better find the missing article before the return of the steamer. Though these natives, when they are in our power, are perfectly good-humoured, yet, when they have strength on their side, they are the very reverse. Some years ago, my late friend Captain Simpson was in this neighbourhood with the Cadbord schooner, when the Indians, despising the smallness and weakness of that vessel, attacked a boat's crew, killing one man and wounding another; and about the same time, a little to the southward, near Nisqually, the Clallams assassinated one of the Company's officers, and five men on their way from Fort Langley to Vancouver with letters. In the absence of any other means of obtaining redress, our people had recourse to the law of Moses, which, after the loss of several lives on the side of the natives, brought the savages to their senses, while the steamer's mysterious and rapid movements speedily completed their subjugation. In fact, whether in matters of life and death or of petty thefts, the rule of retaliation is the only standard of equity which the tribes on this coast are capable of appreciating.

Leaving the Quakeolths at one in the afternoon of the twelfth, and passing through Queen Charlotte's

Sound, we reached, by five o'clock, the harbour of Shushady Newettee, at the northern end of Vancouver's Island, in a heavy fog. Several of the Indians, as usual, came off to us — the chief, a grave, pensive, handsome man, and a garrulous old fellow of the name of Shell Fish, being admitted on board. The chief brought to the doctor a little boy of a son, who, by falling on the point of a pair of scissors, had been stabbed in the abdomen about an inch and a half above the navel; but, as the wound had been received ten days previously, and had not been followed by fever, we thought it better to let the thing alone. The young patient was accompanied by the native surgeon, who had the gratification to hear our praises of his dressing and bandaging — practice that would have done him no discredit in the civilized world.

During the night, the fog increased to such a degree, that next morning we could not see a hundred yards from the ship. In spite, however, of the impenetrable darkness, the Newettees returned to us in great numbers, and drove a brisk trade for an hour or two; and we thus got furs to the value of about two hundred pounds sterling, in exchange for which the blanket was the principal article in demand. During the preceding two years, the absence of competition in this quarter had enabled us to put the trade on a much better footing, by the entire disuse of spirituous liquors, and by the qualified interdiction, as already mentioned, of the sale of arms and ammunition. These changes, however unsatisfactory to the parties interested, may, nevertheless, be considered as a great blessing to the whole of

the native population, arresting the progress at once of the sword and of the pestilence.

We had a good deal of amusement to-day in endeavouring to teach our savage visitors a few words of English; and wonderfully apt they were in acquiring our language. The letter *r* plagued them most, getting the better of them, in fact, after all their efforts, in working about their lips and tongues in every manner of way; and the nearest approach that they made, amid roars of laughter, to our fellow traveller's name, was *Wowand*. Among some of the tribes on the east side of the mountains, this same consonant, as also its kindred *l*, is disguised into *n*. Of their acquisitions, such as they were, our Newettee pupils were very proud, dragging them in by the head and shoulders on all occasions.

After our friends had disposed of their furs, they brought into the market a large number of hiaquays—white shells, found only on the west side of Vancouver's Island. These articles, thus practically corresponding with the cowries of the East Indies, are used as small change all along the coast and in many parts of the interior; and they are also applied to more fanciful purposes in the shape of necklaces, ornaments for the hair, and so forth, while occasionally a large hiaquay may be seen balancing itself through the cartilage of a pretty girl's nose. Our visitors also offered for sale some specimens, rather inferior in their way, of the humming-bird. There were said to be no fewer than five varieties of that beautiful creature between the mouth of the Columbia and the head of Vancouver's

Island; but, with the exception of the neighbourhood of the hot springs of Sitka, the more northerly coast did not possess the curiosity.

In the evening, I went out to fish with one of the chiefs; and, though we were quite alone, yet we contrived, partly by words of English and Chinook, and partly by signs, to carry on an animated conversation. The mode of proceeding was by dragging a line with a baited hook at the end, while the canoe was paddled through the water at the rate of two miles and a half an hour; and in this way we caught a salmon, a rock-cod, much resembling a perch of about two pounds in weight, and a curious animal, known among the sailors as the devil's fish. Some few years back, no white man would have gone out alone amidst twenty or thirty native canoes; but, besides that the savages, even on general grounds, were now less likely to show the cloven foot, I had the mysterious prestige of the steamer and her guns in my favour, to say nothing of the comfortable consciousness of a brace of loaded pistols in my belt. I returned on board about dusk, to the no small relief of my friends, who, having lost sight of the canoe, were afraid that the hope of a large ransom might tempt the savages, according to old use and wont, to run off with the great white chief. In former days, the Indians of the north-west coast, before their views on the subject of expediency were enlarged, frequently acted on the simple principle, that a skipper, who could command untold treasures of guns and ammunition, blankets and tobacco, was a more profitable, as well as an easier, quarry than a bear or an otter.

We observed among these people various ingenious manufactures. They make light blankets for summer from the hair of the dog, the wolf, the chamois goat, and the big-horn sheep, while they weave also mats of sedge as a very common wrapper for both men and women. They also mould and carve their canoes with great taste. These little vessels, which are likewise formed out of single trunks, present, of course, a greater variety of size in this land of colossal trees than craft of a similar description present in any other country; but, whether large or small, they are all gracefully shaped, with slightly elevated prows and sterns. They fly through the water with the paddle, like so many wherries, while such of them as are of any considerable size are perfectly safe under sail.

It was noon of the next day, the 14th of the month, before the weather cleared sufficiently for a start. Just while getting up the steam again, Captain McNeill discovered that the capote of one of the wood-cutters had been stolen in the bush on the previous evening. After a great deal of fruitless clamour on both sides, the captain took an axe from the chief, who, now that he had a personal interest in the matter, instantaneously informed against another grandee of the amiable and innocent name of Nancy; but as, in Mr. Nancy's absence, we had no means of ascertaining the truth, we still held on by the chief's axe. Our friend, who was by this time in his canoe, opened against Captain McNeill with the following harangue in Chinook:—"The white men are very pitiful, since they have stolen my axe. My axe must have been very good indeed,

otherwise the ship would not have stolen it. If an Indian steals anything, he is ashamed and hides his face; but the great ship-chief Ma-ta-hell steals my axe and is not ashamed, but stands there scolding and laughing at me, whom he has robbed. It is good to be a white chief, because he can steal, and, at the same time, show his face. If he was not strong, with a large ship and long guns, he would not be so brave. I am weak now, but I may be strong by and by, and then perhaps I will take payment for my axe. But it is very good to be a white chief in a large ship with big guns;—he can steal from a poor Indian who is here alone in his canoe, with his wife and child, and no big guns to protect him." All this was said with provoking coolness, while a contemptuous smile played on the speaker's manly countenance; and his pretty little princess, to whom he ever and anon turned round for encouragement, was constantly freshening the inspiration, as it were, by her blandest looks. To detain the axe was impossible, after so rich a treat; and we restored it the more readily, as we were convinced by the chief's tone and manner that he was guiltless with respect to the missing capote.

About one in the afternoon, we got under way. We were soon nearly abreast of Smith's Inlet, where we should have to encounter the unbroken swell of the open ocean for upwards of twenty-five miles, being, in fact, the only exposed part of the coast of any extent between Fuca's Straits and Cross Sound; and the passage would also be the more dangerous on account of the presence of the Pearl and Virgin rocks. Just at this point, to our great mortification, the fog again

gathered so thickly around us, that we could not see to the distance of fifty yards; and we had, therefore, no other choice than that of endeavouring to regain the safe ground that we had left. But we had hardly put about, when we heard the sound of breakers almost under our bows. "Stop her and back!" was passed to the engineer; and it was well that a word could do the needful, for a sailing vessel would have been knocked to pieces in less time than we took to return stern foremost into fifteen fathoms. Here we remained at anchor till five o'clock, when the dispersion of the mist showed us that the current must have carried the steamer two miles to the westward of her reckoning. Now that we saw a clear route to carry us away from our imminent danger, we lost no time in getting up the anchor, though, from the defective state of the windlass, twenty-two minutes, an age in our estimation, were spent on thirty fathoms of chain. We proceeded to a secure anchorage, under the northern end of Vancouver's Island, near Bull Harbour, embracing the opportunity of recruiting our stock of wood and water. On going ashore, we saw two large sea-lions, which, however, were too far off to be shot; we also found a great variety of zoophytes, numberless marine vegetables, and inexhaustible stores of the muscle and other shell-fish.

Next morning, as the weather had cleared and was promising well, we entered on our dangerous traverse at an early hour; and, though the haze soon again came in our way, yet, as we saw the Pearl and Virgin rocks to seaward, we held our course, reaching, about half-

past ten, the smooth water of Fitzhugh's Sound. During our run, we saw a large shark, lying with merely one fin above the water, to mark its situation. When thus basking in the sun, the monster is frequently killed by the Indians. Some time ago, one of my fellow-travellers across the Atlantic, Mr. Manson, seeing a shark at his ease opposite to Fort McLoughlin, pushed off in a canoe; and then, standing on the gunwale, he struck his harpoon into the animal. Thus transfixed, the brute swam off with a whole fleet of canoes in tow, and was secured only after a dance of two or three hours. The carcase measured twenty-four feet in length; and the liver yielded thirty-six gallons of oil.

After passing Calvert's Island, our channel was formed by islands to seaward, and on the other side partly by islands and partly by promontories of the mainland. Between these promontories there were generally deep inlets, known as canals, one of them being deservedly sacred in the eyes of every Briton, as that arm of the Pacific Ocean to which Sir Alexander McKenzie, with matchless prudence and fortitude, forced his way across a continent never before trodden by civilized man. This spot, by the bye, and the greater part of the track by which it was reached, have been claimed by some Americans as the property of their republic. The force of imagination can no farther go. In scudding along, we were hailed by a strongly-manned canoe, with the usual salutation of Ma-ta-hell, Ma-ta-hell, Ma-ta-hell; but, as we were anxious to get to Fort McLoughlin before sunset, we had no time for parley. About six o'clock, we came to anchor at the

post just mentioned, distant a few miles from Millbank Sound.

This very neat establishment was planned in 1837 by Mr. Finlayson, of Red River, who left the place in an unfinished state to Mr. Manson, who, in his turn, had certainly made the most of the capabilities of the situation. The site must originally have been one of the most rugged spots imaginable,—a mere rock, in fact, as uneven as the adjacent waters in a tempest; while its soil, buried, as it was, in its crevices, served only to encumber the surface with a heavy growth of timber. Besides blasting and levelling, Mr. Manson, without the aid of horse or ox, had introduced several thousand loads of gravel, while, by his judicious contrivances in the way of fortification, he had rendered the place capable of holding out, with a garrison of twenty men, against all the natives of the coast. Mr. Manson's successor, Mr. Charles Ross, had made considerable additions to the garden, which was now of about three acres in extent, with a soil principally formed of sea-weed, and produced cabbages, potatoes, turnips, carrots, and other vegetables.

In the neighbourhood of the fort was a village of about five hundred Ballabollas, who spoke a dialect of the Quakeolth language. At first, these savages were exceedingly turbulent; and one of our people, of the name of François Richard, having disappeared, the chief was seized as a hostage for the restitution of the white man. In a skirmish, which the retaliatory step occasioned, one of the garrison was taken prisoner, and two were wounded, while of the Indians several were

wounded and two killed. After much negociation, the chief, who was detained by the whites, was exchanged for the man who had been captured by the natives. The fate of Richard, however, remained a mystery, till some women gradually blabbed the secret, that he had been murdered by a certain individual. The murderer having been pointed out to me, as he walked openly and boldly about the fort, I took measures for sending the fellow to a distance, as an example to his friends.

The Ballabollas were all in mourning—the custom in such a case being to lay aside all ornaments, and to blacken the face. The present cause of national distress was said to be as follows. Between the Hydas of Queen Charlotte's Island and the Ballabollas a deadly feud had long subsisted. About six weeks before our arrival, the latter, to the number of three hundred, had attacked a village of the former, butchering all the inhabitants but one man and one woman. These two the victorious chief was carrying away, as living trophies of his triumph; but, alas for the instability of all human things!—while standing in a boastful manner on the gunwale of his canoe, and vowing all sorts of vengeance against his victims, he was shot down by a desperate effort of his male prisoner. The Ballabollas, their joy being now turned into grief, cut the throats of the prisoners, threw the spoils overboard, and returned home rather as fugitives than as conquerors. They buried their leader in the garden of the fort,—the carcase of the old warrior being well worth its room, as a better safeguard against pilfering than pickets and watchmen. According to the custom of the Ballabollas,

Chaltam Sound, and Pearl Harbour. About four in the afternoon, we reached Fort Simpson, under the charge of Mr. Work. This establishment was originally formed at the mouth of Nass River, but had been removed to a peninsula, washed on three sides by Chaltam Sound, Port Essington, and Work's Canal. Fort Simpson is the resort of a vast number of Indians, amounting in all to about fourteen thousand of various tribes. There are the Chimseeans, who occupy the country from Douglas' Canal to Nass River, of whom about eight hundred are settled near the establishment, as home guards, under the protection of our guns. Then there are the Sebassamen, from Bank's Island, and the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Island. In addition to these, who live to the south of the international boundary, many Russian Indians, such as the inhabitants of Kygarnie, Tomgass, and the Isles des Clamelsettes, likewise frequent the fort. Many of these natives pay merely passing visits on their way to Nass Straits to fish for the ullachan, whose oil has been already mentioned, not only as a luxury for the great, but also as a necessary of life to all classes. As this oil, by the by, was free from smell, it might be applied to many purposes in the civilized world; and I accordingly ordered a few jars of it to be sent to London by way of sample. All these visitors of Fort Simpson are turbulent and fierce. Their broils, which are invariably attended with bloodshed, generally arise from the most trivial causes, such, for instance, as gambling quarrels or the neglect of points of etiquette.

Here the lip-piece was more generally in use than at

any other part of the coast; but it was clearly going out of vogue, for it was far more common among the ancient dames than among the young women. In other respects, the people were peculiarly comely, strong, and well grown. They are remarkably clever and ingenious. They carve steamers, animals, &c. very neatly in stone, wood, and ivory, imitating, in short, every thing that they see, either in reality or in drawings; and I saw, in particular, a head for a small vessel that they were building, so well executed, that I took it for the work of a white artificer. One man, known as the Arrowsmith of the north-east coast, had gone far beyond his compeers, having prepared very accurate charts of most parts of the adjacent shores.

Next morning, I visited the native village, and found the lodges, both inside and outside, superior to any others that I had seen on the coast. I observed among the people traces of the smallpox, eight of them having lost an eye each. That destructive pestilence had got thus far south, but no farther, carrying off about one third of the population. Since then the wolves have been very scarce; and the Indians maintain that they caught the malady by eating the dead bodies. This voracity on the part of these ravenous beasts was likely enough; for the savages themselves, horrible and incredible to tell, frequently ate the corpses of their relatives that had died of the disease, even after they were putrid, and, in some instances, after they had been buried. Syphilis, I was sorry to observe, was very prevalent, entailing scrofula and similar distempers on the rising generation.

As Fort Simpson lay within the range of the competition of the Russians of Sitka, who used spirits in their trade, we had not been able here to abolish the sale of liquor; and, such was the influence of the simple fact, that several of our crew, though not a drop was either given or sold to them, yet contrived to become tolerably drunk by "tapping the admiral."

Leaving Fort Simpson about one in the afternoon of the 18th, we came to anchor for the night at the southern entrance of the Canal de Reveilla. Both mainland and islands became more and more rugged as we advanced, rising abruptly from the very shores, in the form of lofty mountains, with the ocean at their feet and the snow on their summits. In perfect keeping with the coast, the inland region consists of some of the wildest scenery in nature, of alpine masses, in fact, thrown together in tumultuous confusion. So uneven, in short, is the whole country, that, within any reasonable distance of a stream or a lake, a level site for a fort can hardly be found. Moreover, this land of rocks is as difficult of access, excepting on the immediate margin of the sea, as it is impracticable in itself. Most of the streams to the northward of Frazer's River are mere torrents, which, being fed in summer by the melting of the snows, and in winter by the untiring deluges of this dismal climate, plunge headlong in deep gulleys between the contiguous bases of precipitous heights of every form and magnitude. Within the limits just mentioned, the Babine, the Nass, and the Stikine, are the only rivers that may be ascended to any distance, and even they with considerable difficulty and danger.

Since we left Nisqually, Mr. Rowand had been suffering very severely from intermittent fever and sea-sickness. As he had been much worse last night, we wished to leave him at Fort Simpson; but he insisted on continuing the voyage along with us.

Next day, we passed through the Canal de Reveilla and Clarence Straits, respectively about thirty and fifty-four miles long. On the morning thereafter, having halted all night, on account of the narrowness of the channel, we passed through Stikine Straits into the little harbour of Fort Stikine, where, about eight o'clock, we were welcomed on shore by Mr. M'Loughlin, junior. This establishment, originally founded by the Russian American Company, had been recently transferred to us on a lease of ten years, together with the right of hunting and trading in the continental territories of the association in question, as far up as Cross Sound. Russia, as the reader is, of course, aware, possesses on the mainland, between lat. 54°, 40′, and lat. 60°, only a strip, never exceeding thirty miles in depth; and this strip, in the absence of such an arrangement as has just been mentioned, renders the interior comparatively useless to England.

The establishment, of which the site had not been well selected, was situated on a peninsula barely large enough for the necessary buildings, while the tide, by overflowing the isthmus at high water, rendered any artificial extension of the premises almost impracticable; and the slime, that was periodically deposited by the receding sea, was aided by the putridity and filth of the native villages in the neighbourhood, in

oppressing the atmosphere with a most nauseous perfume. The harbour, moreover, was so narrow, that a vessel of a hundred tons, instead of swinging at anchor, was under the necessity of mooring stem and stern; and the supply of fresh water was brought by a wooden aqueduct, which the savages might at any time destroy, from a stream about two hundred yards distant.

The Stikine, or Pelly's River, empties itself into the ocean by two channels, respectively four and ten miles distant from the fort. One of them is navigable for canoes; while the other, though only in the season of high water, can be ascended by the steamer about thirty miles.

The establishment is frequented by the Secatquonays, who occupy the mainland about the mouths of the river, and also the neighbouring islands; and, in addition to these home guards, it is visited by the natives of three more distant villages—Hanego, Kooyan, and Kayk. The Secatquonays may be estimated at six hundred men, or three thousand souls; and four or five thousand people, in all, are dependent on Fort Stikine for supplies. Most of these Indians make trading excursions into the interior, in order to obtain furs. Their grand mart is a village sixty miles distant from Dease's Lake, and a hundred and fifty from the sea, and thither they resort three or four times a year. The inhabitants of this emporium, known as the Niharnies, were under the command of a female chief, who, in the winter of 1838-9, had behaved with great humanity to Mr. Campbell, one of the Company's officers. That gentleman

and his people having been driven by the savages from a new post, after being reduced to eat their skin-cords and parchment at the rate of a meal a day, were received by this good woman in such a way, as fully to maintain Ledyard's character of the fair sex for kindness to distressed travellers. As Mr. Campbell's establishment was on Dease's lake, the middlemen of the coast, whose monopoly it endangered, were, most probably, either the authors or the instigators of the outrage, which called the female chief's sympathies into play; and even the female chief herself, who made occasional trips to the sea, in order to trade on her own account, was almost as much an object of jealousy to the Secatquonays, as Mr. Campbell himself could have been.

One full third of the large population of this coast are slaves of the most helpless and abject description. Though some of the poor creatures are prisoners taken in war, yet most of them have been born in their present condition. These wretches, besides being constantly the victims of cruelty, are often the instruments of malice or revenge. If ordered by his master to destroy red or white man, the slave must do so, however dangerous may be the service; for, if he either refuse or fail, his own miserable life must pay the forfeit.

The principal chief of the Indians that lived in the neighbourhood of the fort, was an old fellow of the name of Shakes, who, having been spoiled by the Russians with too much indulgence, was rather difficult to be managed; and he was, in fact, at the bottom of

every plot that was hatched against the whites, being assisted in this matter—so much for the effects of education—by a son, who had been taught to read and write at Sitka. Unfortunately, the mode in which the establishment was supplied with water placed us so much at the mercy of the Indians, as almost to provoke any troublesome individual to quarrel with us; for a few blows of an axe would immediately render our wooden aqueduct useless, and leave our people either to die of thirst, or to fight their way to the stream and back again. Luckily, though Shakes was the principal chief, yet he had comparatively little influence; while the second ruler in the tribe, who was very friendly towards us, possessed a strong party in the village. The mutual jealousies of Quatkay and his lord paramount, which sometimes amounted to open hostilities, formed something of a safeguard to the fort. Shakes was from home, but Quatkay paid his respects immediately on our arrival; and, in consideration of his general conduct, I presented him with an entire suit of clothes. The absent chief was said to be very cruel to his slaves, whom he frequently sacrificed in pure wantonness, in order to show how great a man he was. On the recent occasion of a house-warming, he exhibited, as part of the festivities, the butchery of five slaves; and at another time, having struck a white man in a fit of drunkenness, and received a pair of black eyes for his pains, he ordered a slave to be shot, by way, at once, of satisfying his own wounded honour, and of apologizing to the person whom he had assaulted. His rival, on the contrary, was possessed of

such kindness of heart, that on grand holidays he was more ready to emancipate his slaves than to destroy them; yet, strange to say, many bondmen used to run away from Quatkay, while none attempted to escape from Shakes; an anomaly which, however, was easily explained, inasmuch as the one would pardon the recaptured fugitives, and the other would torture and murder them.

One Indian, of the name of Hanego Joe, who had been taken to the United States in childhood, spoke a little English. He was said to be very useful as a pilot on the coast; but, though we did not require his services in that capacity, yet we employed him as interpreter.

As Mr. Rowand continued to get worse, we left him here to recruit his health, being the more anxious to give him the benefit of rest and shelter, as the notoriously vile weather of the winter of the north-west coast commenced to-day with its deluges of rain. Getting under way about three in the afternoon, we anchored for the night at the entrance of Wrangell's Straits.

Next morning we passed through Wrangell's Straits and Prince Frederick's Sound, respectively twenty-two and fifty-seven miles long, and halted for the night at the entrance of Stephen's Passage. The valleys were lined with glaciers down to the water's edge; and the pieces that had broken off during the season filled the canals and straits with fields and masses of ice, through which the vessel could scarcely force her way.

Starting again at five in the morning, with a foul wind and a thick fog, we ran through Stephen's Pas-

sage; and, when the mist cleared sufficiently for the purpose, the land on either side displayed to us mountains rising abruptly from the sea, and bearing a glacier in their every ravine. Earlier in the season, these glaciers would have been concealed by the snow, but now they showed a surface of green ice.

At two in the afternoon we reached Taco, an establishment conducted by Dr. Kennedy, with an assistant and twenty-two men. Here the little harbour is almost land-locked by mountains, being partially exposed only to the south-east. One of the hills, near the fort, terminates in the form of a canoe, which serves as a barometer. A shroud of fog indicates rain; but the clear vision of the canoe itself is a sign of fair weather.

The fort, though it was only a year old, was yet very complete with good houses, lofty pickets, and strong bastions. The establishment was maintained chiefly on the flesh of the chevreuil, which is very fat, and has an excellent flavour. Some of these deer weigh as much as a hundred and fifty pounds each; and they are so numerous, that Taco has this year sent to market twelve hundred of their skins, being the handsome average of a deer a week for every inmate of the place. But extravagance in the eating of venison is here a very lucrative business, for the hide, after paying freight and charges, yields in London a profit on the prime cost of the whole animal.

Seven tribes, three of them living on islands, and four on the mainland, visit Taco. They muster about four thousand souls; and they are subdivisions of the Thlinkitts, speaking dialects of the language of that

nation. These Indians were delighted to have us settled among them; and on this ground they viewed with much jealousy the visits of more distant savages, to whom they were desirous of acting as middlemen. As our interest and feeling in the matter were altogether different, this jealousy of theirs had sometimes occasioned misunderstandings between them and our people. On one occasion, Dr. Kennedy's assistant, having chased out of the fort a savage who had struck him, was immediately made prisoner; while the Doctor himself, who ran to his aid, shared a similar fate. Several shots were fired from the bastions, though without doing, and probably without intending to do, any mischief. And this was fortunate: for though Taco, with a running stream within its walls, was less at the mercy of the natives than Stikine, yet its people, in the event of any loss of life on the part of the savages, might have suffered severely from the workings of treacherous revenge. At length, the affair was amicably settled by ransoming the two captives with four blankets. Still, notwithstanding these little outbreaks, Kakeskie, chief of the home guards, had been a good friend to the trade; and accordingly, though he was absent, yet I ordered that a present should be made to him, in my name, on his return.

The bighorn sheep and the mountain goat are very numerous in this neighbourhood. The latter has an outer coat of hair, not unlike that of the domestic variety of the species, and an inner coat of wool, beautifully white, soft, and silky. Instead of wool again, the bighorn has a thick covering of hair, pretty much

resembling that of the red deer; but, with the exception of this peculiarity, and with the exception also of the size of the horns, it is obviously the same animal as the domestic sheep.

After being detained at Taco from Wednesday afternoon to Saturday morning, by an uninterrupted storm of high wind and heavy rain, we started at daybreak, with about fifteen miles more of Stephen's Passage before us. Having accomplished this distance, we crossed the entrance of the Gulf of Taco, so called from its receiving the river of the same name. This stream, according to Mr. Douglas, who had ascended it for about thirty-five miles, pursued a serpentine course between stupendous mountains, which, with the exception of a few points of alluvial soil, rose abruptly from the water's edge with an uninviting surface of snow and ice. In spite of the rapidity of the current, the savages of the coast proceed about a hundred miles in canoes; and thence they trudge away on foot the same distance to an inland mart, where they drive a profitable business, as middlemen, with the neighbouring tribes. Besides facilitating this traffic, one of the best guarantees of peace, the establishment of our fort had done much to extinguish a branch of commerce of a very different tendency. Though some of the skins previously found their way from this neighbourhood to Sitka and Stikine, yet most of them used to be devoted to the purchasing of slaves from the Indians of Kygarnie and Hood's Bay.

We next passed the Douglas Island of Vancouver by the western passage, which was from two to four

miles in width; while the eastern passage, besides being still narrower, was generally obstructed by ice. Rounding the head of Admiralty Island, we descended Chatham Straits, along the back of the Sitka Archipelago, and thus passed, of course, the inner entrance of Cross Sound, the limit of the countless islands which commence at the Straits of Fuca. Opposite to the upper end of Admiralty Island is Lynn's Canal, the highest of the numerous inlets on this part of the coast. It receives a river, which the Indians ascend about fifty miles, to a valley running towards Mount Fairweather, and containing a large lake, which pours its waters into the open ocean at Admiralty Bay. The natives of this valley are called the Copper Indians, from the abundance of virgin copper in the neighbourhood.

On Douglas and Admiralty Islands we saw two villages of Anckes, under the command of rival chiefs. These branches of the same family had lately quarrelled about some trifle or other, and, after destroying ten or twelve on either side, had resolved again to live in friendship, as they might have lived from the beginning, without breaking each other's heads. Let the reader change the names, and he will have a pretty correct idea of the British and the Americans going to war about Oregon.

Though the weather was very fine during the earlier part of the day, yet it again returned to its fogs towards evening, so that, even with the assistance of Hanego Joe, we were obliged to anchor at the inner entrance of Peril Straits, where the tide rose and fell as much as two-and-twenty feet. The fog having dis-

persed next morning about six, we proceeded up Peril Straits, slackening our pace to half speed on reaching the narrower part of the passage, distinguished as Little Peril Straits; and soon after three in the afternoon we came in sight of the Russian American Company's establishment of New Archangel. We saw in the harbour five sailing vessels, ranging between two hundred and three hundred and fifty tons, besides a large barque in the offing in tow of a steamer, which proved to be the Alexander, from Ochotsk, bringing advices from Petersburg down to the end of April. Before we anchored, Captain Lindenberg came off to us, conveying Governor Etholine's compliments and welcome. Salutes being exchanged, Mr. Douglas and I soon afterwards landed, and were accompanied to his excellency's residence, situated on the top of a rock, by Captain Lindenberg and the captain of the port.

CHAPTER V.

FROM SITKA TO VANCOUVER.

Sitka—Trade—Fur-seals, &c.—Count Baronoff—Northern discovery—Departure from Sitka—Glaciers and floating ice—Fort Stikine—Fort Simpson—Indian fight about potatoes—Sebassamen—Fort McLoughlin—Gigantic seaweed—Newettees, names of chiefs—Quakeolth fleet—Native jealousy—Johnston's Straits—Dense fog—Catalogue of dangers and disasters—Abundance of herring spawn—Influence of white fist on savages—Nisqually—Captain Berkeley, Juan de Fuca, and Admiral Fonte—Steam, its physical and moral power—Condition of slaves—Rev. Mr. Demers—Arrival at Vancouver—A stranger—Vancouver—Willamette Settlement, position and condition—Civilization of natives.

Governor Etholine's residence consisted of a suite of apartments, communicating, according to the Russian fashion, with each other, all the public rooms being handsomely decorated and richly furnished. It commanded 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 the land and the water. Behind the bay, which forms the harbour, rise stupendous piles of conical mountains, with summits of everlasting snow. To seaward, Mount Edgecumbe, also in the form of a cone, rears its truncated peak, still remembered as the source of smoke and flame, of lava and ashes, but now known—so various

are the energies of nature—to be the repository of the accumulated snows of an age.

We returned to the steamer for the night. Next morning, Governor Etholine, in full uniform, came on board in his gig, manned by six oars and a coxswain, and was, of course, received with a salute. We accompanied him on shore, our vessel and the fort simultaneously exchanging, as it were, their noisy welcomes with each other; and we had now the honour of being introduced to Madame Etholine, a native of Helsingfors in Finland; so that this pretty and ladylike woman had come to this her secluded home from the farthest extremity of the empire.

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. We afterwards visited the schools, in which there were twenty boys and as many girls, principally half breeds; such of the children as were orphans were supported by the Company, and the others by their parents. The scholars appeared to be clean and healthy. The boys, on attaining the proper age, would be drafted into the service, more particularly into the nautical branch of the same; and the girls would, in due time, become their wives or the wives of others.

Nor did religion seem to be neglected at Sitka, any more than education. The Greek church had its bishop, with fifteen priests, deacons, and followers; and the Lutherans had their clergyman. Here, as in other parts of the empire, the ecclesiastics were all maintained by the Imperial Government without any expense, or at

least without any direct expense, to the Russian American Company.

The Lutherans were numerous beyond their just proportion with reference to the population of the empire at large. Most of the seamen and some of the labourers were from Finland; and, besides Madame Etholine, two other ladies, the wife of Lieutenant Bertram and her sister, were natives of that same province.

In addition to Sitka, which is the principal depôt of the Russian American Company, there is a smaller establishment of the same kind at Alaska, which supplies one post in Bristol Bay and three posts in Cook's Inlet, all the four being connected with subordinate stations in the interior; and there exists another depôt in Norton Sound, which has also its own inland dependencies. Beyond the limits of Russian America, properly so called, the Company has either permanent forts or flying parties in the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, over and above a chain of agencies, extending from Ochotsk to Petersburg, for the purposes of transporting goods and engaging servants.

The operations of the Company were becoming more extensive than they had previously been. Its exclusive license had been extended for a farther term of twenty years; the direction was about to be remodelled; and, generally, an improved order of things was in progress.

At the date of my visit, the returns of the trade were pretty nearly as follows:—

10,000 Fur Seals
1,000 Sea Otters
12,000 Beaver

2,500 Land Otters
——- Foxes, Martens, &c.
20,000 Sea-horse teeth.

Some twenty or thirty years ago, there was a most wasteful destruction of the fur-seal, when young and old, male and female, were indiscriminately knocked on the head. This improvidence, as every one might have expected, proved detrimental in two ways. The race was almost extirpated; and the market was glutted to such a degree, at the rate, for some time, of two hundred thousand skins a year, that the prices did not even pay the expenses of carriage. The Russians, however, have now adopted nearly the same plan which the Hudson's Bay Company pursues in recruiting any of its exhausted districts, killing only a limited number of such males as have attained their full growth—a plan peculiarly applicable to the fur-seal, inasmuch as its habits render the system of husbanding the stock as easy and certain as that of destroying it.

In the month of May, with something like the regularity of an almanack, the fur-seals make their appearance at the Island of St. Paul, one of the Aleutian group. Each old male brings a herd of females under his protection, varying in number according to his size and strength; the weaker brethren are obliged to content themselves with half-a-dozen wives, while some of the sturdier and fiercer fellows preside over harems that are two hundred strong. From the date of their arrival in May to that of their departure in October, the whole of them are principally ashore on the beach. The females go down to the sea once or twice a day, while

the male, morning, noon, and night, watches his charge with the utmost jealousy, postponing even the pleasures of eating, and drinking, and sleeping, to the duty of keeping his favourites together. If any young gallant venture by stealth to approach any senior chief's bevy of beauties, he generally atones for his imprudence with his life, being torn to pieces by the old fellow; and such of the fair ones as may have given the intruder any encouragement are pretty sure to catch it in the shape of some secondary punishment. The ladies are in the straw about a fortnight after they arrive at St. Paul's; about two or three weeks afterwards, they lay the single foundation, being all that is necessary, of next season's proceedings; and the remainder of their sojourn they devote exclusively to the rearing of their young. At last, the whole band departs, no one knows whither. The mode of capture is this. At the proper time, the whole are driven, like a flock of sheep, to the establishment, which is about a mile distant from the sea; and there the males of four years, with the exception of a few that are left to keep up the breed, are separated from the rest and killed. In the days of promiscuous massacre, such of the mothers as had lost their pups would ever and anon return to the establishment, absolutely harrowing up the sympathies of the wives and daughters of the hunters, accustomed as they were to such scenes, with their doleful lamentations.

The fur-seal attains the age of fifteen or twenty years, but not more. The females do not bring forth young till they are five years old. The hunters have frequently marked their ears each season; and many of

the animals have been notched in this way ten times, but very few of them oftener.

Under the present system, the fur-seals are increasing rapidly in number. Previously to its introduction, the annual hunts had dwindled down to three or four thousand. They have now gradually got up to thrice that amount; and they are likely soon to equal the full demand, not exceeding thirty thousand skins, of the Russian market.

Latterly, the sea-otters have again begun to be more numerous on the north-west coast, between latitude 60° and 65°, on the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, and on the shores of Kamschatka. To the south of the parallel of sixty degrees, they have become pretty nearly extinct. In California, in particular, where they were once extremely numerous, they were destroyed with unusual facility, inasmuch as they were generally found in the Bay of San Francisco and other inlets; whereas, to the northward, they delighted in the most exposed situations, so as to render the pursuit of them a service of danger. It was the lamented Cook, or rather his crews after his death, that introduced the sea-otter into the civilized world. Though, from 1780 to 1795, the British shared in the fur-trade which their countrymen had thus opened, yet, from the latter date to 1828, the Russians and the Americans between them monopolized nearly the whole of it. Since 1828, however, the Hudson's Bay Company came with energy to the coast; and now, while the Russians confine themselves to their own territory, not a single American is engaged in the branch of commerce in question.

Of land-otters, in addition to the produce of its own wildernesses, the Russian American Company purchases a considerable quantity from us; besides that, it receives two thousand skins a year as the rent of the strip of continent leased to us between the international boundary and Cross Sound.

The sea-horse teeth weigh, on an average, one pound each. As the animal produces only two, ten thousand head must be destroyed to produce the full tale of twenty thousand; and the whole of the slaughter, so far as the Company is concerned, must go to the account of ivory, for the carcases themselves are commercially of very little value.

The Company's hunters, who are chiefly Aleutians, are peaceful even to cowardice, being in great dread of the Indians of the coast, who are numerous, treacherous, and fierce. In fact, previously to the formation of the present establishment of New Archangel, the savages had, on one and the same day, destroyed two forts in this neighbourhood, and butchered the unfortunate garrisons, of twenty-five men each. At that time, the Company's principal depôt was at Kodiack, whence eight hundred of the pusillanimous Aleutians, together with a few Russians, were sent to punish these outrages; but the expedition, as any one might have expected, proved abortive, and returned without spilling human blood. Soon afterwards, Count Baranoff, who was then at the head of the Company's affairs in this quarter, proceeded with three vessels and a large body of people to form the depôt of Sitka. Protected by a breastwork, the natives repulsed the Russians as

often as they attempted to carry the fortification by storm; but, in spite of all their skill and bravery, they sustained much loss of life under the heavy fire of the ships, consequently evacuating their position by night, and accepting an honourable peace.

Immediately under the guns of the fort, there is a village of Sitkaguouays, or people of Sitka, who are a subdivision of the great tribe of the Thlinkitts. These Sitkaguouays are the most wretched Indians in appearance that I have ever seen, being bedaubed with filth and paint, and covered with the scars of syphilis; and, to make matters worse, at least with respect to the fair sex, the loathsome lip-piece is here in almost universal use.

In trading with the Indians, the Russians, as I have already had occasion to mention, use spirituous liquors, our neighbouring posts being obliged, as a matter of course, to employ the same pernicious medium of traffic. Knowing the mischiefs that ensued at our own establishments, and having reason to believe that more fatal results occurred at Sitka, I suggested to Governor Etholine, who promptly acceded to the proposal, that, on or before the last day of the year 1843, both companies should entirely abandon the practice of trading with the savages in spirituous liquors. An earlier limit would have been fixed, had not Governor Etholine and myself thought that the establishments would meanwhile require to be strengthened, in order to provide against the possibility of any consequent outrages among the involuntary "teetotallers" of the coast. Such was our arrangement; but, during my second visit, which took

place in the ensuing spring, a scene presented itself which led, as hereinafter described, to an immediate and unconditional stoppage of rum and all its kindred.

The good folks of New Archangel appear to live well. The surrounding country abounds in the chevreuil, the finest meat that I ever ate, with the single exception of moose; while halibut, cod, herrings, flounders, and many other sorts of fish, are always to be had for the taking, in unlimited quantities. In a little stream, which is within a mile of the fort, salmon are so plentiful at the proper season, that, when ascending the river, they have been known literally to embarrass the movements of a canoe. About a hundred thousand of the last-mentioned fish, equivalent to fifteen hundred barrels, are annually salted for the use of the establishment; they are so inferior, however, in richness and flavour, to such as are caught farther to the southward, that they are not adapted for exportation.

I visited the Alexander with some degree of interest, as being the vessel in which I was to sail to Ochotsk next summer, and found that her accommodations for officers, crew, and passengers, were superior to those of any merchantman that I had ever seen. On this voyage I was to have the honour, though in this I was afterwards disappointed, of being accompanied by a Russian princess of talents and accomplishments, the wife of M. Ratscheff, the gentleman in charge of Bodega, in California. When I came to see and feel the roads of Siberia, whether in the saddle or on wheels, I could not but marvel that delicately bred females could endure so much of pain and fatigue.

While at Sitka, I took a bath, which might be a very good thing for those that liked it. On entering the building, I was much oppressed with the steam and heat, while an ill-looking, long-legged, stark-naked fellow was waiting to officiate, as master of the ceremonies. Having undressed in an antechamber, so far as decency would permit, I made my way into the bath-room, which was heated almost to suffocation. Having thus got me into his power, the gaunt attendant threw some water on the iron furnace, while, to avoid, as far as possible, the clouds of steam that were thus raised, I squatted myself down on the floor, perspiring profusely at every pore. I next seated myself on a bench, while bucket after bucket of hot water was thrown on my head; and then, making me stretch myself out, my tormentor soaped me all over, from head to foot, rubbing and lathering me with a handful of pine-tops. Once more taking his bucket, the horrid operator kept drenching me, the successive pailfuls descending gradually from nearly a boiling heat to the temperature of fifty degrees. The whole process occupied about an hour. I then returned to the antechamber, where, after being dried with hot towels, I was very glad to put on dry clothes. It was impossible, however, to make my escape immediately, for I was so relaxed as to be obliged to recline on a sofa for a quarter of an hour; and then I withdrew, inwardly resolved never again to undergo such another castigation.

During our stay at Sitka, we slept on board, but spent the day ashore. At dinner, Governor Etholine generally assembled nearly all his officers, to the number

of about sixteen. Amongst them, I met a half-breed native of the country, who had been leader of an expedition, equipped some years ago, by the Russian American Company, for the discovery of what would be here styled the north-east passage. The party consisted of two divisions, the one advancing by sea and the other by land. The Russians reached Point Barrow shortly after Mr. Thomas Simpson had reached the same spot from the opposite direction, and learned that my lamented relative had unconsciously escaped in time from the natives who were assembling for the purpose of destroying him. The Russians themselves had also made a precipitate retreat, partly through the fear of the hostility of the savages, and partly through the dread of the smallpox, which had just begun to rage among them.

Nor has the Hudson's Bay Company, as all the world knows, been backward in the cause of geography any more than the Russian American Association. It was in its service that Lieutenant Hearne commenced the career of northern discovery, by penetrating to the mouth of the Coppermine, through untrodden wildernesses, with a courage approaching to heroism; it was in its service that Messrs. Dease and Simpson, by advancing in one season from the McKenzie to Point Barrow, and in another from the Coppermine to Boothia Felix, achieved more than all their modern predecessors put together; and in its service, also, before these pages see the light, a young man of talent and energy, Dr. John Rae, will be exploring the hitherto unknown coast from the Straits of the Fury and Hecla to the

eastern limit of the surveys of my lamented relative and his colleague.

During our four days at Sitka, with the exception of part of a day, there was one continued fall of rain; and, in fact, since we reached Taco, we had had almost constant wet—a remarkable contrast to the generally fine weather which we had enjoyed from Montreal upwards.

Having taken leave of our kind friends on the previous evening, we weighed anchor about five in the morning of the 30th of September, but were obliged to bring up for the night about half past three in the afternoon in Lindenberg's Harbour.

In the morning, when we got under way, the weather was cold and squally, while a little snow, that fell in the night, had partially whitened the green ice that filled the ravines of the mountains; and the channels were traversed by many restless masses which had broken off from the glaciers. In short, nothing could exceed the dreariness of this inhospitable coast. To make matters still worse for some of us, a tumbling sea deranged the stomachs of our landsmen. Having passed through Chatham Straits, we anchored for the night at Point Rowand, in Prince Frederick's Sound.

Next day, after grounding slightly on a mud bank in Wrangell's Straits, we reached Stikine at three in the afternoon, where we were delighted to find our fellow-traveller, Mr. Rowand, pretty nearly recovered from his serious illness. Most of the Indians had gone to the interior; of the chiefs, Shakes was absent on a hunting excursion, and Quatkay was in search of six runaway slaves.

Fourteen or fifteen of the men of the establishment asked permission to take native wives; and leave to accept the worthless bargains was granted to all such as had the means of supporting a family. These matrimonial connections are a heavy tax on a post, in consequence of the increased demand for provisions, but form, at the same time, a useful link between the traders and the savages.

We here experienced a singular instance of the pilfering disposition of the natives. Some of them had been employed to carry wood and water on board; and one fellow, doubtless thinking that a thing, for which he had been paid, must be worth stealing, paddled off after dusk with a load of fuel.

Before starting in the morning, we nearly lost a man through the apparent indifference of others. A Sandwich Islander fell overboard, but, being deemed amphibious, attracted hardly any notice. The poor fellow, however, proved not to be in swimming trim. Besides that the temperature of the water was very different from that in which he had been accustomed, he was encumbered with boots, great coat, &c.; and, in consequence, he was saved only when he was at his last gasp.

Having again taken Mr. Rowand on board, we reached Fort Simpson at seven in the morning of the second day thereafter. Before landing, we passed three canoes under sail, one of them containing full twenty people; and in another we recognised Quatkay of Stikine, who had been searching, as already mentioned, for his runaway slaves. Though the little squadron luffed, yet we had no time for giving or receiving news. On entering

the establishment, we learned that a fight among the savages had occurred during our absence. A Chimseean had purchased some potatoes from a Queen Charlotte Islander, who, on second thoughts, refused to fulfil his contract, being probably of opinion that the article would rise in the market. This breach of agreement provoked a blow from the disappointed purchaser, who immediately fell under the knives of the faithless seller and his countrymen. The vulgar transaction thus became a point of honour to two nations; and, after the belligerent powers had counted four killed, and many more wounded, a peace was negociated by Mr. Work, leaving, according to the civilized custom in the generality of such cases, the grand question of potatoes bargained and sold precisely as it stood. Besides quarrelling with each other, these wild men occasionally display towards us their fearfully low estimate of human life. One of them, having recently attempted to steal something from the blacksmith's shop, was then and there chastised by the son of Vulcan; and though the chief, who had thus been affronted in the person of his vassal, did not dare to attack the fort, yet he proposed that Mr. Work should kill the blacksmith, while he himself, as if to make up for the difference between the offence and the punishment, would sacrifice a slave to our man's manes.

Starting at half past five next morning, we anchored for the night in a cove in Grenville Canal. This delay was entirely owing to the miserably thick weather; for, with a clear atmosphere, we could have run in the dark, inasmuch as the channel presented deep water and bold

shores. In the vicinity of our anchorage was a village of Sebassamen, a numerous tribe, which was said to consist, in a great measure, of runaway slaves, whom the chief, like another Romulus, always received with open arms; and, if he should continue this policy, he would be not unlikely to render his village the Rome of the adjacent coasts.

In passing, next day, through Grenville Canal, we saw some beautiful waterfalls, which had been greatly increased by the late heavy rains, tumbling down the sides of the mountains, where they found so little soil, that they carried their foam to the sea just as pure as they had received it from the clouds. We anchored within sight of Millbank Sound.

About eight in the morning, we reached Fort McLoughlin, where we remained during the rest of the day. The murderer of François Richard was still walking about as audaciously as ever. Like every other criminal of the same class that I had seen among Indians, this fellow, Tsoquayou by name, was so smooth, placid, and mild in his manner, as almost to belie his guilt. He was, as already mentioned, soon to be removed for ever from his own people, as a commutation of the capital punishment which he so richly deserved.

We were glad here to bid farewell to the odious lip-piece, which would render the most lovely face on earth an object of disgust. In one respect, too, this ornament is as inconvenient to the wearers as it is offensive to the spectators. When the ladies fair come to blows, as they always do when drunk, and sometimes when sober, each pounces on her antagonist's lower lip as at once

being the most vulnerable region, and furnishing the best hold; and, at the close of a fray, the whole college of surgeons are sure to be busily engaged in doctoring lips and replacing lip-pieces.

Leaving Fort McLoughlin next morning, we were obliged, by four in the afternoon, to take refuge for the night in Safety Cove, on Calvert's Island, by reason of our being unable to reach any other known shelter with daylight. After anchoring, I amused myself, as was my custom, by fishing, my ordinary prey being halibut, rock-cod, flounders, &c. In this neighbourhood I noticed what was to me a very remarkable phenomenon, a sea-weed growing to the surface from a depth of thirty or forty fathoms.

Next day, after being once driven back to Calvert's Island, we succeeded, on a second attempt, in crossing the grand traverse, already mentioned as the only exposed part of the coast, to Shushady Harbour in Vancouver's Island. As the swell of the ocean was here met by a high wind from the shore, no fewer than ten of our crew and passengers were laid up with sea-sickness. During the squalls, the paddles made seventeen revolutions in a minute; but, during the lulls, they accomplished twenty-two. The proportions of actual speed, however, were very different—two or three miles an hour in the one case, and six or seven in the other.

The northern end of Vancouver's Island would be an excellent position for the collecting and curing of salmon, which, being incredibly numerous in these waters, might easily be rendered one of the most im-

portant articles of trade in this country. The neighbouring Newettees, a brave and friendly tribe, would be valuable auxiliaries, not only in aiding the essential operations of the establishment, but also in furnishing supplies of venison. As a proof of their industry, they brought to us, in the evening, some wood that they had themselves cut for us during our absence. By the by, it was the principal chief of this tribe that made the long speech about his axe against the ship with the big guns. He himself has taken the fashionable name of Looking Glass; his second in command is appropriately distinguished as Killum; and the third, an old fellow of sturdy form and facetious countenance, glories in being Shell Fish. In one respect, the last-mentioned grandee resembles the Wandering Jew, having, as I was told, undergone no change in appearance during the last twenty years.

In spite of the deluges of rain that fell during the night and morning, our wooding and watering were completed, the ladies lending their assistance while the gentlemen were engaged in trading. A little after sunset, we anchored in front of a village of Quakeolths. We were soon visited by twelve or fifteen canoes, in one of which we noticed the indiscriminate admirer of the fair sex, who had been our fellow-passenger for a little distance on our upward voyage. The favour which was granted to him had since then involved him in a deal of trouble. After getting rid of the amorous old fellow, we had passed a village of Comoucs without stopping; and these people, giving our Quakeolth friend the credit of having suggested the slight, took their revenge by

murdering three of his slaves. As the insulted potentate could not let matters rest here, he had now a large party of his thralls prowling about for an opportunity of retaliation, assuring us that nothing less than the assassination of two slaves for one would satisfy him, unless, indeed, the aggressors should come forward with a handsome offer of sea-otters in the way of expiation.

At the request of the chief, we consented to remain till next day, for the purpose of trading. Before the fleet left us, the female mariners, whether from inquisitiveness or acquisitiveness, or any other motive, expressed a strong desire to come on board, and were by no means pleased with Ma-ta-hell's unqualified rejection of their proposal.

Before daybreak, the vessel was surrounded by about fifty canoes, whose fair inmates were as affable as if they had not been affronted the night before. After a great deal of noise and negociation, we procured a small quantity of inferior furs, blankets being, as usual, the grand equivalent. The Quakeolths, as well as the Newettees, had long been anxious that we should form a permanent establishment among them. But the mysterious steamer, against which neither calms nor contrary winds were any security, possessed, in our estimation, this advantage over stationary forts, that, besides being as convenient for the purposes of trade, she was the terror, whether present or absent, of every tribe on the coast.

Starting at two in the afternoon, we were soon obliged, in consequence of the distance of any other harbour, to anchor for the night in a small bay, into which a pretty

stream emptied itself. The wooding and watering, as usual, commenced, while, by way of varying the evening's amusements, we ourselves made an unsuccessful attack on the ducks and plovers.

Next morning, we passed two or three canoes without stopping, merely throwing them out some pieces of tobacco attached to billets of wood. About three in the afternoon, we entered the whirlpools of Johnston's Straits, the water being tolerably smooth, and had got down nearly abreast of Point Mudge, when we became enveloped in a fog, which in density surpassed anything of the kind that I ever saw out of London. Under these circumstances, to advance along a channel of only two miles in width was impossible; and accordingly, slackening the speed of the engine, we endeavoured to grope our way out of the strength of the current to an anchorage on the shore of Vancouver's Island. After a few casts of the lead without finding bottom, we soon got into twelve, eleven, ten, and eight fathoms; and, thinking that we were now quite near enough, we backed out again, and dropped the small bower in eighteen fathoms. We then dragged over a rocky bottom, paying out gradually seventy-five fathoms, while the tide was running up from twelve to fourteen knots an hour; and at last we dropped the best bower, which jerked over the ground to such a degree as to endanger the windlass. About half past six, the best bower held with its chain as stiff as a bar, whereas, the small bower, of which the chain was slack, was supposed to be broken or parted. We now plucked up courage to take tea, supposing ourselves secure for the night; but about

nine, the vessel again began to drag for an hour or so, till the tide slackened. Immediately on stopping, we attempted to heave in the small bower, without, however, being able to raise a single link. About eleven at night, we repeated the effort; and, after fifty minutes of hard labour, we got hold of our small bower, all dislocated and shattered.

Next day, about noon, we dragged again over sand, running out into the gulf with the ebb tide. Soon afterwards, our sand was succeeded by rock, when we felt a jerk, which made us all suppose that the vessel had struck. The cause of the shock was soon suspected. Down to this time, the anchor, as it scraped and thumped against the bottom, had been very distinctly heard from the poop, as if it was astern instead of being five hundred feet ahead; but now we discerned nothing but the clanking of the chain, as it rattled along the inequalities of the ground. In a word, we had every reason to believe that we had lost our best bower. About three in the afternoon, in consequence of our having drifted into deep water, the chain was no longer heard any more than the anchor. About four, we caught a glimpse of land, supposed to be Point Mudge, while we were reeling wildly out into the gulf, the mere sport of the whirlpools. About six in the evening, the wind, shifting from north-east to south-east, dispersed the fog; and, after our poor fellows had been toiling at the windlass for nearly an hour and a half, they verified our fears, by bringing up the chain without the anchor, leaving us in no enviable condition at this boisterous season. Getting up the steam, we hoped to reach the

anchorage between Sangster's and Feveda Islands, with the view of procuring a new stock for our small bower; but our south-easter soon began to blow so hard as to make us bear away for Beware Harbour, at the north end of Feveda; and there we rendered ourselves as snug as possible for the night, by dropping our small bower with some temporary repairs, and our stream and kedge lashed together.

We had passed a most anxious time of it, driving helplessly, as we were, in the midst of impenetrable darkness, with a current almost equalling the speed of a racer, with a bottom where no tackle could find holding ground, and with a coast where a touch would have knocked the stoutest ship to pieces. Nor was man likely to be more hospitable than nature. Even if we had survived the perils of shipwreck, we should have had to enter on a fearful struggle for our lives with savages, whose cruelty had never yet acknowledged any check but that of power and force.

To give an idea of the strength of the current, no bottom at times could be found with two deep-sea lead lines fastened together, even when the actual depth did not exceed thirty or forty fathoms.

The bay in which we were anchored was said to be famous for the abundance of its herring spawn. The native mode of collecting it, is to lay pines on the beach at low water, where, after the next flood has retired, they are found to be covered with the substance in question to the thickness of an inch. When dry, the spawn is rubbed off with the hand into large boxes for future use. Previously to being eaten, it is washed in

fresh water, in order to remove the taste of the pine; and it is then eaten, in the form of cakes, with flesh, fish, or fowl.

Next day, a chief and ten of his people were caught in the act of thieving from the wood-cutters, and were forthwith thrashed by the sufferers. However expert the Indians may be at the knife, or the spear, or the gun, they are invariably taken aback by a white fist on their noses, or, as it is technically termed, by a muzzler. Even the Blackfoot, one of the most ferocious specimens of the race, is so much astonished at that homely and simple style of fighting, that, when struck, he places his hands on the part affected, instead of pitching them into his assailant's carcase.

On the second day thereafter, being Sunday, the 17th of October, we had a beautiful run, with smooth water and fine weather. We passed close along Whidbey's Island, being about forty miles long. It is well fitted for settlement and cultivation. The soil is good, the timber is excellent, and there are several open plains, which have been prepared by nature for the plough. We anchored for the evening about five miles to the south of this island; and, by making a very early move, we breakfasted ashore at Nisqually, about five in the morning.

Thus had I twice traversed the most extraordinary course of inland navigation in the world. The first that opened its mysteries in more modern times was Captain Berkeley, an Englishman sailing under the Portuguese flag. There is reason, however, for believing that, in a comparatively remote age, Berkeley

had been anticipated by Spanish navigators. Juan de Fuca discovered the strait which bears his name; and Admiral Fonte penetrated up some of the more northerly inlets. Though both these explorers mingled a vast deal of fable with the truth, pretending to have made their way right through to the Atlantic Ocean, yet they clearly ascertained the general character of the coast to the extent just stated.

According to the whole tenour of my journal, this labyrinth of waters is peculiarly adapted for the powers of steam. In the case of a sailing vessel, our delays and dangers would have been tripled and quadrupled—a circumstance which raised my estimate of Vancouver's skill and perseverance at every step of my progress. But, independently of physical advantages, steam, as I have already mentioned, may be said to exert an almost superstitious influence over the savages; besides acting without intermission on their fears, it has, in a great measure, subdued their very love of robbery and violence. In a word, it has inspired the red man with a new opinion—new not in degree but in kind—of the superiority of his white brother.

After the arrival of the emigrants from Red River, their guide, a Cree of the name of Bras Croche, took a short trip in the Beaver. When asked what he thought of her—"Don't ask me," was his reply: "I cannôt speak; my friends will say that I tell lies when I let them know what I have seen; Indians are fools and know nothing; I can see that the iron machinery makes the ship to go, but I cannot see what makes the iron machinery itself to go." Bras Croche, though very

intelligent, and, like all the Crees, partially civilized, was nevertheless so full of doubt and wonder, that he would not leave the vessel till he got a certificate to the effect, that he had been on board of a ship which needed neither sails nor paddlers. Though not one of his countrymen would understand a word of what was written, yet the most sceptical among them would not dare to question the truth of a story which had a document in its favour. A savage stands nearly as much in awe of paper, pen, and ink, as of steam itself; and, if he once puts his cross to any writing, he has rarely been known to violate the engagement which such writing is supposed to embody or to sanction. To him the very look of black and white is a powerful "medicine."

Before leaving Nisqually, let me still farther illustrate the character of the tribes of the north-west coast by a summary sketch of the condition of their slaves. These thralls are just as much the property of their masters as so many dogs, with this difference against them, that a man of cruelty and ferocity enjoys a more exquisite pleasure in tasking, or starving, or torturing, or killing a fellow-creature, than in treating any one of the lower animals in a similar way. Even in the most inclement weather, a mat or a piece of deer-skin is the slave's only clothing, whether by day or by night, whether under cover or in the open air. To eat without permission, in the very midst of an abundance which his toil has procured, is as much as his miserable life is worth; and the only permission which is ever vouchsafed to him, is to pick up the offal thrown out by his

unfeeling and imperious lord. Whether in open war or in secret assassination, this cold and hungry wretch invariably occupies the post of danger.

But all this is nothing, when compared with the purely wanton atrocities to which these most helpless and pitiable children of the human race are subjected. They are beaten, lacerated, and maimed—the mutilating of fingers or toes, the splitting of noses, the scooping out of eyes, being ordinary occurrences. They are butchered—without the excuse or the excitement of a gladiatorial combat—to make holidays; and, as if to carry persecution beyond the point at which the wicked are said to cease from troubling, their corpses are often cast into the sea, to be washed out and in by the tide. To show how diabolically ingenious the masters are in the work of murder, six slaves, on the occasion of a late merry-making at Sitka, were placed in a row, with their throats over a sharp ridge of a rock, while a pole, loaded with a chuckling demon at either end, ground away at the backs of their necks till life was extinct. What a proof of the degrading influence of oppression, that men should submit in life to treatment, from which the black bondmen of Cuba or Brazil would be glad to escape by suicide!

To return to my narrative: we almost immediately departed from Nisqually in the steamer for the Chutes River, about five miles farther up Puget Sound, having despatched a band of horses to meet us there. At the Chutes, which give name to the stream, the fall is about twenty feet, where grist and saw-mills might be erected with great advantage.

Next day we reached the Cowlitz Farm, where, on the following morning, the Rev. Mr. Demers, of the Roman Catholic church, breakfasted with us. He had just returned from visiting the country situated between Nisqually and Frazer's River. At Fort Langley he had seen upwards of three thousand inhabitants of Vancouver's Island, who had been fishing during the summer in the stream just mentioned. Everywhere the natives received him with the greatest respect. They had, however, been very much puzzled with regard to the sex of their visitor. From his dress they took him for a woman, but from his beard for a man; but, feeling that such inconsistencies could not both be true, they pursued a middle course, by referring him to a distinct species.

About noon we embarked in a bateau on the Cowlitz, and encamped about eight in the evening at its mouth, where we met Mr. Steel, the principal shepherd of the Puget Sound Company, driving a flock of rams to Nisqually.

By two in the morning we were again on the water, and with the first dawn descried the Hudson's Bay Company's barque Columbia, which was returning, like ourselves, from the north-west coast, beating her way up the stream. Having overtaken her near the lower branch of the Willamette, we boarded her in time for breakfast, to the satisfaction of all parties; and, as a specimen of the delays and difficulties of this intricate river, we learned that, in addition to her usual share of detention at its mouth, she had already been a fortnight within the bar. After doing ample justice to

the ship's good things, we again shot ahead as far as the Cattlepootle River; and, having there gladly exchanged the bateau for horses, we enjoyed an exhilarating ride across a succession of luxuriant prairies, which are better adapted for pasturage than tillage, being periodically flooded by the high waters of the month of July. Ten or twelve miles of this beautiful country brought us, by four in the afternoon, to Fort Vancouver, where we found that the intermittent fever, which had been raging at our departure, had lost much of its virulence during our northern trip.

Hardly had the Columbia reached Vancouver, when the Cowlitz, which had made a voyage to the Sandwich Islands and California, was reported to be off the bar; and soon afterwards her papers came up by boat from Fort George, along with a passenger of the name of De Mofras, who represented himself, for he had no credentials, as an *attaché* of the French embassy in Mexico. Though this gentleman professed to be collecting information for the purpose of making a book, yet, with the exception of accompanying us to the Willamette, he scarcely went ten miles from the comfortable quarters of Fort Vancouver, while, in conversation, he was more ready to dilate on his own equestrian feats, than to hear what others might be able to tell him about the country or the people.

Fort Vancouver, the Company's grand depôt on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, is situated about ninety miles from the sea, the Columbia, in front of it, being about one mile in width. Within an oblong enclosure of upwards of six hundred feet by two hundred,

which is surrounded by pickets, there are contained several houses, stores, magazines, granaries, workshops, &c.; while the dwellings of the servants, the stables, the hospital, &c., form a little village on the outside of the walls.

The people of the establishment, besides officers and native labourers, vary in number, according to the season of the year, from a hundred and thirty to more than two hundred. They consist of Canadians, Sandwich Islanders, Europeans, and half-breeds; and they contain among them agriculturists, voyageurs, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, shoemakers, &c., &c. Their weekly rations are usually twenty-one pounds of salted salmon and one bushel of potatoes, for each man; and, in addition to fish, there are also venison and wild fowl, with occasionally a little beef and pork.

Most of the men are married to aboriginal or half-breed women; and the swarms of children in the little village already mentioned present a strongly suggestive contrast with the scantiness of the rising generation in almost every native village on the Lower Columbia.

Amid so large a population, the surgeon of the establishment finds ample employment; to the hospital already mentioned the most serious cases are removed, seldom exceeding eight or ten in number, and generally consisting of fevers, fractures, and neglected syphilis.

There is an elementary school for the children of both sexes. Though at present there is no clergyman at Vancouver, yet divine service is regularly performed every Sunday in English to the Protestants, and in

French to the Catholics. The same chapel—a building, by the by, unworthy of the establishment—served both purposes at the time of our visit; but separate places of worship were about to be erected for the two denominations.

The farm of Fort Vancouver contains upwards of twelve hundred acres under cultivation, which have this year produced four thousand bushels of wheat, three thousand five hundred of barley, oats, and peas, and a very large quantity of potatoes and other vegetables. The wheat, which has yielded ten returns, is of very fine quality, weighing from sixty-five to sixty-eight pounds and a half a bushel. There are, moreover, fifteen hundred sheep, and between four and five hundred head of cattle.

During my sojourn at Vancouver, I made a short excursion to the rapidly rising settlement on the Willamette. This nucleus of civilization is perhaps more completely isolated than even the colony of Red River. From the inhabited parts of the United States it is separated by deserts of rock and sand on either side of the dividing range of mountains—deserts, with whose horrors every reader of Washington Irving's "Astoria" is familiar; or, if the maritime route be preferred, the voyage from New York to the Columbia occupies about two hundred degrees of latitude, and, by the actual course, about a hundred and fifty of longitude; while the navigation of the river itself, up to the mouth of the Willamette, including the detention before crossing the bar, amounts, on an average, to far more than the run of a sailing packet across the Atlantic. Again, to look

in the direction of California—a direction, by the by, in which the Willamette settlement is more likely to send forth adventurers than to receive them—the country, if less barren than that to the eastward, is far more rugged. With respect, moreover, to the savage tribes, the former track is more dangerous than the latter, though certainly less dangerous than once it was. It was, in fact, on this southern route that the massacre of twenty-one Americans on the Umqua, already mentioned in a general way, took place. A trapper of the name of Smith, a remarkably shrewd and intelligent man, had encamped on the left bank of the last-mentioned river with twenty followers, and had ascended the stream in a canoe with two companions of his own party and a native of the neighbourhood, to find a convenient place for crossing. On his return, his Indian was hailed by another from the shore, who spoke to him in his own language, which was unknown alike to Smith and to his people. A sufficiently intelligible interpretation, however, soon followed; for Smith's savage upset the conoe by a jerk, thereby pitching the guns of the white men, as well as the white men themselves, into the current. Under a heavy fire, Smith and one of his men found their way to the bank, the other man having fallen a victim either to the enemy's shot, or to the depths of the Umqua. On reaching the banks of the river opposite to his camp, the trapper found his men murdered, and all his property rifled. Smith, after encountering many dangers, and enduring many hardships, reached one of our forts; and, at great inconvenience to our own business, we compelled the

savages, by a demonstration of force, to surrender to him their booty.

To return to the settlement on the Willamette: the river in question may be ascended by any such vessel as can navigate the Columbia, to its falls, which are about sixteen miles from its mouth, while farther up it is not subject to any obstacle or interruption capable of impeding inland craft. The neighbourhood of the falls, as being the only portage between the sea and the fertile valley above, has since then become the site of what is called Oregon City.

The settlement, to refer exclusively to the time of my visit, extends from the falls for a considerable distance up both banks of the stream, containing about a hundred and twenty farms, varying in size from a hundred to five hundred acres each. The produce of this season has been about thirty-five thousand bushels of excellent wheat, with due proportions of oats, barley, peas, potatoes, &c. The cattle are three thousand, the horses two thousand five hundred, and the hogs an indefinite multitude.

This settlement was formed about ten years ago, under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company, as a retreat for its retiring servants. Of these, who are principally Canadians, there are now sixty, with their half-breed families; there are, moreover, sixty-five new settlers from the United States, most of them with wives and children. The whole population, therefore, amounts to about five hundred souls, besides about a thousand natives of all ages, who have been domesticated as agricultural servants. In connexion with this settle-

ment, or rather in the anticipation of establishing it, the Hudson's Bay Company took possession of the ground near the falls as far back as 1828.

Even now, when the American citizens have outnumbered the British subjects, the Willamette settlement is, in a great measure, dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company. Of the wheat we have this season bought four thousand bushels; and from us almost every settler receives his supplies of imported goods, at prices not much higher than those paid by our own servants.

We rode over a great part of the settlement, visiting many of the colonists, by whom we were very kindly received. They all appear to be comfortably lodged, with abundance of provisions; and, if not rich, they are at least independent. This colony, if colony it can be called, in the absence of any political relation with a mother country, will doubtless rapidly rise in importance, and soon be enabled to supply a large quantity of wheat, hides, and tallow, for exportation to a foreign market.

Between the valley of the Willamette and the sea lie the Falatine Plains, an extensive district of rich pasture; while again, towards the interior, to the eastward of the agricultural settlement, a land of hill and dale presents one of the finest tracts for grazing within the same parallels in the world. Throughout the whole country, cattle may find food for themselves all the year round, the expense and labour of housing the animals and of furnishing them with fodder being thus saved. What an advantage over the frosts and snows on the east

side of the Rocky Mountains! But perhaps the most agreeable feature in the case is the prospect which it holds out with respect to the civilization of the Indians. Savages, accustomed, as they necessarily are, to pursuits in which the reward immediately follows the toil, may be said to have an inherent distaste for the slow returns of agriculture; and even pastoral life is more than they can bear, provided it involve the necessity, as in the Hudson Bay Company's territories, of hard labour in the hottest season, and of incessant care in the coldest. But, on the west side of the mountains, the aborigines may have all the pleasure of property—without which there can be no civilization—and hardly any of its cares.

In this matter, there is the greater room for hope, inasmuch as savages, having but few internal influences to guide them, are peculiarly the creatures of external circumstances — so far, at least, as their constitutional indolence does not stand in the way. Thus the character of the gregarious horsemen of the plains is different from that of the solitary prowler of the woods; and that again is different from the character of those who exclusively or principally draw their living from the waters. So unerring is this principle, that, from external circumstances alone, an intelligent man may generally ascertain, within certain limits, the habits and dispositions of a tribe. But experience, by changing circumstances and character together, has placed the point beyond dispute. The Sarcees, now inhabiting the banks of Bow River, were originally Chipewyans from Athabasca; and they resemble rather the Blackfeet

than their own original stock. Again, the Crees, on migrating from the bush into the plains, exchanged the characteristics of their race for those of the tribes among which their southerly advance placed them. Lastly, the Chipewyans, as a body, having occupied much of the ground which the Crees had abandoned, form, as it were, an intermediate link between what they themselves have lately been, and what their descendants, the Sarcees, now are.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM VANCOUVER TO SAN FRANCISCO.

Departure from Vancouver—Boating down the Columbia—Embarkation on board of the Cowlitz, the grand epoch of my journey—Damage from lightning—Bar of the Columbia—Discovery of Columbia; comparative merits of Heceta, Meares, and Gray — Disputed territory, claims of United States — Christmas Day, home and abroad — Whales—Cape Mendocino — New Albion and California — Bodega and Ross, Russian American Company, Russian Sovereignty—Russian discoveries—Russia and England — Sir Francis Drake, past and present — First glance of California—Port of San Francisco, discovered by land—Upper California, motives for colonizing it—San Francisco, entrance of harbour—Presidios —Siege of a mud kitchen — General description of harbour — Russians and English, compared with Californians—Yerba Buena.

Towards the close of November, the two barques dropped down the river: first, the Columbia, bound for England; and then the Cowlitz, destined to convey me to California, the Sandwich Islands, and Sitka. In the latter were Mr. Hales, of the American exploring squadron, Mr. de Mofras, and Mrs. Rae and family, all passengers for California, while my own immediate party remained behind at Vancouver, to make the most of our time while the vessel should be creeping along to the lowest point for safe embarkation.

Accordingly, on the last day of the month, we left the fort about three in the afternoon, with a boat and ten

men. As the rain was pouring in torrents, we made very little progress, so that it was dark before we were abreast of the upper branch of the Willamette, opposite to which we encamped, on the right bank of the Columbia, paying pretty well for very indifferent accommodation. This portion of the river presents nothing but swampy tracts in every direction, the ancient and most probably the perpetual freehold of millions of wild fowl of every name; and no sooner had they ascertained the presence of squatters from our watch-fires, than they set up a serenade of several miles in diameter, in which their treble appeared to become shriller by practice. Sleep was, of course, almost out of the question, our only consolation being that each of us, for his own share, kept at least some myriads of the enemy out of bed; and, though the weather had not by any means improved during the night, yet we were glad enough by four in the morning to give our tormentors the slip.

After passing the Cowlitz River and the Coffin Rock, we reached Oak Point about two in the afternoon. As a gale was now beginning to rise, besides that we were ourselves wet and chilly, we determined at once to make for an eligible encampment, which was known to be at no great distance below us; but so much were we impeded by the rain and wind, that we were overtaken by the night before reaching the desired spot, and were about to return to the Indian village of Oak Point, when a heavy squall, in which hail and rain took the pelting of us by turns, suddenly burst upon us, nearly swamping our clumsy craft. In spite of the pitchy darkness, and of the probability of our being unable to land, we had

no other choice than to run ashore from the storm, and to let the boat's head take its chance among the bushes. Fortunately, we got footing, and, after literally groping our way, were delighted to discover room for one tent; and when, after two hours, the wet wood was coaxed into a tolerable blaze, we contrived to find space for the other also. We could now have slept well, more particularly after the sleeplessness of the previous night; but, besides worrying ourselves with the possibility that the tide might rise upon us, we were kept awake by a concert more horrible than that of the denizens of the bog—the crash of trees falling around us before the violence of the storm. Moreover, the tempest, without abating its fury in any respect, embodied fresh elements of terror and mischief. For the first time since we crossed the mountains we were visited by thunder and lightning, which on this coast are in season only during winter; and, to crown the climax, we felt, or fancied, a slight shock of an earthquake. In this state of affairs, we durst not budge before daylight; and on starting, about six in the morning, we were mortified to find that we had stopped short of McKenzie's encampment, the object of our yesterday's search, by only three or four hundred yards.

The river was absolutely covered with swans, pelicans, geese, cranes, loons, ducks, cormorants, eagles, gulls, &c. — the swans, in particular, presenting themselves in flights of a hundred, or even two hundred at a time. These birds inhabit numerous bushy islands, which appear to have been originally formed by accumulations of driftwood, and which, being regularly flooded at

high tide, are still almost as amphibious as most of their tenants.

We breakfasted on the site of what had once been a native village, one of those sad monuments of a perishing race which are of so frequent occurrence on the Lower Columbia, and thence made a traverse to Tongue Point, on the left bank of the river, amid a succession of squalls, accompanied by rain, and hail, and sleet. This traverse occupied the whole remainder of this miserable day; and it was as dangerous as it was tedious and disagreeable; for the Columbia, now an estuary of five times its own proper width, exhibited sea enough to do full credit to the rudest gusts of the fitful storm. Tongue Point, where we encamped, being very few miles above Fort George, the intended place of our embarkation, we found that we had timed our departure from Vancouver to admiration, for, in the course of the afternoon, we saw the Cowlitz beating down against the same south-wester that was distressing and retarding ourselves.

Next morning, being the 3rd of December, we reached Fort George, formerly Astoria, about nine o'clock, wet, cold, and comfortless, as, in fact, we had been, with little or no intermission, during the three days and nights of our downward passage. If we had enjoyed at Vancouver a week longer than our friends who had started in the Cowlitz, we had paid quite enough for our whistle. The Columbia had already arrived at Astoria; and, as the Cowlitz joined her in the course of the afternoon, we immediately embarked, and, on comparing notes with her passengers, found

that, on the whole, the balance, as we had anticipated, was in their favour.

To myself, my embarkation on board of the Cowlitz formed the principal epoch of my journey. Hitherto, I had, with few exceptions, traversed scenes which, to say nothing of their comparative barrenness of interest, were either in themselves familiar to me, or differed only in degree from such as were so. But from Astoria every step would impart to me the zest of novelty towards objects essentially attractive and important. In California, I had before me a fragment of the grandest of colonial empires; in the Sandwich Islands, I was to contemplate the noblest of all triumphs, the slow but sure victory of the highest civilization over the lowest barbarism; and to Russia I looked forward with the peculiar feelings of an Englishman, as the only possible rival of his country in the extent and variety of moral and political influence.

Next morning we ran across to Baker's Bay with a fair wind, and were there obliged to drop anchor; for, though the breeze might have served us, yet the sea was breaking too heavily on the bar. During fourteen days, one south-easter followed another, each bringing its deluges of rain, at mid-winter; while, to mark the difference of climate between the two sides of the continent, the good folks of Montreal, though occupying a lower parallel than ourselves, were sleighing it merrily through the clearest and driest of atmospheres. But, towards the close of the fortnight, the weather occasioned something much worse than mere detention. On the 16th of the month — the month, be it observed, of

December—our mainmasts were simultaneously struck by lightning, that of the Cowlitz escaping with a slight scorching, but that of the Columbia being so severely shattered as perhaps to require replacing at the Sandwich Islands, before she could safely proceed to England.

About the 18th of the month, the wind veered to the northward, with frost and clear weather; but it was not before the 21st that the bar became sufficiently tranquil. There being now a favourable breeze from the north-east, as well as smooth water, we prepared to escape from the prison, which had held us in durance vile for seventeen days; and accordingly, about two in the afternoon, both vessels got under way. We were all, even the most experienced among us, anxiously excited at the prospect of encountering a spot already pre-eminent, among congenial terrors of much older fame, for destruction of property and loss of life—its unenviable trophies consisting of three ships wrecked and several others damaged, to say nothing of boats swamped with all their crews. Even under the conditions of fair wind and smooth water, we had reason for not feeling quite secure. On a depth of four or five fathoms, the river and the ocean, even in their mildest moods, could hardly meet without raising a swell, the more dangerous on account of its shallowness; and the slightest caprice of the breeze, while we were entangled amid the intricate and narrow channels, might have left us to be driven by an impetuous tide on sands, where the stoutest ship, in the finest weather, would be knocked to pieces in very few hours. We contrived, however, to

turn our consort to good account. The Columbia, having been anchored nearer to the bar, took the lead; and the Cowlitz, of course, was careful to make something of a pilot out of her wake, professional pilots being clearly out of the question. On gaining the safe side of the passage, the Columbia hoisted her colours and fired a salute for Old England—a signal of safety which, in a few minutes, we had the happiness of returning. Here the vessels separated for their immediate destinations of Woahoo and California; and, as our present breeze was a perfectly fair wind for both, they diverged so rapidly, that, before the day failed them, they had pretty nearly lost sight of each other. As the Cowlitz, though she had started from Vancouver five days later than the Columbia, had yet spent four weeks in coming about a hundred miles, our spanking progress along the coast was quite delightful, in spite of an occasionally intruding suspicion that such luck was too good to last, south-easters being as much the rule in winter as north-westers are during the rest of the year.

The detention of our two ships had by no means exceeded the average delay, more particularly considering the season. During the winter, vessels often lie in Baker's Bay from three to seven weeks, for the indispensable conjunction of fair wind and smooth water. The difficulties, too, of ingress, as compared with those of egress, are necessarily aggravated by the circumstance that a vessel cannot so snugly watch her opportunity in the open ocean as in Baker's Bay; and the danger of her position would be still greater, were she not exempted from the hazards of a lee-shore by the

openness of the adjacent coasts, and the directions of the prevailing gales.

But these obstructions, in proportion as they lessen the value of this river, enhanced at the same time the merit of the man who first surmounted them—a merit which cannot be denied to the judgment, and perseverance, and courage, of Captain Gray of Boston. Whether or not Captain Gray's achievement is entitled to rank as a discovery, the question is one which a bare sense of justice, without regard to political consequences, requires to be decided by facts alone. First, in 1775, Heceta, a Spaniard, discovered the opening between Cape Disappointment, on the north, and Point Adams, on the south—a discovery the more worthy of notice, inasmuch as such opening can hardly be observed, excepting when approached from the westward; and, being induced partly by the appearance of the land, and partly by native traditions, as to a great river of the west, he filled the gap by a guess with his Rio de San Roque. Secondly, in 1788, Meares, an Englishman sailing under Portuguese colours, approached the opening in question into seven fathoms of water, but pronounced the Rio de San Roque to be a fable, being neither able to enter it nor discern any symptoms of its existence. Thirdly, in 1791, Gray, though, after an effort of nine days, he failed to effect an entrance, was yet convinced of the existence of a great river by the colour and current of the water. Fourthly, in April, 1792, Vancouver, while he fell short of Gray's conviction, then, however, unknown to him, correctly decided that the river, if it existed, was a very intricate one,

and not a safe, navigable harbour for vessels of the burden of his ship. Fifthly, in May, 1792, Gray, returning expressly to complete his discovery of the previous year, entered the river, finding the channel very narrow, and not navigable more than fifteen miles upwards, even for his Columbia, of two hundred and twenty tons. According to this summary statement of incontrovertible facts, the inquiry resolves itself into three points, the discovery of the opening by Heceta, the discovery of the river by Gray on his first visit, and the discovery of a practicable entrance by the same individual revisiting the spot for the avowed purpose of confirming and maturing his previous belief. Of the three points, the most important two, the two also which are least indebted to accident, are in Gray's favour, while the value of Heceta's elementary and fortuitous step in the process is still farther diminished by the very inconsiderable light which it afforded to Meares.

An Englishman is the less tempted to do injustice to Gray, inasmuch as his success, however creditable to himself as a bold and skilful mariner, cannot be made to support the territorial claim of his nation. He discovered one point in a country, which, as a whole, other nations had already discovered; so that the pretensions of America had been already forestalled by Spain and England. Supposing a Frenchman to have been the first to enter the harbour of Honolulu, would he have secured to France the whole of the Sandwich Islands, even on the ground, admitted on all hands to be correct, that the port in question was more valuable than all the rest of the group? To take a still more apposite in-

stance: supposing a Russian to have been the first to enter the harbour of San Francisco, would he have secured to Russia the whole of California, even on the ground, admitted on all hands to be correct, that the port in question was more valuable than all that had previously been discovered on either side by England or Spain? But Gray's success was as defective in form as it was impotent in substance. Discovery confers merely a preferable right of taking possession within a reasonable time, requiring, even for this limited purpose, to be accompanied by a claim, as expressive of an intention to maintain and enforce such right. Now, neither Gray nor his government ever meditated any such claim till after the lapse of nearly twenty years, the journey of Lewis and Clarke, in 1805, across the continent, neither having reference to any previous discovery, nor being itself meant to be the foundation of any territorial pretension; nor could the coast of the Pacific, so long as it was separated from the republic by the foreign colony of Louisiana, have been possessed or claimed on any ground whatever, without doing violence to the constitution of the United States. But the claim, even if validly made, would have been forfeited by subsequent proceedings. Though Astoria and some other posts were planted, not, however, by the government, but by individuals, yet they were all voluntarily abandoned during the war, so as to lend a positive sanction to the negative argument, founded on lapse of time — a sanction rendered only the more conclusive by the second voluntary abandonment of Astoria, when restored under the treaty of peace. Nor has the Willamette settlement,

in which Americans have now begun to plant themselves, about fifty years after the date of Gray's discovery, improved in this respect the position of the United States, for that colony was originally formed by British subjects, acting under British authority, its nationality being as little affected as that of Canada, in the eye of public law, by American immigration.

In truth, the argument of discovery was never broached till the acquisition of Louisiana, which took place in 1803, had brought the republic to the height of land between the Missouri and the Columbia, an acquisition which gradually nursed into life the marauder's plea of contiguity — in other words, when the Americans found the north-west coast within their reach, then, but not till then, did they try to find pretexts for grasping it. But the end was as impracticable as the means were unjustifiable. The United States will never possess more than a nominal jurisdiction, nor long possess even that, on the west side of the Rocky Mountains; and supposing the country to be divided to-morrow to the entire satisfaction of the most unscrupulous patriot in the Union, I challenge Congress to bring my prediction and its own power to the test, by imposing the Atlantic tariff on the ports of the Pacific.

But the Americans profess to have fortified their own rights of discovery by those of Spain, having obtained, in 1819, a cession of all the claims of that power to that portion of the coast which lies to the north of the parallel of forty-two degrees. Now, as against England, America could hold such claims only on the same footing as that on which Spain herself held them—

namely, under the stipulations of the treaty of 1790 between the two monarchies. According to the third article of that international compact, neither of the contracting parties was to disturb the other in the formation of settlements; and, according to its fifth article, the inherent sovereignty of such settlements was restricted only by the reciprocal right of access for the purposes of trade.

As this treaty has not been affected by the temporary convention between England and the United States, for the latter substantially re-echoes the provisions of the former, it necessarily renders British sovereignty co-extensive with British possession, as existing at any point of time, whether present or future—a conclusion which, considering the number of British posts and the range of their operations, cuts the knot with all its intricacies at a single blow. Clearly, therefore, America would rather weaken than strengthen her claim by tacking to it the rights of Spain. But, in point of fact, Spain was not competent to substitute a stranger for herself with respect to England. The international relations, as just now quoted, were, so to speak, purely personal; nor could any thing be more certain than that, in 1790, neither Spain would have accepted America for England, nor England have accepted America for Spain. But the relations in question, even if not in their own nature personal, were practically rendered incapable of being transferred to any third party by the correlative provisions; for the treaty of 1790 professed to ascertain and define the relative position of the two powers throughout the whole of the Pacific Ocean and

also along the eastern coast of South America. The north-west coast, therefore, was merely a part of a whole; and the alleged transfer of 1819, even if admissible on other grounds, would have operated as a fraud against England by forcing on her a substitute incompetent to discharge the obligations of the principal.

As against England, however, the treaty of 1819 did not contemplate the substitution of America for Spain, after drawing the boundary between Mexico and the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the third article concluded with a clause of mutual renunciation and cession—a clause which, if not expressed, would have been understood as a necessary corollary to the substantive adjustment of the line. At all events, the cession to America could not have force against England, unless the renunciation on the part of Spain had force also in her favour; but so far was this from being the case, that Spain was still entitled to trade with the English settlements, and also, so far as England was concerned, to form settlements of her own on any unoccupied portions of the north-west coast, so that, in pledging herself to America, as she virtually did, not to form any such settlements, she made a cession, if not in favour of the United States, at least in favour of Great Britain, under the guarantee of the republic.

To conclude with one word, this assumption of Spanish rights, however it may promote American interests, does little to establish American candour in the premises; for, though it dated its origin only from 1819, yet America had, as far back as 1814, demanded, in reliance, forsooth, on her own proper claims, fully as much as she

would even now be glad to accept,—the whole country to the south of the parallel of forty-nine degrees.

In this digression, which has no pretensions to the character of a complete discussion, I have confined myself to the most prominent points of the American side of the question, and to the most palpable defects of the same. On behalf of England, direct arguments are superfluous, for, until some other power puts a good title on paper, actual possession must be held to be of itself conclusive in her favour.

But to return to my narrative, which left us scudding down the coast before a fair wind: we again encountered, during the night, our old enemy the south-easter, with its usual accompaniments of heavy sea and wet weather; but, having now plenty of elbow-room, we made the best of our bad fortune and left the land behind us, keeping as much to the south of south-west as possible. For three days this state of things remained unchanged—our only relief from the monotony of misery being that we were now and then able to amuse ourselves with the unwieldy gambols of a few sperm whales.

Fortunately, on the 25th, the gale moderated sufficiently to let us enjoy, in comparative comfort, the national fare of roast beef and plum-pudding, washed down, of course, with the ship's choicest bottles, to the health and happiness of absent friends. On this day, sacred to the domestic ties, from how many spots of land and water do Englishmen indulge in one and the same train of homeward aspirations; and from how many crowded hearths does England, in return, send forth yearnings of affectionate regret to all the corners of the

earth! What other empire ever did so much, on this or any other day, to bind the world into one with the mutually responsive emotions of its children!

Next morning, the south-easter, as if it had suspended business merely to keep Christmas, returned in full force. On the 27th, however, the sea became calm, the sun was bright, and the wind changed to the north-west, so that we were enabled to make for the land with studding-sails and sky-scrapers all set. Several whales favoured us with their visits; and, as there was now some pleasure in sauntering on deck, we made the most of their vagaries to beguile our idle hours. Though we had been driven out to sea at least a hundred and fifty miles, so as to pass unseen fully six or seven degrees of coast, yet we had not missed any other object of interest than Cape Mendocino, the extremity of a snowy range — a spur of the Rocky Mountains — which forms the height of land between the Columbia on the one side, and the Colorado and the Sacramento on the other. But it is not merely by dividing the waters that this promontory and the chain, which it terminates, constitute a natural boundary between the north and the south. In soil, the separated regions differ as widely as the Shetland Islands and the Isle of Wight, while, in climate, they present as striking a contrast as the mountains of Scotland and the valleys of Spain.

With daylight, on the 28th, we again came in sight of the coast between Cape Mendocino and Bodega Bay, our vessel being surrounded by land-birds, that fluttered and played about us as if to welcome our arrival. Whatever may be the extent of New Albion, as the

theatre of Drake's discoveries, the neighbouring coast certainly forms part of it; but, as this name has practically become unimportant, in a political sense, since the date of the treaty already mentioned between England and Spain, it appears to have been gradually superseded by the Spanish term California, as far to the northward as the parallel of forty-two degrees. This latter term, which was originally appropriated to the peninsula, situated on the gulf of the same name, and supposed, down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, to be an island, was gradually extended by the Spaniards to the whole of the north-west coast, being supplanted, however, in its turn by other names, as far to the south as the forty-second parallel aforesaid. The peninsula and continental divisions of California are respectively known as Old and New, or Lower and Upper—the former distinction being somewhat out of place where all is new, and the latter being significant only in the mechanical sense of the map-maker, without the usual reference to the course of any common stream.

In the course of the morning, we passed Bodega and Ross, respectively the harbour and the fort of the Russian American Company. That association, which assumed its present form towards the close of the last century, under the patronage of the Emperor Paul, could not find any native supply of bread-stuffs nearer than the central steppes of Asia, to be transported thence over about a hundred and twenty degrees of longitude and thirty of latitude, by barges from the head of the Sena to Yakutsk, on horses from Yakutsk to Ochotsk, and in ships from Ochotsk to Sitka. So ex-

pensive and tedious a route operating almost as a prohibition, the Company's establishments were, of course, very inadequately supplied with that which, to a Russian, is peculiarly the staff of life, so that a design was naturally formed of planting an agricultural settlement on the adjacent coast of America.

With this view, in March, 1806—the very month, by the by, in which Lewis and Clarke left their winter's encampment of Clatsop Point to retrace their steps across the continent—Von Resanoff, who was then the Company's principal representative, attempted to enter the Columbia, but was baffled in the attempt by the same circumstances which had so long retarded the discovery of the river. Eight years afterwards, however, the extensive and beautiful valley of Santa Rosa, which opens into Bodega Bay, was actually occupied — Spain being too busy elsewhere with more serious evils to repel the intrusion.

As compared with the Columbia, California, besides its greater fertility and its easier access, possessed the additional recommendation of literally teeming with sea-otters, thus securing to the Company an incidental advantage, more important, perhaps, in a pecuniary sense, than the primary object of pursuit. Since 1814, the Russians have sent to market from California the enormous number of eighty thousand sea-otters, besides a large supply of fur-seals, having thereby so far diminished the breeds as to throw nearly all the expense of their establishments on the agricultural branch of the business—an expense far exceeding the mere cost of production, with a reasonable freight. The Californian

settlement required ships exclusively for itself; and, though the Russians had so far conciliated the local authorities as to be permitted to hunt both on the coast and in the interior, they were yet obliged, by the undisguised jealousy and dislike of their presence, constantly to maintain a military attitude, with strong fortifications and considerable garrisons. Under these circumstances, the Russians lately entered into an arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company for obtaining the requisite supply of grain and other provisions at a moderate price; and they have accordingly, within these few weeks, transferred their stock to a Swiss adventurer of the name of Sutter, and are now engaged in withdrawing all their people from the country.

That the Russians ever actually intended to claim the sovereignty of this part of the coast, I do not believe. The term Ross was certainly suspicious, as being the constant appellation of the ever-varying phases of Russia from the days of Ruric, the very name under which, nearly ten centuries ago, the red-bearded dwellers on the Borysthenes, who have since spread themselves with resistless pertinacity over more than two hundred degrees of longitude, carried terror and desolation in their crazy boats to the gates of Constantinople, a city destined alike to be their earliest quarry and their latest prey. So expansive a monosyllable could hardly be a welcome neighbour to powers so feeble and jealous as Spain and Mexico.

In justice, however, to Russia, I have no hesitation in saying that, under the recognised principles of coloni-

zation, she is fully entitled to all that she holds in America. As early as 1741, Beering and Tschirikoff had visited the continent respectively in 59° and 56°, about a degree above Sitka, and about a degree below it—the former, moreover, seeing many islands, and perhaps the peninsula of Alaska, on his return; and, by the year 1763, private adventurers had explored the whole width of the ocean, discovering the intermediate chain of islands, from the scene of Beering's shipwreck, in the vicinity of Kamschatka, to Alaska, then erroneously supposed to be an island, and thence still further eastward to Kodyak—no other nation having previously penetrated, or even pretended to have penetrated, farther north than the parallel of fifty-three degrees.

But the Russian discoveries were distinguished by this favourable peculiarity, that they were, in a great measure, achieved independently of the more southerly discoveries of Spain, being the result of rumours of a neighbouring continent, which, in the beginning of the century, the Russian conquerors had found to be rife in Kamschatka. Moreover, in the case of the Russians, discovery and possession had advanced hand in hand. The settlement of Kodyak was formed four years before Meares erected his solitary shed in Nootka Sound; and Sitka was established fully ten or twelve years earlier than Astoria.

According to this plain summary of undeniable facts, Russia had clearly a better claim, at least down to the parallel of 56°, than any other power could possibly acquire; and this is, in truth, all that has been conceded to her, for the parallel of 54°, 40′, which has been

fixed by the treaty as the international boundary on the coast, is necessary, in order to include the whole of a certain island, which the parallel of 56° intersects.

In offering this defence of what a mistaken patriotism, on the part of English writers, is too apt to stigmatize as aggression and intrusion, I have in view no other object than to do what I believe to be right; for, considering that Russia and England meet each other, and the world at large, on far more points than any other two nations have ever done or are ever likely to do, I cannot but feel that policy and philanthropy alike demand on either side the habitual exercise of candour and moderation. Their continued harmony would be the surest guarantee of the general tranquillity and amelioration of mankind; while a really national contest between them, such as would prompt each to put forth all her strength, and to exert all her influence, would involve, mediately or immediately, almost every other power in Europe and Asia, Protestant or Catholic, Christian or Infidel, Mohammedan or Pagan. In a word, England and Russia, whether as friends or as foes, cannot fail to control the destiny of the human race, for good or for evil, to an extent which comparatively confines every other nation within the scanty limits of its own proper locality.

In the afternoon, we passed Drake's Bay, supposed by some to be the spot where the gallant discoverer of New Albion lay at anchor, in 1579, for a considerable time. What an instructive contrast between the past and the present! Hardly had Drake returned from the buccaneering expedition, which the restrictive policy and

exclusive pretensions of the Spanish crown exalted into a retribution, if not into a virtue, when Philip the Second, by adding the Portuguese monarchy to his paternal dominions, became sole arbiter of the commerce of the old world, from the Bay of Biscay to the Chinese seas, and undisputed lord of the new, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Strait of Magellan, not only holding, in fact, but also claiming of right, the intermediate oceans as wholly his own. How completely has our little party turned his Majesty's flanks, and broken his line-of-battle to boot, invading his most private close by such routes as he least suspected, to say nothing of the aggravation of our being all descended from one or other of the two races that Philip hated most! Some of us have crossed a breadth of continent, to which the Isthmus of Darien is but a leap; others have sailed from the Atlantic into the Pacific by a passage, to which Magellan's Strait is but a ditch; and one of us has penetrated through Mexico in a capacity which recognises Spain's richest colony as an independent republic. What a pregnant theme for a dialogue of the dead, with the proud old don as one of the interlocutors!

The southern point of Drake's Bay is formed by a projecting headland, called Punto de los Reyes. About ten miles from this point, somewhat to the southward, are two groups of rocks, known as the Gallerones, which, during thick weather, are dangerous to vessels approaching San Francisco. On these rocks the Russians formerly took a large number of fur-seals.

After doubling this point, the wind dropped, leaving us becalmed about ten miles from the harbour. We

now began sensibly to feel the influence of a more genial climate; and, as the night was clear as well as warm, we could enjoy a scene which forcibly struck the imagination as an emblem of the lazy grandeur of the Spanish character. The sails flapped listlessly against the masts, the vessel heaved reluctantly on the sluggish waters; and the long swell slowly rolled the weight of this giant ocean towards the whitened strand.

During the whole of the 29th, we lay in this state of inactivity about five miles from the shore, which presented a level sward of about a mile in depth, backed by a high ridge of grassy slopes—the whole pastured by numerous herds of cattle and horses, which, without a keeper and without a fold, were growing and fattening, whether their owners waked or slept, in the very middle of winter, and in the coldest nook of the province. Here, on the very threshold of the country, was California in a nutshell, Nature doing every thing and man doing nothing—a text on which our whole sojourn proved to be little but a running commentary. While we lay like a log in the sea, we were glad to be surrounded by large flights of birds—ducks, pelicans, cormorants, gulls, &c.; and we experienced quite an excitement in boarding a tiny schooner, formerly the property of the Russian American Company, which was now stealing along the coast towards Bodega.

The Port of San Francisco, one of the finest harbours in the world, was singularly enough discovered by an inland expedition, and that, too, as late as about the year 1770. To recapitulate a few points, which, however, will be found to bear closely on much of the

sequel, the career of northerly exploration, which had been set on foot by Cortez, after his conquest of Mexico, terminated in 1603, with Vircaino's discovery of the ports of San Diego and Monterey. During the seventeenth century, the pearl-fishery, at the mouth of the gulf, and the silver-mines at the foot of the peninsula—the very objects to attract a Spanish American—drew a good deal of attention to the country, on the part both of the government and of the merchants, each party making many attempts to colonize it, but uniformerly failing through the almost utter barrenness of its rocky surface.

At length, in or about 1697, the country was handed over to the Jesuits, who had earned their claim to this distinction by their spiritual conquest of Paraguay; but so many and various were the difficulties to be encountered, that, notwithstanding the characteristic zeal, and patience, and talent of their order, the fathers, when expelled from the Spanish dominions at the end of seventy years, had not advanced beyond the limits of the lower province. In 1767, the Jesuits were replaced by the Franciscans, to whom the Marquis de Croix, then viceroy of Mexico, proposed the spiritual invasion of Upper California—both His Excellency and the friars having their peculiar reasons for promoting this extension of the enterprise. In addition, perhaps, to better and purer motives, the friars had doubtless heard that the new land flowed with milk and honey, while the old might, on the contrary, be characterized, in the language also of Scripture, as being cursed with an earth of iron and a heaven of brass; and they, more-

over, longed to eclipse the renown of their hated predecessors, for the two orders had always been as bitterly opposed to each other as the decencies of a united church permitted them to be.

On the other hand, His Excellency knew that France and England, in the persons of Bourgainville and Cook, were already taking a national interest in the isles of the Pacific Ocean, and that even Russia — a power which, when California was discovered, had not yet emerged from Europe—was silently continuing a progressive march of two centuries along the western shores of the new continent; and, in order to keep such intruders at as great a distance as possible from the vitals of Spanish America by a stronger right than an obsolete pretension, the viceroy really felt in the new expedition of the Franciscans a degree of interest, such as his predecessors had never even professed in the original inroad of the Jesuits.

Accordingly, missions were forthwith planned for San Diego and Monterey, the only two ports then known to exist in the upper province; but, as the wind on this coast blows from the north-west during three-fourths of the year, and as the Spaniards had not yet learned to evade the difficulty by gaining an offing, the three vessels that sailed from the gulf for San Diego were eminently unfortunate — one being lost, and the others spending respectively three and four months at sea. Under these circumstances, the remainder of the contemplated distance was undertaken by land; and, though the explorers did not succeed in finding Monterey, or rather in recognising it when found, they yet

made a far more valuable discovery in the miniature mediterranean that lay to the north.

To the reverend sharers in the expedition, the discovery in question must have been as interesting as it was important. Before the vessels sailed from Loreto, the leading fathers had formally subdivided their new field of labour, so far as it was known to them, among such saints of the calendar as were in the highest odour with the Franciscans; and, when the chief of the conclave was reminded that St. Francis himself had been overlooked, he was ready with an answer to the effect, that their patron must first earn the compliment, by showing them a good port. Having thus put the saint to his mettle, the way-worn priests were in duty bound to acknowledge his guidance on hailing the magnificent inlet; and they were, in all probability, more highly delighted with their founder's triumph than with the intrinsic qualities of his harbour.

On the morning of the 30th, a light breeze enabled us again to get under way, and to work into the port. After crossing a bar, on which, however, there is a sufficient depth of water, we entered a strait of about two miles in width,—just narrow enough for the purposes of military defence,—observing, on the southern side of the mouth, a fort well situated for commanding the passage, but itself commanded by a hill behind. This fort is now dismantled and dilapidated; nor are its remains likely to last long, for the soft rock, on the very verge of which they already hang, is fast crumbling into the undermining tide beneath. A short distance beyond the fort, and on the same side of the strait, is situated a square of huts, distinguished by the lofty title

of the Presidio of San Francisco, and tenanted, for garrisoned it is not, by a commandant and as many soldiers as might, if all told, muster the rank and file of a corporal's party; and though here the softness of the rock does nothing to aid the national alacrity in decaying, yet the adobes, or unbaked bricks, of which Captain Prado's stronghold is composed, have already succeeded in rendering this establishment as much of a ruin as the other.

In addition to this presidio, there are three others in the upper province, situated respectively at Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. But their principal occupation is gone. From the very commencement of the system, the pious fathers had deemed it rash and inexpedient to encounter the heathen with spiritual arms only; and, as neither the Jesuits nor the Franciscans could themselves lawfully carry carnal weapons, both the orders remedied this defect in their constitutions by enlisting soldiers in their service,—a kind of fellow-labourers unknown to St. Paul's missionary experience. Now it was as the head-quarters of these booted and spurred apostles of the faith that the presidios were primarily introduced, though each of them incidentally became the seat of government for its own subdivision of the province.

On the first settlement of either section of the country these troopers had no sinecure of it. In the lower province, the natives had suffered much from the cupidity of adventurers, who had forced them to dive for pearls and perhaps also to toil in the mines; and, in both provinces, they were roused into hostility, partly by the jealousy of their conjurors, and partly by the hopes of

plunder. Many were the battles and sieges that resulted from such a state of feeling on the part of the natives; and it may not be out of place to borrow at full length from Father Palou, the biographer of the founder of the missions in the upper province, a graphic sketch of an attack made on the infant establishment of San Diego. After stating that the devil had stirred up the savages to resistance, and marshalled them in two bands to the number of a thousand, the reverend historian thus proceeds: —

"They arrived at the bed of the river on the night of the 4th of November, whence the two divisions took their respective routes; the one for the presidio, and the other for the mission. The party destined for the latter arrived at the huts of the converts without being observed; putting some Indians as guards to prevent the inmates from going out or giving any alarm, and threatening them with death if they attempted to do so. Some of them proceeded to the church and sacristy, for the purpose of robbing the ornaments, vestments, and whatever else they might find; while others laid hold of lights, and endeavoured to set the quarters of the soldiers on fire. These, who consisted only of a corporal and three men, were soon awakened by the horrid yells of the Indians, and immediately armed themselves; the Indians having already begun to discharge their arrows. The Father Vincente joined the soldiers, together with two boys. The Father Luis, who slept in a separate apartment, on hearing the noise, went towards the Indians, and, on approaching them, made use of the usual salutation, '*Love God, my*

children;' when, observing it was the father, they laid hold of him as a wolf would lay hold of a lamb, and carried him to the side of the rivulet. There they tore off his holy habit, commenced giving him blows with their clubs, and discharged innumerable arrows at him. Not contented with taking away his life, with so much fury, they beat and cut to pieces his face, head, and the whole of his body, so that from head to food nothing remained whole except his consecrated hands, which were found entire in the place where he was murdered.

"Meanwhile, others of the Indians proceeded to the place where two carpenters and the blacksmith were sleeping, and who were awakened by the noise. The blacksmith ran out with his sword in hand, but was immediately shot dead with an arrow; one of the carpenters followed with a loaded musket, and shot some of the Indians, who were so much intimidated, that he was allowed to join the soldiers; the other carpenter, who was ill, was killed in bed by an arrow.

"The chief body of the Indians now engaged the soldiers, who made such good use of their fire-arms, by killing some and wounding others, that the Indians began to waver, but they at last set fire to the quarters of the Spaniards, which were only of wood, and who, in order to avoid being roasted alive, valiantly sallied forth and took possession of another small hut which had served for a kitchen, and which was constructed of dried bricks. The walls, however, were little more than a yard in height, and only covered with branches of trees and leaves to keep out the sun. They defended themselves by keeping up a continual fire upon the

multitude, who, however, annoyed them much with their arrows and wooden spears, more particularly at one side of the hut which was without a wall.

" Seeing the damage that by this means they were suffering, the soldiers resolved to take out of the house that was on fire some bales to fill up the open part of the kitchen. In doing this, two of them were wounded, and disabled from giving any more assistance, but they succeeded in fetching the bales and filling up the breach with them. There then only remained the corporal, one soldier, the carpenter, and Father Vincente. The corporal, who was of great valour and a good marksman, ordered that the others should load and prime the muskets, he only firing them off; by which method he killed or wounded as many as approached him.

" The Indians, now seeing that their arrows were of no avail, owing to the defence of the walls and bales, set fire to the covering of the kitchen; but, as the materials were very slight, the corporal and his companions were still enabled to keep their position. They were greatly afraid lest their powder should be set on fire; and this would have been the case, if Father Vincente had not taken the precaution to cover it over with the skirt of his habit, which he did in disregard of the risk he ran of being blown up.

" The Indians, finding that this mode of attack did not oblige their opponents to leave their fort, commenced throwing in burning faggots and stones, by which Father Vincente was wounded, but not very dangerously. The whole night passed in this manner, till, on the rising of the sun, the Indians gave up the

contest and retired, carrying off all their killed and wounded. The whole of the defenders of the kitchen were wounded, the corporal concealing his injuries until the Indians had retired, in order to avoid discouraging his companions."

Few skirmishes have ever exhibited a higher degree of dogged intrepidity on both sides, though, as a matter of course, the superior discipline and the better cause prevailed on almost every occasion of the kind. Soon, however, the piping times of peace gave the soldiers leisure to commence the proper operations of the spiritual conquest, such as the maintaining of domestic order, the recapturing of runaway converts, and the catching of fresh pupils. For these services the presidios were, in a great measure, supported at the expense of the missions; so that when the missions were spoiled and dissolved, in a manner to be hereafter noticed, the presidios, deprived of the best part, at once, of their functions and of their resources, naturally fell into their present state of neglect and decay.

On proceeding along the strait, one of the most attractive scenes imaginable gradually opens on the mariner's view,—a sheet of water, of about thirty miles in length by about twelve in breadth, sheltered from every wind by an amphitheatre of green hills; while an intermediate belt of open plain, varying from two to six miles in depth, is dotted by the habitations of civilized men.

On emerging from the strait, which is about three miles long, we saw on our left, in a deep bay, known as Whalers' Harbour, two vessels,—the Government

schooner California and the Russian brig Constantine, now bound to Sitka, with the last of the tenants of Bodega and Ross on board. As we observed the Russians getting under way, I despatched Mr. Hopkins in one of our boats, in order to express my regret at being thus deprived of the anticipated pleasure of paying my respects in person.

Mr. Hopkins found about a hundred souls, men, women, and children, all patriotically delighted to exchange the lovely climate of California for the ungenial skies of Sitka, and that too at the expense of making a long voyage in an old, crazy, clumsy tub, at the stormiest season of the year; but to this general rule there had been one exception, inasmuch as they had lost two days in waiting—but, alas! in vain—for a young woman, who had abjured alike her country and her husband for the sake of one of the dons of San Francisco.

Mr. Hopkins farther learned that, though it was Thursday with us, yet it was Friday with our northern friends; a circumstance which, besides showing that the Russians had not the superstition of our tars as to days of sailing, forcibly reminded us that between them the two parties had passed round the globe in opposite directions to prosecute one and the same trade in furs, which the indolent inhabitants of the province were too lazy to appropriate at their very doors.

On our right, just opposite to the ground occupied by the Constantine and the California, stretched the pretty little bay of Yerba Buena, whose shores are doubtless destined, under better auspices, to be the site

of a flourishing town, though at present they contain only eight or nine houses, in addition to the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment. Here we dropped anchor in the neighbourhood of four other vessels, the American barque Alert and brig Bolivar, the British barque Index and the Mexican brig Catilina; and, after firing a salute, went ashore to visit Mr. Rae, the Hudson's Bay Company's representative in this quarter.

CHAPTER VII.

SAN FRANCISCO.

More detailed description of harbour — Native balsa — Whalers, San Francisco and Sandwich Islands—Trade in hides—Foreigners—Indolence of people, its causes—Branding, &c., of cattle—Value of herds—Missions, their rise and fall—Express by land to Monterey—Timothy Murphy—Father Quigas—Summary justice — General Vallego—Breakfast, cookery—Valley of Sonoma—Lasso—Civilization of aborigines—General Vallego's buildings, troops, garden, &c.— Dinner, ball, and Captain Prado—"Auld Lang Syne"—Paradise of wild fowl—Captain Sutter's history and prospects—Anglification of San Francisco—Californian justice — Mission of San Francisco, old and new times—Mission of Santa Clara—Prospects of priesthood—Revenue laws.

The sheet of water, as already described, forms only a part of the inland sea of San Francisco. Whalers' Harbour, at its own northern extremity, communicates by a strait of about two miles in width with the Bay of San Pedro, a circular basin of ten miles in diameter; and again, this extensive pool, at its north-eastern end, leads, by means of a second strait, into Freshwater Bay, of nearly the same form and magnitude, which is full of islands, and forms the receptacle of the Sacramento and the San Joachin. Large vessels, it is said, may penetrate into Freshwater Bay; and as the San Joachin and the Sacramento, which drain vast tracts of country respectively to the south-east and to the north-east, are navigable for inland craft, the whole harbour,

besides its matchless qualities as a port of refuge on this surf-beaten coast, is the outlet of a vast breadth of fair and fertile land.

In the face of all these advantages and temptations, the good folks of San Francisco, priests as well as laymen, and laymen as well as priests, have been contented to borrow, for their aquatic excursions, the native balsa—a kind of raft or basket, which, when wanted, can be constructed in a few minutes with the bulrushes that spring so luxuriantly on the margins of the lakes and rivers. In this miserable makeshift they contrive to cross the inland waters, and perhaps, in very choice weather, to venture a little way out to sea, there being, I believe, no other floating thing besides, neither boat nor canoe, neither barge nor scow, in any part of the harbour, or, in fact, in any part of Upper California, from San Diego, on the south, to San Francisco, on the north.

In consequence of this state of things, the people of the bay have been so far from availing themselves of their internal channels of communication, that their numerous expeditions into the interior have all been conducted by land, seldom leading, of course, to any result commensurate with the delay and expense. But, inconvenient as the entire want of small craft must be to the dwellers on such an inlet as has been described, there are circumstances which do, to a certain extent, account for the protracted endurance of the evil. Horses are almost as plentiful as bulrushes; time is a perfect glut with a community of loungers; and, under the plea of having no means of catching fish, the faith-

ful enjoy, by a standing dispensation, the comfortable privilege of fasting, at meagre times, on their hecatombs of beef.

The world at large has hitherto made nearly as little use of the peculiar facilities of San Francisco as the Californias themselves. Though, at one time, many whaling ships, as the name of Whalers' Harbour would imply, frequented the port, yet, through the operation of various causes, they have all gradually betaken themselves to the Sandwich Islands. In point of natural capabilities for such a purpose, the Sandwich Islands are, on the whole, inferior to San Francisco. If they excel it in position, as lying more directly in the tract between the summer-fishing of the north and the winter-fishing of the south, and also as being more easy of access and departure by reason of the steadiness of the trade-winds, they are, in turn, surpassed in all the elements for the refreshing and refitting of vessels by a place, where beef may be procured for little or nothing, where hemp grows spontaneously, where the pine offers an inexhaustible supply of resin, and where suitable timber for ship-building invites the axe within an easy distance.

But, though Nature may have done more for San Francisco than for the Sandwich Islands, yet man has certainly done less to promote her liberal intentions. The Sandwich Islands afford to the refitting whaler an ample supply of competent labour, both native and foreign, at reasonable wages; while San Francisco, turning the very bounty of Providence into a curse, corrupts a naturally indolent population by the superabundance of cattle and horses, by the readiness, in

short, with which idleness can find both subsistence and recreation. Moreover, even on the score of fiscal regulations, the savage community has as decidedly the advantage of the civilized as in point of industrious habits. In the Sandwich Islands, the whaler can enter at once into the port which is best adapted for his purposes, while in San Francisco he is by law forbidden to remain more than forty-eight hours, unless he has previously presented himself at Monterey and paid duty on the whole of his cargo. What wonder then is it, that, with such a government and such a people, Whalers' Harbour is merely an empty name?

Few vessels, therefore, visit the port, excepting such as are engaged in collecting hides or tallow, the tallow going chiefly to Peru, and the hides exclusively either to Great Britain or to the United States. It was in the latter branch of the business that most of the vessels which we had found at anchor were employed,—the mode of conducting it being worthy of a more detailed description.

To each ship there is attached a supercargo, or clerk, who, in a decked launch, carries an assortment of goods from farm to farm, collecting such hides as he can at the time, and securing, by his advances, as many as possible against the next *matanzas*, or slaughtering season, which generally coincides with the months of July and August. The current rate for a hide is two dollars in goods, generally delivered beforehand, or a dollar and a half in specie, paid, as it were, across the country; and the great difference arises from the circumstance that the goods are held at a price sufficient to cover the

bad debts which the system of credit inevitably produces, the punctual debtor being thus obliged, in California as well as elsewhere, to pay for the defaulter. But even without this adventitious increase of their nominal value, the goods could not be sold for less than thrice their prime cost, so as to enable the vessel to meet a tariff of duties averaging about a hundred per cent., in addition to very high tonnage-dues, and the accumulating expenses of two tedious voyages with a far more tedious detention on the coast. Thus, under the existing state of things, the farmer receives for his hide either about as many goods as may have been bought in London for half-a-crown or two shillings, or about as much hard cash as may here buy the same at ready money rates.

The detention on the coast, to which I have alluded as an element in the price of goods, is occasioned by various circumstances. In the first place, there are too many competitors in the trade. The provincial exports of hides do not exceed, at the utmost, the number of 60,000; and, though such a vessel as our neighbour the Index has room for two-thirds of the whole, yet there are, at present, on the coast, fully sixteen ships of various sizes and denominations, all struggling and scrambling either for hides or for tallow. Supposing half of them to be engaged in the latter branch of business, there still remain eight vessels for such a number of hides as must take at least three years to fill them; and, in illustration of this, I may mention that our neighbour the Alert, belonging to one of the oldest and most experienced houses in the trade, has already spent

eighteen months on the coast, but is still about a third short of her full tale of 40,000.

In the second place, the very nature of things necessarily involves considerable delay. As a vessel, whether large or small, cannot possibly load herself at any single point, she must keep peddling from post to pillar and from pillar to post, taking the chances of foul winds and bad anchorages through all the five ports of San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and San Diego. But, even if hides were more plentiful, the climate would, in a great measure, impose a similar necessity. As the hides are all green or nearly so, for the skinning of the animal is pretty much the extent of Californian industry, each vessel must undertake the process of curing them for herself; and, as the upper half of the coast to a depth of about fifteen miles is peculiarly exposed during the summer, which is of course the best time for the purpose, to the rains and fogs of the prevailing north-westers, the hides of each season, in order to be cured, must be carried to the drier climate of the southern ports, more particularly of San Diego. Moreover, the mere task of curing a cargo causes a great loss of time,—a task too laborious to be undertaken by the sellers, and too nice to be entrusted to them.

In a recent able publication[1] of a scholar, who had gone to sea as a common sailor for the benefit of a constitution impaired by study, I have read, with a good deal of interest, a graphic account of the process, drawn from his own experience; and I make no apology for

[1] "Two Years before the Mast. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea." New York, Harper and Brothers, 1840.

submitting to the reader a sketch, which so advantageously contrasts the English race with the Spaniard, even on his own ground:—

"When the hide is taken from the bullock, holes are cut round it, near the edges, by which it is staked out to dry. In this manner it dries without shrinking. After they are thus dried in the sun, they are received by the vessels, and brought down to the depôt. The vessels land them, and leave them in large piles near the houses. Then begins the hide-curer's duty.

"The first thing is to put them in soak. This is done by carrying them down at low tide, and making them fast, in small piles, by ropes, and letting the tide come up and cover them. Every day we put in soak twenty-five for each man, which, with us, made a hundred and fifty. There they lie forty-eight hours, when they are taken out, and rolled up, in wheelbarrows, and thrown into vats. These vats contain brine, made very strong, being sea-water, with great quantities of salt thrown in. This pickles the hides, and in this they lie forty-eight hours; the use of the sea-water, into which they are first put, being merely to soften and clean them. From these vats they are taken, and lie on a platform twenty-four hours, and then are spread upon the ground, and carefully stretched and staked out, so that they may dry smooth.

"After they were staked, and while yet wet and soft, we used to go upon them with our knives, and carefully cut off all the bad parts: the pieces of meat and fat, which would otherwise corrupt and affect the whole if stowed away in a vessel for months; the large flippers,

the ears, and all other parts that prevent close stowage. This was the most difficult part of our duty, as it required much skill to take everything necessary off, and not to cut or injure the hides. It was also a long process, as six of us had to clean a hundred and fifty, most of which required a great deal to be done to them, as the Spaniards are very careless in skinning their cattle. Then, too, as we cleaned them while they were staked out, we were obliged to kneel down upon them, which always gives beginners the back-ache. The first day I was so slow and awkward, that I cleaned only eight; at the end of a few days I doubled my number, and in a fortnight or three weeks could keep up with the others, and clean my proportion, twenty-five.

"This cleaning must be got through with before noon, for by that time they get too dry. After the sun has been upon them for a few hours, they are carefully gone over with scrapers, to get off all the grease which the sun brings out. This being done, the stakes are pulled up, and the hides carefully doubled, with the hair side out, and left to dry. About the middle of the afternoon they are turned upon the other side, and at sundown piled up and covered over. The next day, they are spread out and opened again, and at night, if fully dry, are thrown upon a long, horizontal pole, five at a time, and beat with flails. This takes all the dust from them. Thus, being salted, scraped, cleaned, dried, and beaten, they are stowed away in the house."

But, to return to San Francisco, the trade of the bay, and, in fact, of the whole province, is entirely in the hands of foreigners, who are almost exclusively of the

English race. Of that race, however, the Americans are considerably more numerous than the British—the former naturally flocking in greater force to neutral ground, such as this country and the Sandwich Islands, while the latter find a variety of advantageous outlets in their own national colonies. At present, the foreigners are to the Californians in number as one to ten, being about six hundred out of about seven thousand; while, by their monopoly of trade, and their command of resources, to say nothing of their superior energy and intelligence, they already possess vastly more than their numerical proportion of political influence; and their position in this respect excites the less jealousy, inasmuch as most of them have been induced, either by a desire of shaking off legal incapacities or by less interested motives, to profess the Catholic religion, and to marry into provincial families.

The Californians of San Francisco number between two thousand, and two thousand five hundred, about seven hundred belonging to the village or *pueblo* of San José de Guadalupe, and the remainder occupying about thirty farms of various sizes, generally subdivided among the families of the respective holders.

On the score of industry, the good folks, as also their brethren of the other ports, are perhaps the least promising colonists of a new country in the world, being, in this respect, decidedly inferior to what the savages themselves had become under the training of the priests; so that the spoliation of the missions, excepting that it has opened the province to general enterprise, has directly tended to nip civilization in the bud.

In the missions, there were large flocks of sheep; but now there are scarcely any left, the Hudson's Bay Company having, last spring, experienced great difficulty in collecting about four thousand for its northern settlements.

In the missions, the wool used to be manufactured into coarse cloth; and it is, in fact, because the Californians are too lazy to weave or spin,—too lazy, I suspect, even to clip and wash the raw material,—that the sheep have been literally destroyed to make more room for the horned cattle.

In the missions, soap and leather used to be made; but in such vulgar processes the Californians advance no farther than nature herself has advanced before them, excepting to put each animal's tallow in one place, and its hide in another.

In the missions, the dairy formed a principal object of attention; but now, neither butter nor cheese, nor any preparation of milk whatever, is to be found in the province.

In the missions, there were annually produced about 80,000 bushels of wheat and maize, the former, and perhaps part of the latter also, being converted into flour; but the present possessors of the soil do so little in the way of tilling the ground, that, when lying at Monterey, we sold to the government some barrels of flour at the famine rate of twenty-eight dollars, or nearly six pounds sterling, a sack,—a price which could not be considered as merely local, for the stuff was intended to victual the same schooner which, on our first arrival, we had seen at anchor in Whalers' Harbour.

In the missions, beef was occasionally cured for exportation; but so miserably is the case now reversed, that, though meat enough to supply the fleets of England is annually either consumed by fire or left to the carrion birds, yet the authorities purchased from us, along with the flour just mentioned, some salted salmon as indispensable sea-stores for the one paltry vessel which constituted the entire line of battle of the Californian navy.

In the missions, a great deal of wine was grown, good enough to be sent for sale to Mexico; but, with the exception of what we got at the mission of Santa Barbara, the native wine that we tasted was such trash as nothing but politeness could have induced us to swallow.

Various circumstances have conspired to render these dons so very peculiarly indolent. Independently of innate differences of national tastes, the objects of colonization exert an influence over the character of the colonists. Thus the energy of our republican brethren, and the prosperity of the contiguous dependencies of the empire, are to be traced, in a great degree, to the original and permanent necessity of relying on the steady and laborious use of the axe and the plough; and thus also the rival colonists of New France,—a name which comprehended the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi,—dwindled and pined on much of the same ground, partly because the golden dreams of the fur trade carried them away from stationary pursuits to overrun half the breadth of the continent, and partly because the gigantic ambition of their government regarded them rather as soldiers than as settlers, rather

as the instruments of political aggrandizement than as the germ of a kindred people. In like manner, Spanish America, with its sierras of silver, became the asylum and paradise of idlers, holding out to every adventurer, when leaving the shores of the old country, the prospect of earning his bread without the sweat of his brow.

But the population of California in particular has been drawn from the most indolent variety of an indolent species, being composed of superannuated troopers and retired office-holders and their descendants. In connexion with the establishment of the missions, at least of those of the upper province, there had been projected three villages or pueblos, as places of refuge for such of the old soldiers as might obtain leave to settle in the country; but, as the priests were by no means friendly to the rise of a separate interest, they did all in their power to prevent the requisite licenses from being granted by the crown, so as to send to the villages as few denizens as possible, and to send them only when they were past labour, as well in ability as in inclination. These villages were occasionally strengthened by congenial reinforcements of runaway sailors; and, in order to avoid such sinks of profligacy and riot, the better sort of functionaries, both civil and military, gradually established themselves elsewhere, but more particularly at Santa Barbara, while both classes were frequently coming into collision with the fathers, whose vexatious spirit of exclusiveness, even after the emancipation of the veterans, often prompted them nominally to preoccupy lands which they did not require.

Such settlers of either class were not likely to toil for much more than what the cheap bounty of nature afforded them,—horses to ride and beef to eat, with hides and tallow to exchange for such other supplies as they wanted. In a word, they displayed more than the proverbial indolence of a pastoral people, for they did not even devote their idle hours to the tending of their herds. As one might have expected, the children improved on the example of the parents through the influence of a systematic education,—an education which gave them the lasso as a toy in infancy, and the horse as a companion in boyhood, which, in short, trained them from the cradle to be mounted bullock-hunters and nothing else; and if anything could aggravate their laziness, it was the circumstance, that many of them dropped, as it were, into ready-made competency, by sharing in the lands and cattle of the plundered missions.

The only trouble which the Californians really take with their cattle, is to brand them, when young, with their respective marks; and even this single task savours more of festivity than of labour. Once a year, the cows and calves of a neighbourhood, which, by reason of the absence of fences, all feed in common, are driven into a pen, or *coralle*, that every farmer may select his own stock for his own brand, at the same time keeping, if he is wise, a sharp eye upon the proceedings of his associates; and, after the cattle are all branded and again turned out to their pastures, the owners and their friends wind up the exciting business of the day with singing, and dancing, and feasting. In

addition, however, to this, each farmer does occasionally collect his own cattle into his pen, partly to prevent them from becoming too wild, and partly to ascertain how far his neighbours have kept the eighth commandment before their eyes.

On this latter point, a man must be pretty vigilant in California, for a centaur of a fellow with a running noose in his hand is somewhat apt to disregard the distinctions between *meum* and *tuum;* and so common, in fact, is this free and easy system, that even passably honest men, merely as a precautionary measure of self-defence, occasionally catch and slay a fat bullock which they have never branded. In order to break the scent in such cases, the fortunate finder, knowing that the hide alone of a dead animal can tell any tales, obliterates the owner's mark by means of a little gunpowder, and overlays it with his own in its stead. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, these brands are held to be a conclusive proof of property; and on this account, a transfer, in order to be valid and safe, requires a sale-brand to be placed over the seller's mark, so as to give the buyer's mark all the force of an original brand. In ignorance of this custom, Mr. Douglas, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, lately committed a capital mistake. After collecting the sheep, which I have already mentioned, he bought some horses for his drivers, which were subsequently sold on the Columbia to Commodore Wilkes for the use of his party that went by land from the Willamette to San Francisco; and no sooner did the animals make their appearance in their old haunts than they were claimed by the sellers, whose

marks still remained, as stolen property, to the no small astonishment of their real owners.

The income of every farmer may be pretty accurately ascertained from the number of his cattle, excepting that the owners of small stocks, as is the case at present with many of the plunderers of the missions, do not venture to kill so large a proportion of the whole as their more wealthy neighbours. The value of a single animal, without regard to the merely nominal worth of its beef, may average about five dollars, the hide fetching, as already mentioned, two dollars and two or three arobes of tallow of twenty-five pounds, each yielding a dollar and a half by the arobe; and as the fourth part of a herd may generally be killed off every year without any improvidence, the farmer's revenue must be, as nearly as possible, a dollar and a quarter a head. Thus, General Vallego, who is said to possess 8,000 cattle, must derive about 10,000 dollars a year from this source alone; and the next largest holders, an old man of the name of Sanches and his sons, must draw rather more than half of that amount from their stock of 4,500 animals.

On the same principles of calculation, the incomes of the missions must have been enormous, San José having possessed 30,000 head and Santa Clara nearly half the number, and San Gabriel to the south being said to have owned more cattle than both Santa Clara and San José put together; and even now, after all the pillage that has taken place for the benefit of individuals, the secularized wrecks of the establishments, if honestly administered, as they are not, would yield large returns to the government, Santa Clara alone, as an average

instance, still mustering about 4,000 cattle. In addition to the value of hides and tallow, such of the farmers as understand the breaking of horses may turn their skill in this way to profitable account. A well-trained steed sometimes brings a hundred and fifty dollars, the worth of thirty head of cattle, while the wild animal may be had, at no great distance, for the trouble of noosing him. In fact, horses had at one time become so numerous as to encroach on the pasturage of the cattle; and accordingly they were partly thinned by slaughter, and partly driven eastward into the valley of the San Joachin.

There are five missions in all at San Francisco: San Francisco de los Dolores towards the south-west, Santa Clara to the south, and San José de Guadalupe towards the south-east, while San Rafael and San Francisco Solano extend from Whalers' Harbour along the west and north of the Bay of San Pedro. Previously to the Mexican Revolution, the missions of the upper province had regularly increased in number; San Francisco Solano, which was founded even after the establishment of independence, being the twenty-first in order of erection. Nor had their advance in wealth failed to keep pace with their increase in number. In addition to their annual stipends of four hundred dollars each, the monks possessed in Mexico a considerable property in lands and money, composed of donations and bequests, and known as the "Pious Fund of California;" while in their twenty-one missions they had acquired, to say nothing at present of cattle and crops, the cheap labour of about 18,000 converts. But, when Mexico esta-

blished her nationality, the priests, partly from a feeling of loyalty and partly from a sense of interest, were by no means unanimous in swearing allegiance to the newly-constituted authorities; and this spirit of resistance, naturally strengthening the tendency of every revolution to make the church its first victim, provoked the Mexican government not only to withdraw the stipends and confiscate the pious fund, but also to distribute part of the lands and cattle of the missions among such of the proselytes as had learned a trade and conducted themselves well.

This happened in 1825; but the emancipated natives no sooner became their own masters than they showed that their steadiness and industry had been the result of external control rather than of internal principle. They wasted their time and property in gambling, with a recklessness proportioned to the duration of their previous restraint; and, having acquired at least the individual helplessness of civilization, they knew no other means of relieving their hunger and nakedness than a mingled course of mendicancy and theft. In this way, they became such a nuisance to the civilized population, that, after a year or two, the more innocent of them were sent back into the varnished servitude of the missions, while the more guilty were condemned, as public convicts, to do the most laborious drudgery in irons. This miserable failure, if not actually desired by the priests, must at least have been anticipated by them, as the legitimate fruit of a discipline which, whether necessarily or not, regarded the natives as children for life; and, under cover of the reaction, they made up matters

with the authorities, taking the oath of allegiance, and being left unmolested in their missions. During the ensuing nine or ten years, the fathers contrived to maintain at least a precarious footing with respect to Mexico, sometimes threatened and assailed, and sometimes patronized and protected; and meanwhile, as they felt themselves to be only tenants at will, some of them made the most of their leases by licensing worldly skippers to flay and disembowel their herds without stint, at so much a head.

But, at last, the provincial population made short work with the establishments—all classes of this body, as I have already hinted, being fundamentally and permanently jealous of the fathers. What fanned the smouldering ashes into a flame was an abortive attempt on the part of Mexico to distribute a considerable share of the lands and cattle of the missions among a colony of strangers; and, now perceiving that they had no time to lose, the Californians, in 1836, rose against the general government, appointed provincial rulers, expelled the Mexicans as intruders, and, as the phrase went, secularized the missions. After fuming a good deal in her own impotent way, Mexico ratified all that had been done, on the single condition of the renunciation of separate independence; and thus the missions, perhaps as a retribution for having relied on aid that savoured more of the Koran than of the Bible, were trodden under foot by the sons of the very men, or by the very men themselves, whom worldly wisdom had introduced into the province for their protection and assistance. The existing state of the establishments in question will be

detailed in the sequel, when we come to describe San Francisco Solano, San Francisco de los Dolores, San Carlos, and Santa Barbara.

To resume the progress of my journal. On the 31st of December, Mr. Hales and Mr. de Mofras took their departure for Monterey, in the brig Bolivar, hoping there to find some vessel bound to San Blas, whence they would make their way by land to the city of Mexico; and on the same day, notwithstanding this opportunity, we despatched a courier across to Monterey, intimating to Governor Alvarado the arrival of the Cowlitz, and requesting special permission, as an exception to the general rule, to land some articles of merchandize in the port of San Francisco, without first visiting the seat of government. In fact, the overland route is the main channel of communication between the two places; for, to say nothing of the want of vessels, the sea is almost impracticable, where time is of any importance, by reason of the baffling winds and currents; and the same result, whether from the same or different causes, has been exhibited along the whole coast since the days of Cortez and Pizarro, an unbroken chain of posts having extended, in the times of Spanish supremacy, from San Francisco, in California, to Baldivia, in Chili.

Having celebrated New Year's-day to the best of our ability, we made preparations for starting on Monday, the 3rd of the month, to pay our respects to General Vallego, who was residing at the mission of San Francisco Solano, situated, as already mentioned, on the northern side of the Bay of San Pedro; and accord-

ingly, at nine in the morning of the day appointed, we left the Cowlitz in the long and jolly boats, accompanied by Mr. Rae, and also by Mr. Forbes, living near the mission of San José de Guadalupe, and acting, in that neighbourhood, as an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, to whom we were much indebted during our stay, not only for his general politeness, but also for his special assistance as interpreter.

After a heavy pull of some hours against a stiff breeze, we reached the strait which communicates between Whalers' Harbour and the inner waters, having the point of San Pedro on our left, and that of San Pablo on our right; and as we here found the tide as well as the wind opposed to us, we were obliged to encamp on the former point a good while before it was dark. The place of our encampment, once a part of the lands of the mission of San Rafael, was now the property of an Irishman of the name of Murphy; and, as we had started without any stock of provisions, we were glad to find ourselves the guests of a gentleman, who, besides our claims on him as his fellow-subjects, had got his cattle on so easy terms. Having made up our minds, therefore, to share with Mr. Murphy in the spoils of the church, we sent out several hunters to bring home a bullock for our supper; but, to our great mortification, we were less successful in plundering our host than he had been in plundering the priests; for our emissaries had not been able to approach within shot of a single animal, a man on foot being such a prodigy in this land of laziness, as to make the very cattle scamper off in dismay. In addition to the want of beef,

one of those heavy fogs, which here a north-wester so frequently brings in its train, enveloped us in complete darkness, at the same time soaking through our clothes. In fact, our old fortune, whenever we slept ashore, seemed to pursue us from the Columbia to San Francisco.

Timothy Murphy, who unconsciously played the part of so inhospitable a landlord on this occasion, resides at the mission of San Rafael as administrador on behalf of General Vallego, to whom, as one of the prime movers in the revolution of 1836, there fell the lion's share of prize-money, in the shape of the two nice snuggeries of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano. The General, who shows his sagacity by systematically allying himself with foreigners, selected Mr. Murphy as a fitting mate for one of his sisters, the prettiest girl of the family, giving him in advance, as an earnest of the bargain, the management of San Rafael, with a good slice of the booty for his own private use. The lady, however, could not, or would not, fancy Timothy; and the matter ended by the General's acquisition of two foreigners instead of one, Mr. Leese having obtained the Donna's hand, and Mr. Murphy having kept her dowry.

But the jilted administrador is not without his share of pleasant society, in the person of one of the few priests who remained in the country after the confiscation of their establishments. Father Quigas is one of those jovial souls, who show that, in the new world as well as in the old, power and wealth are more than a match for monastic austerities; nor has the removal of the corrupting influences rendered his reverence a more

rigid observer of his vows, excepting always—thanks to Murphy and Vallego — the single article of poverty. The two friends lately led each other into trouble in a way which forcibly illustrates the state of government in general and the character of Vallego in particular.

As the bay of San Pedro is separated only by a ridge of green hills from the valley of Santa Rosa, in which are situated the settlements of Bodega and Ross, Murphy and Quigas, whether it was that the former was in search of stray bullocks, or that the latter wished to ease the schismatics of a little of their brandy, fell into the snare of visiting the Russians, against all rule and precedent. The treason soon came to the General's ears; and, on the very evening after their return, the delinquents were politely invited to attend at head-quarters by a serjeant and five troopers. As the night was wet and stormy, they tried to bribe the soldiers with their best fare into a respite of a few hours, pleading, at the same time, the want of horses. But, while the serjeant disclaimed all official knowledge of wind and weather, the troopers caught the requisite number of nags, and next morning the luckless wights were thrown, all drenched and splashed, into the General's *calabozo*, or dungeon, to chew the cud, in hunger and thirst, on the contraband hospitalities of Bodega and Ross. So much for the freedom and equity of Californian republicanism!

Early next morning we got under way, with a breeze from the south-east; and, though the ebb-tide was sweeping and tumbling through the straits like a rapid, yet we succeeded in crossing the bay to the entrance of the creek of Sonoma, which here flows, as do several

other creeks in the neighbourhood, through one of the flats or marshes so common on the shores of the inlet of San Francisco. We toiled up the windings of this stream against a powerful current, looking in vain for a dry spot to put ashore, the banks being so low that they are regularly overflowed at high tide; and it was six in the evening before we reached the landing-place, distant about ten miles from the bay and about three from the mission. Our standing luck here stuck to us, for we had no sooner pitched our tents and secured our baggage, than the south-easter, after the day's reprieve, brought down its usual accompaniment of heavy rain. Finding an Indian at the landing-place, we despatched him with a note to the General, explaining the object of our visit, and requesting the favour of his sending us horses to enable us to pay our respects to him in the morning. During the night, a north-west wind had taken the place of our south-easter, bringing, at this distance from the ocean, not the chilly fogs of the coast, but beautifully clear weather, rendered perhaps more pleasant by the bracing air of a sharp frost.

The sun, however, had hardly risen, when the air became agreeably warm; and, while we were making the most of a light breakfast, the Indian returned with a polite message from the General, to the effect that horses would be with us immediately. In fact, before he had well delivered his errand, a band of thirty chargers came in sight, and soon after a still larger herd, the whole escorted by a serjeant and two troopers, with a rabble of native auxiliaries. Out of this supply, nine or ten of the best-looking animals were quickly caught for us

with the lasso; and the whole of the motley cavalcade now proceeded over a rich plain, studded with scrub oaks, and embosomed within well-wooded hills of considerable height. In consequence of heavy rains, and more particularly the bursting of a water-spout, the roads were flooded; for the plain, being low and level, not only receives far more than its share of whatever falls, but also retains nearly all that it receives—a circumstance which, however inconvenient to the traveller, is, in general, peculiarly beneficial to agriculture. In fact, so dry is the climate during all the best seasons of the year, that the valley is intersected in every direction by artificial ditches, which are fed from the creek for the purposes of irrigation. These artificial ditches, by the by, were the first symptom of human energy that we had seen in California; but on inquiry we found that they had been dug, under the direction of the priests, by the reluctant labour of the converts.

At Sonoma, for the very name of the mission has been secularized, we were received by the firing of a salute, and the hoisting of the colours,—the former mark of respect being complimentary in proportion to the scarcity of gunpowder in this land of lassos. Through a gateway and a courtyard, we ascended a half-finished flight of steps to the principal room of the General's house, being of fifty feet in length, and of other dimensions in proportion. Besides being disfigured by the doors of chambers, to which it appeared to be a passage, this apartment was very indifferently furnished, the only tolerable articles on the bare floor being some gaudy chairs from Woahoo, such as the native islanders them-

selves often make. This was California all over,—the richest and most influential individual in a professedly civilized settlement obliged to borrow the means of sitting from savages, who had never seen a white man till two years after San Francisco was colonized by the Spaniards. Here we were received by Don Salvador Vallego and Mr. Leese, our host's brother and brother-in-law; and immediately afterwards, the General, being somewhat indisposed, received us very courteously in his own chamber.

General Vallego is a good-looking man of about forty-five years of age, who has risen in the world by his own talent and energy. His father, who was one of the most respectable men in California, died about ten years ago at Monterey, leaving to a large family of sons and daughters little other inheritance than a degree of intelligence and steadiness almost unknown in the country. The patrimonial estate, such as it was, descended to the eldest son, while the second, now the prop of the name, was an ensign in the army, with the command of the Presidio of San Francisco. Having acquired considerable influence in the party, which styled itself democratic, and aimed at something like independence, he was promoted by a conciliatory governor to be commandant of the frontier of Sonoma; and soon afterwards, taking advantage of this same governor's death, he became the leader in the revolution of 1836, securing for a nephew of the name of Alvarado the office of civil governor, and reserving to himself the important post of commander of the forces. As to the rest of the family, Don Salvador became a captain of cavalry, and another

brother was made administrador of the mission of San José de Guadalupe, while the girls were married off,—most of them to foreigners,—with a shrewd view to the strengthening of the General's influence.

In addition to what I have already said as to the power and value of foreigners, the revolution, which has made Vallego a great man, was brought to a crisis by the spirited conduct of an individual of that class. The insurgents, having entered the Presidio of Monterey, were brought to a stand by the Mexican commandant's refusal to surrender; but one of their foreign associates, after apostrophizing their "eyes," and ejaculating something about "humbug," loaded a gun to the muzzle, and shot off part of the roof of the commandant's place of retreat;—a hint to capitulate, which could no longer be misunderstood or neglected. The foreigners were pretty nearly unanimous in favour of the insurgents, some of them from the love of a row, many through matrimonial connexions, and the Americans in the hope of seeing the new republic hoist the Stars and Stripes of the Union.

After spending about half an hour with our host, we left him to partake of a second breakfast, at which we were joined by the ladies of the family. First in honour and in place was Señora Vallego, whose sister is married to Captain Wilson, of the barque Index, an honest Scot from "Bonny Dundee;" next came one of her sisters-in-law, who is the wife of Captain Cooper, of the schooner California, and resides at Sonoma, as a pledge for the fidelity of the provincial navy; and lastly followed Mrs. Leese, with an unmarried sister, and Mrs. Cooper's daughter. It won't be the General's fault, if the English

race does not multiply in California; so far as names went, we might have supposed ourselves to be in London or in Boston.

In front of Mr. Leese, who sat at the head of the table as master of the ceremonies, was placed an array of five dishes, two kinds of stewed beef, rice, fowls, and beans. As all the cooking is done in outhouses,—for the dwellings, by reason of the mildness of the climate, have no chimneys or fireplaces,—the dishes were by no means too hot when put on the table, while, by being served out in succession to a party of about twenty people, they became each colder than the other, before they reached their destinations. It was some consolation to know that the heat must once have been there, for every thing had literally been seethed into chips, the beans or *frixoles* in particular having been first boiled, and lastly fried with an intermediate stewing, to break the suddenness of the transition. Then every mouthful was poisoned with the everlasting compound of pepper and garlick; and this repast, be it observed, was quite an aristocratic specimen of the kind, for elsewhere we more than once saw, in one and the same dish, beef, and tongue, and pumpkin, and garlick, and potatoes in their jackets, and cabbage, and onions, and tomata, and pepper, and Heaven knows what besides,—this last indefinite ingredient being something more than a mere figure of speech, considering that all the cookery, as one may infer from the expenditure of so much labour, is the work of native drudges, unwashed and uncombed. When to the foregoing sketch are added bad tea and worse wine, the reader has picked up a perfect idea of Califor-

nian breakfast, Californian dinner, and Californian supper, and is quite able to estimate the sacrifice which a naturalized John Bull makes for the pleasures of matrimony and the comforts of Roman Catholicism. Such varieties as cheese, and butter, and milk, and mutton, and fish are, as I have already mentioned, here unknown; even game, whether of the land or of the water, is at a discount not only as a matter of business but also as an object of amusement; and the very beef has been parboiled in the feverish blood of the unfortunate bullock, first heated and infuriated by the chace, and then tortured and strangled with the lasso.

Immediately after breakfast, our horses were brought to the door; and we started to see the country, accompanied by Don Salvador and an escort of three or four soldiers. We first ascended a steep hill at the back of the mission, whence we obtained an extensive view of the surrounding region. In the distance there lay the waters of the magnificent harbour, while at our feet stretched a plain, for it exhibited nothing of the valley but its wall of mountains, about fifteen miles long and three broad. This plain is composed of alluvial soil, which is so fertile as to yield about fifty returns of wheat; and the hills present abundance of willow, poplar, pine, chestnut, and cedar. If one may judge from appearances, this valley once formed an arm of the bay of San Pedro; and, in fact, the whole harbour, in remote ages, was most probably an inland lake, which has forced its way to the ocean, through the same barrier of soft rock, which, as already mentioned, still continues to melt into the tide.

In the course of our ride, we saw several deer on the road, these animals being so tame as often to approach the houses in large herds. For beasts of chace, if here the phrase is not a misnomer, California is a perfect paradise. The Californian is too lazy to hunt for amusement; and, as to any necessity of the kind, his bullocks supply all his wants, excepting that the red deer is occasionally pursued on account of the peculiar hardness and whiteness of its tallow. Hence the number of wild animals is very considerable. Beaver and otter have recently been caught within half a mile of the mission; and there are also the red deer, the wild bear, the panther, the wolf, the fox, the rabbit, &c.

Having descended from the hill, we traversed a great portion of the plain. The waterspout, which has been already mentioned, had done a great deal of damage, sweeping away the newly-sown seed from several large fields of wheat. These fields had been highly prized by the General, as the grain had been procured from the Columbia river, and was superior in qnality to his own. As one might expect, from the abundance of land, the fertility of the soil, and the indolence of the people, agriculture is conducted in the rudest possible way. As the surface of the plain presents so few obstacles to cultivation, the same land is never cropped for more than two successive years; and as Vallego's farm contains from five to six hundred acres, he thus annually breaks up about three hundred acres of what may be called wild land, either fresh from the hands of nature, or refreshed by rest. In the fields that had been stripped by the waterspout, we saw several ploughs

at work, or rather at what expects to be called work in this country. The machine consists of little more than a log of wood, pointed with iron, from the top of which rises, in a sloping direction, a long pole for the oxen, while an upright handle for the ploughman is fixed to the unpointed end of the share; or, if possible, is formed out of the same piece of timber as the share itself. The oxen, as if to prevent even them from putting forth their strength, are yoked by the horns; and, considering that there are only two such animals to so clumsy a piece of workmanship, the topsoil alone is scratched, to a depth of not more than two or three inches.

Having learned from us, during our excursion, that we wished to see an exhibition of the lasso, Don Salvador had kindly sent back orders to make the requisite preparations; and accordingly, on our return to the mission, we found every thing ready for action. A band of wild horses had been driven into a pen, or *coralle*, of very strong build. The door being thrown open, Don Salvador and one or two others entered on horseback; and the former, having his lasso coiled up in his hand, swung it round his head to give it an impetus, and then, with a dexterous aim, secured in the noose the neck of a fiery young steed. After plunging and rearing in vain, the animal was at length thrown down with great violence. Soon, however, it was again on its legs, and its captor, having attached the lasso to his saddle-bow, dragged it, tottering, out of the coralle, till, with eyes starting from its head, and nostrils fearfully distended, it fell panting and groaning to the

ground. The lasso being now slackened, the animal regained its breath, and, infuriated with rage, started away at its utmost speed, Don Salvador, of course, following at an equal pace. One of the assistants now spurred forward his steed, and, overtaking the victim, seized it by the tail with his hand; and at length, watching a favourable moment, he threw the animal by a jerk to the earth with such force, as threatened to break every bone in its body. This cruel operation was repeated several times, till we begged hard that the wretched beast should be released from farther torture. A second horse was then caught, and thrown down in a manner still more painful. The captor suddenly stopped his horse when at full gallop, which, being well trained, threw its weight towards one side, in expectation of the impending jerk, while the captive steed was instantaneously pitched, head over heels, to a distance of several yards.

Cruel as the sport was, we could not but admire the skill of the Californians in the management of their horses. One of the people, whether by accident or design, dropped his lasso, of which the other end was attached to a wild horse in full career; and following, till he came up with it as it trailed on the ground, he stooped to it from his saddle, and picked it up without slackening his pace for a moment. But, with all their dexterity and experience, the riders often meet with serious, and even fatal accidents, by being thrown from their horses. Don Salvador himself had had his full share of this kind of thing; he had broken two ribs, and fractured both his thighs, the one in two places,

and the other in three, so that he had now very little left in reserve but his neck. There is, moreover, one peculiar danger to which the thrower of the lasso is exposed. The saddle of the country has an elevated pummel, round which the lasso, after noosing its victim, is rapidly twisted; and in this operation the captor not unfrequently sees the first finger of his right hand torn off in an instant. These evils are, of course, often aggravated by the want of proper assistance—our host's present indisposition being a curious instance of this. While engaged with the lasso, the General had dislocated his hip. The joint, however, was replaced; and he was doing well, till he bruised it slightly. He sent a messenger to the only practitioner at San Francisco, one Bail, from Manchester, for a strengthening plaster; but the Doctor, who sometimes takes doses very different from those which he prescribes, sent by mistake a blister of cantharides, which, being supposed to be salutary in proportion to the pain of its application, was allowed to work double tides on the poor General's bruise, so as to turn it into a very pretty sore, which had confined him to his bed.

During the day we visited a village of General Vallego's Indians, about three hundred in nnmber, who were the most miserable of the race that I ever saw, excepting always the slaves of the savages of the northwest coast. Though many of them are well formed and well grown, yet every face bears the impress of poverty and wretchedness; and they are, moreover, a prey to several malignant diseases, among which an hereditary syphilis ranks as the predominant scourge

alike of old and young. They are badly clothed, badly lodged, and badly fed. As to clothing, they are pretty nearly in a state of nature; as to lodging, their hovels are made of boughs, wattled with bulrushes, in the form of beehives, with a hole in the top for a chimney, and with two holes at the bottom, towards the north-west and the south-east, so as to enable the poor creatures, by closing them in turns, to exclude both the prevailing winds; and as to food, they eat the worst bullocks' worst joints, with bread of acorns and chestnuts, which are most laboriously and carefully prepared by pounding, and rinsing, and grinding. Though not so recognised by the law, yet they are thralls in all but the name; while, borne to the earth by the toils of civilization, superadded to the privations of savage life, they vegetate rather than live, without the wish to enjoy their former pastimes, or the skill to resume their former avocations.

This picture, which is a correct likeness, not only of General Vallego's Indians, but of all the civilized aborigines of California, is the only remaining monument of the zeal of the Church and the munificence of the State. Nor is the result very different from what ought to have been expected. In a religious point of view, the priests were contented with merely external observances; and even this semblance of Christianity they systematically purchased and rewarded with the good things of this life, their very first step in the formation of a mission having been to barter maize-pottage, by a kind of regular tariff, for an unconscious attendance at church, and the repetition of unintelligible catechisms.

With regard, again, to temporal improvement, the priests, instead of establishing each proselyte on a farm of his own, and thus gradually imbuing him with knowledge and industry, penned the whole like cattle, and watched them like children, at the very most making them eye-servants, through their dread of punishment and their reverence for a master. In truth, the Indians were then the same as now, excepting that they shared more liberally in the fruits of their own labour, and possessed spirit enough to enjoy a holiday in the songs and dances of their race. The true tendency of the monkish discipline was displayed by the partial emancipation which took place, as already mentioned, in 1825; and, when the missions were confiscated in 1836, the proselytes, almost as naturally as the cattle, were divided among the spoilers, either as menial drudges or as predial serfs, excepting that some of the more independent among them retired to the wilderness, in order, as the sequel will show, to avenge their wrongs by a life of rapine.

These sons and daughters of bondage—many of them too sadly broken in spirit even to marry—are so rapidly diminishing in numbers, that they must soon pass away from the land of their fathers; a result which, as it seems uniformly to spring from all the conflicting varieties of civilized agency, is to be ultimately ascribed to the inscrutable wisdom of a mysterious Providence. If anything could render such a state of things more melancholy, it would be the reflection that many of these victims of a hollow civilization must have been born in the missions, inasmuch as, even at San

Francisco, those establishments had taken root sixty years before the revolution; and it was truly pitiable to hear Vallego's beasts of burden speaking the Spanish language, as an evidence that the system, wherever the fault lay, had not failed through want of time.

Previously to dressing for dinner, we took a closer survey of the buildings and premises. The General's plan seems to be to throw his principal edifices into the form of a square. The centre is already filled up with the General's own house, flanked on one side by a barrack, and on the other by Don Salvador's residence; but as yet the wings contain respectively only a billiard-room and Mr. Leese's dwelling opposite to each other. On the outside of this square are many detached buildings, such as the Calaboso, the church, &c. The Calaboso is most probably a part of the original establishment, for every mission had its cage for refractory converts; but the church, which even now is large, has been built by Vallego, to replace a still larger one, though no priest lives at Sonoma, and Father Quigas, of San Rafael, after his experience of the dungeon, has but little stomach for officiating at head-quarters.

All the buildings are of *adobes*, or unbaked bricks, which are cemented with mud instead of mortar; and, in order to protect so perishable materials from the rain, besides keeping off the rays of the sun, the houses are very neatly finished with verandahs and overhanging eaves. If tolerably protected, for a time, the walls, which are generally four or five feet thick, become, in a measure, vitrified, and are nearly as durable as stone. To increase the expenditure of labour and materials, the

partitions are nearly as thick as the outer walls, each room of any size having its own separate roof — a circumstance which explained what at first surprised us, the great length and breadth of the apartments.

At this season of the year, we found the houses very comfortless in consequence of the want of fireplaces, for the warmth of the day only rendered us more sensible of the chilliness of the night. The Californians remedy or mitigate the evil by the ludicrous makeshift of wearing their cloaks; and even among the foreigners, not more than two or three dwellings with chimneys will be found from one end of the province to the other.

The garrison of Sonoma is certainly well officered, for the General and the Captain have only thirteen troopers under their command—this force and Prado's corps, if they could only get balsas enough to effect a junction, forming a standing army of about twenty men for San Francisco alone. The absurdity of the thing consists not in the number of soldiers, for they are sixteen times more numerous in proportion than the army of the United States; the essential folly is this, that a scattered population of seven thousand men, women, and children should ever think of an independence, which must either ruin them for the maintenance of an adequate force, or expose them at one and the same time to the horrors of popular anarchy and of military insubordination.

If one may judge from the variety of uniforms, each of the thirteen warriors constitutes his own regiment, one being the "Blues," another the "Buffs," and so on; and, as they are all mere boys, this nucleus of a

formidable cavalry has at least the merit of being a growing one. The only articles common to the whole of this baker's dozen are an enormous sword, a pair of nascent moustaches, deer-skin boots, and that everlasting *serape*, or blanket, with a hole in the middle of it, for the head. This troop the General turns to useful account, being clearly of opinion that idleness is the very rust of discipline; he makes them catch his cattle, and, in short, discharge the duty of servants-of-all-work—an example highly worthy of the imitation of all military autocrats. The system, however, has led to two or three revolts. On one occasion, a regiment of native infantry, being an awkward squad of fifteen Indians, having conspired against the General, were shot for their pains; and more recently the Californian soldiers, disdaining to drive bullocks, were cashiered on the spot, and replaced by new levies. Besides the garrison, the General possesses several field-pieces and carronades, which, however, are, by reason of the low state of the ammunition, rather ornamental than useful.

There is a small vineyard behind the house of about three hundred feet square, which, in the days of the priests, used to yield about one thousand gallons of wine. The General, on coming into possession, replanted the vines, which bore abundantly in the third season; and now, at the end of only five years, they have just yielded twenty barrels of wine and four of spirits, equal to sixteen more of wine, of fifteen gallons each, or about five hundred and forty gallons of wine in all. The peaches and pears also, though only three years old, were from fifteen to twenty feet high, and

had borne fruit this season. In short, almost any plant might here be cultivated with success.

During the short winter, snow is never seen, excepting occasionally, on the summits of the highest hills, while at noon the heat generally ranges from 65° to 70° in the shade; and, in summer, the average temperature of the day is seldom lower than 90°. As the northwest fogs do not penetrate into the interior more than fifteen miles, there are, in fact, two climates at San Francisco; and General Vallego has chosen the better one for himself, as also for his brother, the administrador of San José de Guadalupe.

At dinner, the General made his appearance, wrapped in a cloak; and we had now also the pleasure of being introduced to the Dowager Señora, an agreeable dame of about sixty; and we could not help envying the old lady the very rare luxury of being immediately surrounded, at her time of life, by so many as five grown sons and daughters. This meal was merely a counterpart of the breakfast — the same Mr. Leese, the same stews, the same frixoles, and the same pepper and garlick, with the same dead and alive temperature in every morsel; and the only difference was that, as we were a little better appetized, we took more notice of the want of attendance, the only servant, besides my own, being a miserable Indian, dressed in a shirt, with bare legs and cropped hair.

Immediately after dinner, the ladies retired, the gentlemen at the same time going out for a stroll; but soon afterwards the ladies again met us at tea, reinforced by one or two of the more juvenile donnas of the

establishment. Dancing was now the order of the day; Don Salvador and one of his troopers played the guitar, while we were "toeing it and heeling it," at the fandango, the cotillon, and the waltz. The scene was rather peculiar for a ball-room, both gentlemen and ladies, when not on active service, smoking furiously, with fully more, in some cases, than the usual accompaniments.

Among the persons present was a very fierce, punchy little man, enveloped in an immense cloak. He proved to be no less a personage than Commandant Prado, of the Presidio of San Francisco, successor, in fact, of Vallego in the same office which formed the stepping-stone to his present elevation. Besides having been engaged in many skirmishes against both Californians and Indians, he has had several narrow escapes with his life in private brawls. About two years ago, a religious festival was celebrated at the mission of San Francisco de los Dolores, in honour of the patron saint, passing through all the usual gradations of mass, bull-fight, supper, and ball. In the course of the evening, Guerrero, the steward of the mission, stabbed Prado with the ever-ready knife, for presuming to interpose in an altercation between himself and his mistress; but the corpulent commandant was not to be so easily run through; for, though breadth of beam is not generally an advantage to a soldier, yet, on this occasion, Prado's fat did succeed in saving his bacon. Such a termination of a religious festival is so much a matter of course, that, at one which took place a few months back, one of Prado's numerous enemies came up to him, and, drawing his

knife, said—"What! here's daylight, and no one yet stabbed!" and it required all the influence of Vallego, who happened to be present, to nip so very promising a quarrel in the bud. On such occasions, the cloak is often invaluable as a shield; and in fact, when both parties are on their guard, there is commonly far more of noise than of mischief.

Our evening, however, passed over most amicably and agreeably, winding up, after several other songs, with "Auld Lang Syne," in which the Californians joined the foreigners very heartily; so that, as next day was Old Christmas, I could almost have fancied that I was welcoming "Auld Yule" in the north of Scotland.

On the morning of the 6th, we left the mission about seven o'clock, under a pretty heavy rain, to the great surprise of its amiable and hospitable inmates. We breakfasted at the landing-place, on the site of our old camp, after which we made our way to the mouth of the creek with the ebb-tide; but, as the wind was blowing hard from the south-east, we could not face the bay, and were obliged to retrace our steps, encamping for the third time at the landing-place, after nearly a whole day's exposure and toil. In all the course of my travelling, I never had occasion to go so far in search of an encampment as I did this day; but between our encampment and the bay there really was not a single spot where, even in the direst necessity, we could have obtained a footing. The banks of the creek were a mere marsh; and we saw and heard thousands upon thousands of cranes, geese, ducks, curlew, snipe, plover, heron, &c. These birds enjoy a perpetual holiday.

They, of course, are quite safe from the lasso; and so long as the Californians can get beef without gunpowder, they are not likely to expend it on any less profitable quarry.

By next morning the wind had returned to the northwest. We accordingly got under way at six o'clock; and, after a pleasant run down the creek, we stood across the bay of San Pedro, passed our old encampment on Murphy's estate, and, at four in the afternoon, arrived in safety on board of the Cowlitz.

It had been our intention, on this trip, to have visited Captain Sutter, the purchaser, as already mentioned, of the Russian American Company's stock in Ross and Bodega, who had settled, under the sanction of the government, on the banks of the Sacramento; but, as this prolongation of our excursion would have occupied us at least eight or ten days, we were reluctantly obliged to return without beating up the captain's quarters. Besides having thus lost the opportunity of seeing a little of the interior, we had reasons of a less romantic character for regretting our disappointment; as Sutter, a man of a speculative turn and good address, had given to the Hudson's Bay Company, in common with many others less able to pay for the compliment, particular grounds for taking an interest in his welfare and prosperity. He was understood to have served in the bodyguard of Charles the Tenth, and to have emigrated, after the three glorious days of 1830, to the United States—a country which, by its acquisition of Louisiana, offers far more powerful inducements to French enterprise than any one of the rickety colonies of the

grand nation. He had successively tried his fortune in St. Louis, among the Shawnee Indians, in the Snake Country, on the Columbia River, at the Sandwich Islands, at Sitka, and at San Francisco, uniformly illustrating the proverb of the rolling stone, but yet generally contriving to leave anxious and inquisitive friends behind him.

Sutter was now living on a grant of land about sixty miles long and twelve broad, trapping, farming, trading, bullying the government, and letting out Indians on hire; being, in short, in a fairer way of figuring in the world as a territorial potentate than his royal patron's heir, the Duke of Bourdeaux. If he really has the talent and the courage to make the most of his position, he is not unlikely to render California a second Texas. Even now, the Americans only want a rallying point for carrying into effect their theory, that the English race is destined by "right divine" to expel the Spaniards from their ancient seats — a theory which has already begun to develop itself in more ways than one.

American adventurers have repeatedly stolen cattle and horses by wholesale, with as little compunction as if they had merely helped themselves to an instalment of their own property. American trappers have frequently stalked into the Californian towns with their long rifles, ready for all sorts of mischief, practically setting the government at defiance, and putting the inhabitants in bodily fear; and, in 1836, the American residents, as also some of the American skippers on the coast, supported the revolution, in the hope of its merely transferring California from Mexico to the United States.

Now, for fostering and maturing Brother Jonathan's ambitious views, Captain Sutter's establishment is admirably situated. Besides lying on the direct route between San Francisco, on the one hand, and the Missouri and the Willamette, on the other, it virtually excludes the Californians from all the best parts of their own country, the valleys of the San Joachin, the Sacramento, and the Colarado. Hitherto, the Spaniards have confined themselves to the comparatively barren slip of land, varying from ten to forty miles in width, which lies between the ocean and the first range of mountains; and beyond this slip they will never penetrate with their present character and their present force, if Captain Sutter, or any other adventurer, can gather round him a score of such marksmen as won Texas on the field of San Jacinto. But this is not all; for the Americans, if masters of the interior, will soon discover that they have a natural right to a maritime outlet; so that, whatever may be the fate of Monterey and the more southerly ports, San Francisco will, to a moral certainty, sooner or later, fall into the possession of Americans—the only possible mode of preventing such a result being the previous occupation of the port on the part of Great Britain. English, in some sense or other of the word, the richest portions of California must become: either Great Britain will introduce her well regulated freedom of all classes and colours, or the people of the United States will inundate the country with their own peculiar mixture of helpless bondage and lawless insubordination. Between two such alternatives, the Californians themselves have little room for choice; and,

even if there were ground for hesitation, they would, I am convinced, find in their actual experience sufficient reason for deciding in favour of the British; for they especially and emphatically complain that the Americans, in their mercantile dealings, are too wide awake for such drowsy customers, as would rather be cheated at once than protect themselves by any unusual expenditure of vigilance and caution. So much as to Captain Sutter's history and prospects.

On our return to Yerba Buena, we made arrangements with Don Francisco Guerrero, already mentioned in connexion with Commandant Prado, for visiting him at the mission of San Francisco, the oldest establishment of the kind on the bay, and the nearest to our anchorage. This gentleman, who had been steward of the mission till the progress of pillage and dilapidation rendered stewardship unnecessary, now resided here as an alcalde for the neighbouring district, or one of the local organs for the administration of Californian justice. In California, and, I believe, throughout Spanish America, the judicial system is rotten to the core. Even the fundamental distinction between executive and judiciary is practically unknown. In cases of real or fictitious importance, the alcalde reports to the prefect of his district, the prefect to the governor of the province, and the governor to the central authorities of Mexico; and, while all this tedious process advances at a Spanish pace, the accused party, even if innocent, is enduring, in some dungeon or other, a degree of mental torture more than adequate, in most instances, to the expiation of his alleged guilt.

But this is only a small part of the evil. The ordinary result, when time and tide have done their worst, is a rescript either for dismissing or for punishing without trial, perhaps for punishing the innocent and for dismissing the guilty; so that the system, to say nothing of the hardships of individual cases of oppression, utterly fails in the grand end and aim of every penal code, the identifying of crime and suffering in the minds of the people. Frequently, however, the subordinate functionaries, under the influence of personal feelings, such as caprice, or vindictiveness, or indignation, or love of popularity, pronounce and execute judgment on their own responsibility; exhibiting just about as much equity and impartiality as might be expected in a country, where there is neither a professional bar nor a free press, where education is hardly known, and government exists only in name, where the law is scarcely distinguished from the judge, and evidence is generally confounded with suspicion. Thus a prefect of the name of Castro, being informed that a man had murdered his wife in a fit of jealousy, caused the offender to be instantly destroyed under this sentence: "Let him be taken out and shot *before my blood cools*;" and a commandant, of the name of Garaletta, similarly disposed of a person suspected, but not convicted, of murder, on the curiously cumulative principle, that he had once before been accused of another crime of the same dye.

It is difficult to say whether this system is rendered better or worse by the occasional inability of the government to carry into effect even its own ideas of

justice. Previously to the successful revolution of 1836, an abortive attempt of the kind had been excited by Governor Victoria's having condemned a man to be executed for the murder of his child; and, in 1837, when the foreign residents of the Pueblo de los Angelos carried before Governor Alvarado some wretches who had confessed the murder of a German, they received, and fulfilled as well as received, this unique commission of oyer and terminer: "I have not sufficient force to carry the law into execution against them; but, if you have evidence of their crime, do as you consider right."

To return, in conclusion, to our friend Guerrero, the reader must now understand pretty clearly what sort of a magistrate an Alcalde is in California. The word is of oriental origin, being part of the legacy left by the Moors in Spain, while, true to his order, the Californian *Alcalde* resembles the Turkish *Cadi* as closely on most other points as in name.

On the morning of Monday the 10th of the month, Guerrero's horses were in attendance; and a pleasant ride of three miles over some sandy hills, covered with the dwarf oak and the strawberry tree, brought us to the Mission of San Francisco. In the case of San Francisco Solano, the remains of the original establishment had been replaced or eclipsed by the more ambitious buildings of General Vallego; but here one wilderness of ruins presented nothing to blend the promise of the future with the story of the past. This scene of desolation had not even the charm of antiquity to grace it, for, as it was only in 1776 that the mission

was founded, the oldest edifice that now crumbled before us had not equalled the span of human life, the age of threescore years and ten; and yet, when compared with the stubborn piles which elsewhere perish so gradually as to exhibit no perceptible change to a single generation of men, these ruins had attained a state of decay which would have done credit to the wind and weather of centuries. Oddly enough, the endemic laziness of the country had, in this instance, run ahead of Old Time, with his jog-trot and his scythe, and had done his work for him at a smarter pace and with more formidable tools. In plain English, the indolent Californians had saved themselves a vast deal of woodsman's and carpenter's labour, by carrying off doors, and windows, and roofs, leaving the unsheltered adobes, if one may name small things with great, to the fate of Nineveh and Babylon.

But these good Catholics did set a limit, and that, too, a characteristic one, to their sacrilege. They could appropriate the cattle, and dismantle the dwellings, of the missions, robbing both priests and proselytes of what they had earned in common by the sweat of their brows; but they respected the churches with a superstitious awe, even after they had degraded them into baubles by the expulsion at once of the pastors and their flocks. They left the mint, and the anise, and the cummin untouched, but trampled on the weightier matters of the law; they reverenced the altar, but disclaimed the mercy of which it was the emblem. Of this hollow show, however, the friars should partly bear the blame. It was an external religion that they had

taught: they had sown the wind, and were reaping the whirlwind.

In former days, there resided here, besides the priests and soldiers, about seven hundred domesticated converts, of whom we saw only three marked, dirty, miserable creatures. In 1776, the mission had commenced operations with five cattle, the ancestors of the thousand herds that now crowd the shores of the bay; but, towards the close of its career, it had acquired about fifteen thousand descendants of the original stock for its own single share, besides considerable flocks of sheep and large bands of horses. When times of trouble, however, arrived, the priests, as I have already stated in a general way, so successfully forestalled the spoilers by killing off their animals, that the first administrador of the Mission of San Francisco came into possession of not more than five thousand cattle; and this number has been since reduced to about three hundred, that are now running wild on the hills.

Priests, cattle, savages, and dwellings, had all vanished. Nor were the spiritual results of the system more conspicuous than its material fruits, consisting, as they did, of nothing but a negative veneration for the ornaments and appendages of a deserted place of worship.

But the mission, though dead, still spake through its interesting associations. As I had perused, during our tedious voyage in the Cowlitz, "Forbes's History of California," with its many curious details, in the shape of the authentic records of the establishments, every object in the present solitude, not even excepting the

mouldering adobe, had its own tale to tell of the motley life of bygone days. In making the tour of the ruins, we first entered the apartment in which the priests took their meals and received visits,—two branches of business which they understood to perfection. To say nothing of the grand staples of beef and *frixoles*, their tables groaned under a profusion of mutton, fowls, vegetables, fruits, bread, pastry, milk, butter, and cheese; of every thing, in short, which a prolific soil and an almost tropical climate could be made to yield to industry and art; and, as their dining-room was connected with their kitchen by a small closet, which served merely to intercept the grosser perfumes, they had evidently known, contrary to modern use and wont, how to heighten the zest of these good things by attacking them hot and racy from the fire, and cooling them, if necessary, for themselves, with the juice of their own grapes.

Those were the times for travelling in California. Besides its agreeable society and its hospitable board, every mission was more ready than its neighbour to supply the stranger with guides and horses and provisions, whether for visiting the immediate neighbourhood, or for prosecuting his journey through the province; and, if one did not look too critically below the surface, the contrast between the untamed savages and the half-civilized converts could hardly fail to complete, in the eyes of the hasty wayfarer, a kind of terrestrial paradise. Witness Langsdorff's artless picture, drawn from the life in 1806, of the placid existence of the presidency and missions of the Harbour of San Francisco.

Passing through the dining-room, we were conducted into a square surrounded with buildings, in which, to say nothing of less important avocations, the natives used to be employed in manufacturing the wool of the establishment into blankets and coarse cloths; their wheels and looms having been made by themselves under the direction of their zealous teachers, who had derived their knowledge on the subject from books. It was, in fact, chiefly by means of books that the missionaries had contrived to overcome all the difficulties of their isolated position:—from the preparing of the adobes to the decorating of the churches; from the constructing of the plough to the baking of the bread; from the shearing of the sheep to the fulling of the web. But, in addition to their ingenuity in planning, they toiled more diligently than any of their unwilling assistants in the actual execution of their various labours, striving at the same time to render their drudgery morally available as an example. Thus, for instance, did the astute and indefatigable fathers temper the mud with measured steps and merry ditties, in order to beguile, if possible, their indolent and simple pupils into useful labour by the attractions of the song and the dance.

The praise of all this, however, should, in a great degree, be awarded to the Jesuits, who, before they were supplanted by the Franciscans, had covered the sterile rocks of Lower California with the monuments, agricultural, and architectural, and economical, of their patience and aptitude; not only leaving to their successors apposite models and tolerable workmen, but also bequeathing to them the invaluable lesson, that

nothing was impossible to energy and perseverance. Still, the system, in spite of all the sacrifices of the two foremost orders of the Romish Church, was but a show, in which the puppets ceased to dance when the wire-pullers were withdrawn; it was a body without a soul of its own, which could move only by the infusion of extraneous life; it was, in a word, typified by its own adobe, which nothing but constant care and attention could prevent from returning to its elementary dust.

From the factory we went to the church. This was a large edifice, almost as plain as a barn, excepting in front, where it was prettily finished with small columns, on which was hung a peal of bells. The interior, however, of the building presented a prodigality of ornament. The ceiling was painted all over; the walls were covered with pictures and pieces of sculpture; and the altar displayed all the appointments of the Romish service in a style, which, for this country, might well be characterized as gorgeous. Even to our Protestant tastes, the general effect was considerably heightened by the "dim religious light" of two or three narrow windows, which themselves appeared to be buried in the recesses of a wall between five and six feet thick. The church, as I have already said, remained in perfect preservation, amidst the contrast of the surrounding ruins; and considering the solidity of the walls, which, to say nothing of their thickness, had become vitrified by time, it could hardly be destroyed in any other way than by the removal of its roof. This church is sometimes, but not often, opened by Father Quigas of San Rafael, or by the priest of Santa Clara.

Thus have the zeal and industry of the fathers become useless alike to Californians and Indians. But, with respect to these deserted places of worship, the mere erection of the sacred edifice formed a small part of the exertions of the missionaries. The harder task was to fill them with reverential listeners, more particularly in early times. Even after consenting, for a consideration, to swell the muster-roll of the flock, the savages frequently indulged in noisy ridicule; and an authentic anecdote is told of one of the Jesuits, who, being a stalwart fellow, effectually put the whole of his congregation on their best behaviour by seizing one gigantic scoffer, who was in front of the reading-desk, by the hair of his head, and swinging him to and fro in the sight of his astonished companions.

In the vicinity of the church was formerly situated the garden, which, being within the ordinary range of the north-west fogs, had always been inferior to the gardens of the more inland missions. It was now choked with weeds and bushes; and the walls were broken down in many places, though, by a characteristic exertion of Californian industry, piles of skulls had filled up some of the gaps, reminding one of the pound of buffalo-bones, a hundred feet square and five or six feet high, which had been constructed, a year or two ago, by the Indians of the prairies on the eastern side of the mountains.

The soil appeared to be light and sandy; but it had, as usual, the priests to thank for the means of artificial irrigation, a small stream having been brought from the hills under their direction, and made to

flow in tiny channels wherever water could be required.

We felt highly gratified by our visit, the more so as the day was bright and warm; and, after paying our respects to Señora Guerrero, a pretty young woman with black eyes and white teeth, we returned to Yerba Buena on the alcalde's steeds.

We should most probably have made an excursion as far as the mission of Santa Clara, had not the return of our courier, who arrived on the following day, hastened our departure for Monterey. It is one of the few establishments that still possess a resident priest; and Father Gonzales, a very different man from his reverence of San Rafael, is a truly worthy representative of the early missionaries. As the poor friars still continue to hope for better times, they generally strive, with a degree of zeal proportioned to their respective characters, to do their best for such buildings as may be under their own eyes; and, accordingly, Father Gonzales's mission is in a more perfect state of preservation than almost any similar establishment in the country. Besides that the church is said to be decorated with more than usual skill and magnificence, the neighbourhood presents one feature which reflects peculiar credit on the piety and energy of the Franciscans. Between the Pueblo of San José de Guadalupe and the mission of Santa Clara there lies an impassable swamp nearly five miles long; and in order to enable the inhabitants of the village to attend to their devotions, the fathers of their own accord bridged the morass from side to side with an excellent path of dry earth. Not con-

tented with mere utility, they planted either side of the mound with a row of trees; and now, to mark the difference between the disinterestedness of the authors of the gift and the ingratitude of its objects, some of the vagabonds of the Pueblo have begun to make unsightly gaps in the avenue, as being more temptingly situated for supplying them with timber than the natural forest.

The hopes of the future, in which the poor friars, as I have just mentioned, still indulge, had, at this time, derived considerable encouragement, from the appointment of a bishop in the person of a former colleague of Father Gonzales; and, while we lay at Yerba Buena, we had much pleasure in complying with that amiable man's request, that we should fire a salute, and hoist our colours, in honour of the arrival of his friend and superior at San Diego. The Bishop of the Californias is supposed to have made some arrangement with the Mexican Government for, at least, the partial restoration of the missions—a circumstance which affords high satisfaction, not only to the priesthood, but also to the more respectable portion of the laity. That the missions can recover their cattle and resume their lands, is morally impossible; and that the priests will break new ground in some of the inland valleys, with the certain prospect of future spoliation before them, is very improbable. But the original establishments, with comparatively limited means, may still be devoted, under the light of past experience, to a more useful purpose than before. Let the priests treat the savage not as a child but as a man; let them consider him not as a

mere machine but as a rational being; let them train him, not by physical coercion, but by motives addressed to his head and heart, to think and act for himself in the various relations of life. Above all, let them humanize the whites by the influences of religion; for, without the hearty co-operation of the colonists, the civilization of the savages can be neither complete nor permanent.

The expedition of our courier to Monterey, excepting that the interval had been agreeably spent by us at San Francisco, had been fruitless, for he returned with orders that the Cowlitz should instantly proceed to the seat of government, without landing any thing at Yerba Buena, and the strict letter of the law, notwithstanding the peculiarities of our case, was to be enforced against us; the real truth, probably, being, that Alvarado thought that the duties would be safer if paid under his own eye, than if left at the mercy of the other king of Brentford, his uncle, Vallego.

The law in question is oppressive to strangers, and pernicious to the government. As a striking instance of its oppression, a schooner, which was entirely laden with goods for San Francisco, lately became a wreck in Drake's Bay, which she had mistaken for her harbour, losing nearly the whole of a cargo, on which she had just paid fifteen thousand dollars of duty at Monterey. With regard, again, to the effect of the law on the interests of the government, a vessel, after entering herself, and obtaining an unconditional and unlimited permission to trade in the country, not unfrequently contrives to receive additional goods from an unlicensed

consort, or to pick them up, where, perhaps, she has herself left them, in some distant nook or other of the coast, or in some of the adjacent islands. This evil is, of course, aggravated by the extravagance of the tariff, inasmuch as such extravagance renders the temptation to smuggle almost irresistible; and so well aware are the authorities of this fact, that they are generally glad to compound for the duties with all but the novices, and to accept the composition not in specie but in goods.

CHAPTER VIII.

MONTEREY.

Voyage to Monterey—Landing—Town, buildings and furniture, &c. — Neighbourhood — Christening of bridge — Mr. Spence — Governor Alvarado — Unsophisticated cockney — Californian ignorance — Mr. Ermatinger's journey from Vancouver to Monterey—Californians and Indians— Murderous desecration of baptism — Selfishness and indifference of public authorities—Compromise with custom-house—Schooner California, untried convicts—Revenue law, impolitic and oppressive—Spanish America in general, its fiscal and political condition—Contrast between Spanish and English colonies — Fruits of Spanish American independence—Pueblo of Branciforte—Mission of Santa Cruz—Mission of San Carlos, past and present.

At three in the afternoon of the 12th we left Yerba Buena, exchanging salutes with Captain Wilson, of the Index. We passed the presidio and fort under the influence of a strong ebb-tide, which, after rounding the southern side of the entrance, rushes to the southward at the rate of six knots an hour. In the very direction of the current there lay some rocks; and, as the wind failed us just at the point, the vessel, which no longer had any way upon her, was hurried towards them like a log. The anchor was dropped with thirty fathoms of chain, but dragged till we were within a few yards of the object of our fears; and when at last it did hold, it was raised so as barely to touch the bottom, that, by thus counteracting, in some degree,

the action of the tide, it might enable the ship to obey her helm. By this operation of kedging, as it is, I believe, technically termed, we steered clear of the rocks, when the wind freshened sufficiently to enable us to stand off from the shore, which was not above a cable's length distant. Luckily, the rocks in question show all their danger above water, for there is a depth of seven fathoms round each of them; so that the Catilina, now lying at Yerba Buena, was lately carried in safety between them.

During the greater part of the voyage, the appearance of the coast was very uninteresting, consisting, as it did, of a chain of sandy hills, covered with a scanty verdure. By the morning of the 14th we passed the point of Santa Cruz, forming the northern extremity of the Bay of Monterey, which resembles a segment of a circle with a chord of about eighteen miles; but, in consequence of the lightness of the winds, it was eight in the evening, of the 15th, before we came abreast of the castle, and cast anchor in the neighbourhood of four vessels—the American barque Fama, schooner Julia Ann, and brig Bolivar, and the Mexican schooner California.

The harbour, if harbour it can be called, is merely the southern end of the bay, protected from the west by the northerly inclination of Point Pinos. It is sheltered from only one of the prevailing winds, the south-easter of the short winter; and so little is it land-locked, that, in the most favourable state of wind and weather, the whole beach presents nearly as troublesome a surf as the shore of the open ocean. Well was

it described by one of the band of Franciscans, who first visited it after the days of Vizcaino, as "this horrible port of Monterey."

Next morning, by eight o'clock, we exchanged a salute of seven guns with the castle, which was at present so flush of gunpowder as to return our compliment without borrowing from us, as it sometimes condescends to do, the needful for the purpose; and soon afterwards we were boarded by six officers of the customs, who flocked down to our vessel like vultures to their prey. As they came up the side of the ship, they exhibited a superabundance of bowing and smiling; and, after the ordinary ceremonies were exhausted, they were conducted into the cabin, in order to proceed to business. When told that we had paid our tonnage dues at San Francisco, and had no cargo to land in Monterey, they looked like a disappointed batch of expectant legatees, leaving the table, on which the wine was already placed, with dry lips and lengthened faces.

To ourselves, however, the visit was by no means unwelcome, as a necessary preliminary to our going on shore—an operation which we effected by waiting on the outer edge of the surf, till a comber, as it is technically distinguished, wafted our boat into a little cove at the foot of the custom-house; and then one or two of the sailors, jumping out, dragged her up, so that, when the wave retired, we were high and dry on the beach.

Though infinitely inferior, as a port, to San Francisco and San Diego, yet Monterey, from its central

position, has always been the seat of government. It was, however, only after the revolution of 1836 that it could be compared with the other settlements in point of commercial importance, having suddenly expanded from a few houses into a population or about seven hundred souls.

The town occupies a very pretty plain, which slopes towards the north, and terminates to the southward, in a tolerably lofty ridge. It is a mere collection of buildings, scattered as loosely on the surface as if they were so many bullocks at pasture; so that the most expert surveyor could not possibly classify them even into crooked streets. What a curious dictionary of circumlocutions a Monterey Directory would be! The dwellings, some of which attain the dignity of a second story, are all built of adobes, being sheltered on every side from the sun by overhanging eaves, while, towards the rainy quarter of the south-east, they enjoy the additional protection of boughs of trees, resting, like so many ladders, on the roof. In order to resist the action of the elements, the walls, as I have already mentioned with respect to the mission of San Francisco, are remarkably thick; though this peculiarity is here partly intended to guard against the shocks of earthquakes, which are so frequent that a hundred and twenty of them were felt during two successive months of the last summer. This average, however, of two earthquakes a day is not so frightful as it looks, the shocks being seldom severe, and often so slight, according to Basil Hall's experience in South America, as to escape the notice of the uninitiated stranger.

Externally, the habitations have a cheerless aspect, in consequence of the paucity of windows, which are almost unattainable luxuries. Glass is rendered ruinously dear by the exorbitant duties, while parchment, surely a better substitute than a cubic yard of adobes, is clearly inadmissible in California, on account of the trouble of its preparation; and, to increase the expense, carpenters are equally extravagant and saucy, charging three dollars for such a day's work as one is likely to get from fellows that will not labour more than three days in the week. After all, perhaps the Californians do not feel the privation of light to be an evil. While it certainly makes the rooms cooler, it cannot, by any possibility, interfere with the occupations of those who do nothing; and, even for the purposes of ventilation, windows are hardly needed, inasmuch as the bedding, the only thing that requires fresh air, is daily exposed to the sun and wind. Among the Californian housewives, the bed is quite a show, enjoying, as it does, the full benefit of contrast. While the other furniture consists of a deal-table and some badly-made chairs, with probably a dutch clock and an old looking-glass, the bed ostentatiously challenges admiration, with its snowy sheets fringed with lace, its pile of soft pillows covered with the finest linen or the richest satin, and its well-arranged drapery of costly and tasteful curtains. Still, notwithstanding the washings and the airings, this bed is but a whited sepulchre, concealing in the interior a pestilential wool-mattress, the impregnable stronghold of millions of *las pulgas*.

As to public buildings, this capital of a province

may, with a stretch of charity, be allowed to possess four. First is the church, part of which is going to decay, while another part is not yet finished; its only peculiarity is that it is built, or rather half-built, of stone. Next comes the castle, consisting of a small house, surrounded by a low wall, all of adobes. It commands the town and anchorage, if a garrison of five soldiers and a battery of eight or ten rusty and honeycombed guns can be said to command anything. Third in order is the guard-house, a paltry mud-hut, without windows. Fourth and last stands the custom-house, which is, or rather promises to be, a small range of decent offices; for, though it has been building for five years, it is not yet finished.

The neighbourhood of the town is pleasingly diversified with hills, and offers abundance of timber. The soil, though light and sandy, is certainly capable of cultivation; and yet there is neither field nor garden to be seen. If one were to judge from appearances, even the trouble of fencing would exceed the limits of Californian patience, for we here and there saw premises enclosed, after a fashion, by branches of trees stuck in the ground; and this miserable makeshift was the less excusable, as the adjacent pastures were inconveniently overgrown with the prickly pear, growing to the height of twelve feet, and armed with spikes too formidable for either man or beast to encounter.

Monterey is badly supplied with water, which, in consequence of the extraordinary drought of last year, lately brought a dollar a pipe. The small stream, which runs through the town, is generally dry in

summer, the very season when its water is most wanted.

On landing, we found that the good folks were all engaged at mass; and, accordingly, though rather late for the service, we followed them to church. There was a tolerable congregation of about two hundred people, principally females, who were all dressed alike, with a shawl over their heads, hanging down on their shoulders; and the priest was attended by two or three Indians, who appeared to be well versed in kneeling and crossing, &c., to be perfect masters, in short, of all the ceremonial drudgery of the Romish service. We entered the edifice only in time to receive his reverence's benediction, which, I am afraid, profited us but little, as Father Jesus Maria Real was said to bear a far stronger resemblance to Quigas of San Rafael than to Gonzales of Santa Clara. After mass, the pastor and his flock went to christen a bridge, which had been lately thrown over the little river of the town, and was now gaily decorated with banners, &c., for the occasion. In California, every spot, Monterey alone excepted, is dedicated to some saint or other—a mockery of names, which forms a curious contrast with the pillage of every thing else. General Vallego has been the only consistent spoiler, having substituted, as I have already said, the old term Sonoma for the name of the saint whom he had robbed of lands, and herds, and priests—San Francisco Solano.

As we took very little interest in the christening of the bridge, we readily attached ourselves to Mr. Spence, a native of Huntly, in Aberdeenshire, who had con-

ducted a flourishing business here for more than nine years. After being introduced by that gentleman at the door of the church to several of the principal inhabitants, we were carried by him to the residence of Governor Alvarado. Making far less display than his compeer Vallego, the Governor has no soldiers about him, and lives in a small house, which is but poorly furnished. We were ushered into his Excellency's best apartment, which contained a host of common chairs, a paltry table, a kind of a sofa, a large Dutch clock, and four or five cheap mirrors, boasting, however, the unique feature of three large windows that reached to the floor, and communicated with a balcony overlooking the town and bay.

We found the governor lame, as we had already found the commander of the forces, the cause in the one instance being not less characteristic than in the other. Vallego had been thrown from his horse, while amusing himself with the lasso; but, about a month ago, Alvarardo, who had been entertaining the priest and some other friends, in honour of the saint of the day—probably the very saint who had been forced to contribute the wine — managed, by means of his windows and his balcony, to fall to the ground and dislocate his ankle. The nephew, in fact, possesses little of the talent and decision of the uncle, being, at least according to his present practice, more remarkable for love of conviviality than for anything else. Whatever ability he may have displayed in rising from an inferior rank to be the first man in California, he has not allowed the cares of government to prey on his vitals, for the revo-

lution of 1836, amid its other changes, has metamorphosed its champion from a thin and spare conspirator, into a plump and punchy lover of singing, and dancing, and feasting. He received us very politely, but declined, on account of his lameness, my invitation to dine with us next day on board of the Cowlitz.

After half an hour's chat, we took our departure for Mr. Spence's house, where we had the pleasure of being introduced to his pretty and lively wife, a donna, of course, of the country. Thence we boxed the compass through the town, tacking and beating in every direction, in order to pay our respects to some of the inhabitants at their own homes. Among others, we visited an unsophisticated cockney of the name of Watson, from "Redriff," whose father had been "in the public line," and had kept "the Noah's Hark, 'tween the Globe Stairs and the 'Orse Ferry." Though he had been eighteen years in California, yet he was apparently unconscious of any lapse of time, for his notions of persons and places were pretty much the same as he had imbibed under the paternal roof. He talked as if the churchyards had enjoyed a sinecure, and as if docks and railways had committed no trespasses; and yet, while he supposed all the rest of the world to be standing still, he himself had contrived to scrape together the largest fortune in the province. Watson's simplicity did not greatly surprise us; for, even if he had been less deeply immersed in hides and tallow, and perhaps more delicate speculations, he would hardly have obtained the means of regular and continuous information. To take our own case, we had left the Atlantic nine months be-

fore, having tarried one month on Red River, and at least two months on the Columbia, besides making an offset to Sitka; and yet, in all California, we found no later news than our own from Great Britain or the United States. The demand for knowledge is necessarily inconsiderable in California. The only seminary of education in the province is a petty school at Monterey; and though under the old system, parents were, by law, obliged to send their children to the nearest mission for instruction, yet very few individuals of any age can either write or read.

While returning to our boat, we were saluted by a horseman in Spanish costume, whom we at length recognised, through his disguise, to be Mr. Ermatinger, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, who had left Vancouver for California about the time of our return from Sitka, in command of our annual party of trappers. Having heard at Sonoma that he had arrived on the banks of the Sacramento, I requested him by letter to follow me, if necessary, to Monterey, that we might have an interview on matters of business; and he had accordingly hastened to Yerba Buena, whence, finding that the Cowlitz had got the start of him by a few hours, he had pursued his journey by land to this place. After tracing the Willamette to its sources, Mr. Ermatinger had crossed the height of land into the valley of the Calamet River, thence making his way to the snowy chain which terminates in Cape Mendocino. The latter portion of this route ran through the country which had been the scene of the cowardly atrocities of some Americans; but, though the Indians did, for a time, make

the Company's innocent servants pay the penalty of the guilt of others, yet, through the influence of kindness and firmness combined, they have, within these last two years, permitted our people to pass unmolested. Mr. Ermatinger then crossed the snowy chain aforesaid by the Pit Mountain, so called from the number of pitfalls dug by the neighbouring savages for the wild animals; and here, partly in consequence of the lateness of the season, he and his men had to march for three days through snow, which, in some places, was two feet deep. In fact, this mountain was notorious as the worst part of their journey; for about ten years before, our trappers, being overtaken by a violent storm, had lost, on this very ground, the whole of their furs, and nearly three hundred horses.

The party now entered the valley of the Sacramento, described by Mr. Ermatinger as presenting, in a length of eighty leagues, the richest and most verdant district on the western side of the Rocky Mountains. The country, however, is subject to inundations. On the 12th of December, while we were experiencing such heavy weather in Baker's Bay, Mr. Ermatinger and his people had encamped on a pretty tributary of the Sacramento, when, in consequence of torrents of rain, the stream rose nine feet during the night, swelling in to a tide that threatened to overflow, or sweep away, its banks. In the morning, they proceeded towards some rising ground, about five miles distant; but the intervening plain had become a perfect bog, so that it was eleven o'clock at night before the party assembled, with the exception of one poor squaw and several horses;

and, before daylight returned, their green knoll stood as an island in a considerable lake. The unfortunate woman was discovered to have died in the night; and the missing animals were standing, stiff and ghastly, upon their legs, with their loads on their backs.

Hence, Mr. Ermatinger proceeded to another tributary of the Sacramento, known as the Rivière la Cache; and here he despatched his hunters in different directions, with orders to meet him at a certain spot, about two days distant from Sonoma, by the 25th of April, the latest date at which the swarms of musquitoes would allow them to carry on their trapping in the haunts of the beaver and the otter. To the appointed place Mr. Ermatinger immediately went in person, with two or three men, and the wives and children of the party; and, having there met the messenger with our letters, he first announced his arrival to General Vallego, and then made his way to Yerba Buena.

From Yerba Buena Mr. Ermatinger's route lay along the bay as far as the Pueblo of San José de Guadalupe, thence advancing to the mission of Santa Clara; and from this establishment again it carried him through a beautiful district upwards of a hundred miles long, varied with hills and plains, woods and streams, all in a state of nature. I had myself intended to travel by this road from Yerba Buena to Monterey; and the more that I heard of it from Mr. Ermatinger, the more did I regret that I had permitted myself to be deterred from undertaking the journey by exaggerated accounts of the danger and discomfort which, at this season, the state of the waters was likely to occasion.

What a contrast does Mr. Ermatinger's brief narrative present to the position which the Spaniards occupy with respect to the Indians! While a handful of strangers leaves women and children almost unprotected in the wilderness, and sends forth solitary hunters in every direction, the permanent colonists of the country —many of them being themselves children of the soil— are the victims of a systematic course of savage depredation. In the palmy days of the missions, the practice of sending out soldiers to bag fresh subjects for civilization tended to embitter the naturally unfriendly feeling of the red man, more particularly as the aborigines of the interior were constitutionally more restless and energetic than the savages of the coast; and the revolution of 1836 aggravated the evil by turning loose into the woods a multitude of converts, whose power of doing mischief, besides being increased by knowledge and experience, was forced into full play by a sense of the injustice and inhumanity of the local government. But the Indians of all tribes are, from day to day, rendered more audacious by impunity. Too indolent to be always on the alert, the Californians overlook the constant pilferings of cattle and horses, till they are roused beyond the measure even of their patience, by some outrage of more than ordinary mark; and then, instead of hunting down the guilty for exemplary punishment, they destroy every native that falls in their way, without distinction of sex or age. The bloodhounds, of course, find chiefly women and children, for, in general, the men are better able to escape, butchering their helpless and inoffensive victims, after the blasphemous

mockery of baptism. The sanctifying of murder by the desecration of a Christian rite, however incredible it may seem, is a melancholy matter of fact, the performers in the tragedy doubtless believing that, if there be any truth in the maxim that the end justifies the means, surely the salvation of the soul is sufficient warrant for the destruction of the body. I subjoin a more detailed description, on the authority of an eye-witness.

When the incursions of the savages have appeared to render a crusade necessary, the alcalde of the neighbourhood summons from twelve to twenty colonists to serve, either in person or by substitute, on horseback; and one of the foreign residents, when nominated, about three years before, preferred the alternative of joining the party himself, in order to see something of the interior. After a ride of three days, they reached a village, whose inhabitants, for all that the crusaders knew to the contrary, might have been as innocent in the matter as themselves. But, even without any consciousness of guilt, the tramp of the horses was a symptom not to be misunderstood by the savages; and accordingly, all that could run, comprising, of course, all that could possibly be criminal, fled for their lives. Of those who remained, nine persons, all females, were tied to trees, christened, and shot. With great difficulty and considerable danger, my informant saved one old woman, by conducting her to a short distance from the accursed scene; and even there he had to shield the creature's miserable life by drawing a pistol against one of her merciless pursuers. She ultimately escaped, though not without seeing a near relative, a handsome youth, who

had been captured, slaughtered in cold blood before her eyes, with the outward and visible sign of regeneration still glistening on his brow.

Before any reader rejects the testimony of my informant on account of its intrinsic improbability, let him read, mark, and inwardly digest an anecdote told with much zest by the Jesuit historian of French Canada,—an anecdote of which the more horrible features, let us in charity believe, must have been veiled from the pious writer himself by the lofty phraseology of the Latin language.

The Christian Hurons had captured some of the heathen Iroquois, and had doomed them, according to custom, to die by the most cruel tortures. Without once exhorting his proselytes to the graces of mercy and forgiveness, the attendant missionary was contented to implore, and even to bribe them, that he might be permitted to baptize their victims. Christened the Iroquois were accordingly, reciting, either by rote or by inspiration, their new-born belief amid the torments of the fire and the knife, while their chief, who had received the name of Peter, rushed from the stake after his ligatures were consumed, and, with a blazing billet in either hand, scattered his circle of persecutors like a flock of sheep. It was to the foolhardy valour of this chief that the capture of himself and his countrymen had been owing; and, with reference to this fact, the Jesuit historian closes his extraordinary narrative, which occupies four pages of classical diction, by expressing his opinion that to the reckless courage of their leader the prisoners were indebted for their salvation,—an

opinion which, if entertained also by the attendant missionary, may sufficiently account both for what he did and for what he left undone, both for his anxiety to christen the Iroquois and for his indifference about humanizing the Hurons. In truth, cruelty, when thus varnished, becomes mercy in its loveliest form; the butchers of California, as well as those of Canada, having adopted the best means of doing the greatest good to those that hated them.

Under these circumstances, the two races live in a state of warfare that knows no truce. The Indian makes a regular business of stealing horses, that he may ride the tame ones, and eat such as are wild. Sometimes, however, he raises his eyes to the young brunettes themselves, one girl having been actually carried off from San Diego, and no less a person than Señora Vallego's sister having almost been the victim of a conspiracy which the General, with all his taste for foreign alliances, took care to defeat. In his turn, the Californian treats the savage, wherever he finds him, very much like a beast of prey, shooting him down, even in the absence of any specific charge, as a common pest and a public enemy, and still more decidedly disdaining, in a case of guilt, the aids of such law and justice as the country affords. In the latter event, he not merely punishes him on his own responsibility, but does so, in some degree, according to judicial forms; Mr. Spence's brother, who has a farm at a little distance from Monterey, having hanged two horse-stealers, who had confessed the crime, the very night before our arrival in the port.

For such a state of things, however, the public authorities are far more to blame than private individuals. Contented with extorting the amount of their own salaries from the missions and the foreign trade, they care little for the general welfare and security, though a band of fifty resolute horsemen, provided they chastised only the actual marauders, would hold at bay all the savages, with their wretched bows and arrows, between Sonoma and San Diego. In the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, it is no uncommon thing for twelve or fifteen men to maintain, with proper management, an isolated post in peace and safety against larger numbers of more formidable neighbours.

After being joined by Mr. Ermatinger, we made our way through the surf with some difficulty, and found, on board of the Cowlitz, two custom-house officers, one of them a brother of General Vallego. They remained with us all night, keeping a close watch on our movements.

Next morning, we were again boarded by the whole gang; and, after a good deal of chaffering and higgling, we entered into a compromise for transshipping into the Fama, which was bound for San Francisco, some necessary supplies for our establishment at Yerba Buena, paying exorbitant duties on some articles, and obtaining leave to pass others free. As an instance of the hardship to which vessels are subjected, in not being allowed to break bulk without visiting Monterey, we had to pay a freight of about two hundred dollars for carrying back part of our cargo to San Francisco, being at least 15 per cent. on the value of the shipment.

In all probability, the want of funds for fitting out the schooner California had rendered the authorities somewhat more pliable. As provisions were needed as well as money, Alvarado, as I have already mentioned, purchased from us some flour and salmon as sea-stores; all this preparatory fuss being necessary for the voyage of a paltry tub to San Blas, the nearest port in Mexico to California.

This national vessel, a mere apology for a coasting cruiser, is an old, cranky craft, not mounting a single gun, and so badly manned that she is unable to make any progress by beating against the wind. I have already mentioned that the skipper's wife, a sister of General Vallego, resides at Sonoma, so that, as soon as he casts anchor in Whalers' Harbour, Captain Cooper starts off with the boat and the bulk of the crew across the Bay of San Pedro, to see his friends; and, as the victualling department, which is never in a flourishing condition, is peculiarly low at the end of a voyage, the mate has been known to starve three days at a time, in sight of herds of cattle.

Besides our friend, Mr. Hales, who had been kicking his heels in Monterey in expectation of the sailing of the schooner, and some other passengers, the California had on board seven convicts, if men, who had not been tried, could be so called, who were to be transported by order of the executive government, on charges of murder and robbery, and to be left, as was supposed, on the uninhabited island of Santa Guadalupe, lying to the south of San Diego. On this spot there was said to be plenty of water and wild goats, though, in all proba-

bility, Alvarado did not care even if the fellows should die of hunger, or live by eating each other.

To return to the question of duties, the revenue of the province is by no means considerable, having amounted, last year, to about one hundred and ten thousand dollars. As the securalized missions, besides having seen their best days, are always fleeced by the administradors, whose "nails" are proverbially worth more than their pay, the treasury of course depends chiefly on the tariff for its supplies,—a tariff of which the whole burden falls at last on the colonists themselves. As the Californians enjoy no such monopoly of hides and tallow, as to influence the prices of those commodities in the market of the world, the foreign trader, in his dealings with them, must, of course, deduct from the actual value of his purchases at least the full tale of the dollars which the government has previously exacted from him. To give an instance, without aiming at extreme accuracy, the goods which are now given for three hides would, if untaxed, be paid for two. Thus, to sum up, in one word, the proceedings of the citizens and rulers of this teeming land, the rapacity of the latter fearfully depreciates the only equivalents which the indolence of the former enables them to offer for all the comforts and luxuries of civilized life. To make matters worse, the Californians receive little or no return for the virtual confiscation of one third of their substance; for the whole of the spoil is devoured by the mere semblance of a government, which, as we have elsewhere seen, has neither the power nor the inclination to protect the two thirds that are left.

As an example of the profligate expenditure of the public money, the custom-house of Monterey, though it has to deal only once for all with every vessel that trades on the coast, musters twelve leeches, that suck the blood of the country to the tune of fifteen thousand dollars a year. The whole of the fiscal business might be equally well done, at a third part of the expense, by a collector, a comptroller, and a clerk; and it is a mere pretext to say that the present twelve are maintained to be a check on each other by the Mexican government, which, as it draws no revenue from the province, has nearly as little interest in the matter as the Emperor of China. In truth, the revolutionary functionaries of California, after seizing the reins of power in defiance of the central authorities, make, as is to be expected, a mere convenience of the laws of the republic, enforcing them to-day against others, but dispensing with them to-morrow in favour of themselves.

But the state of things, which has been just described, is not peculiar to California. Throughout the whole of Spanish America, the machine, which is called a government, appears to exist only for its own sake, the grand secret of office being to levy a revenue and consume it; and public men have little or no object in life but to share the booty, while private individuals look with apathy on intrigues which promise no other change than that of the names of their plunderers. Hence, in the absence of any balancing power, such as public opinion, between those who possess the spoil and those who covet it, almost every change of rulers is effected by a successful rebellion, by the triumph of

force over law. In a word, the whole country either always is, or is always liable to be, the prey of violence and disorganization, one part of it differing from another only in this characteristic way, that the elements of anarchy are numerous and powerful, in proportion to the nearness of the seat of government. Nor ought such a system of misrule to surprise us. In the days of Spanish domination, no native of the country, even if the proudest blood of Castile alone flowed in his veins, was competent to fill the lowest office under the crown; while the old Spaniards, who were the local rulers of every colony, were universally expelled, under the new order of things, by those who, besides envying them as a privileged class, hated them as the instruments of an intolerable despotism. Thus, after the achievement of independence, the country found itself almost utterly destitute of political experience, while the entire remodelling of its institutions rendered such a qualification necessary in its highest possible degree. Hitherto ruled by an oligarchy of strangers, who were themselves the slaves of the most arbitrary sovereign in Europe, the Spanish colonies, as if by a leap, emerged at once into the position of independent republics with hardly any other definite principles to guide them in the selection of what was new than the indiscriminate hatred of all that was old. The result was inevitable. Liberty degenerated into licentiousness, while power was merely another name for tyranny; and, though the reality of government nowhere existed, yet the form of the thing was multiplied beyond all former example, either by the constant succession of sectional struggles,

or by the occasional disruption of a whole into its parts.

As Spain is deeply responsible for the miseries of her transatlantic children, so has England reason to claim much of the merit of the very different career of her revolted colonies. Founded chiefly by various sects, that left England to avoid a persecution which, in Spain, would have been hailed as mercy, the revolted colonies were, from their very commencement, governed by themselves on principles which were republican in everything but the name. Their revolutionary war, therefore, affected little or nothing of their laws and institutions, but the tie that connected them with the old country, leaving, on the whole, the same men to keep the same machinery in motion; and, to illustrate and to establish this by an instance, Rhode Island retained, and, I believe, still retains, her royal charter, without comment or alteration, as her republican constitution.

Now, mark the result, as contrasted with the condition of Spanish America. In spite of the essential evils of pure democracy—a government which can be efficient only where the virtue and patriotism of the great mass of a people are such as to render government almost superfluous—the citizens of every state in the confederation enjoy a degree of security for property, liberty, and life, such as is utterly unknown in any portion of Spanish America; again, instead of constantly fluctuating, at the expense of much blood and treasure, between centralism and federation, our transatlantic kindred have, for more than fifty years, exhi-

bited a union of their own making, which, without trenching on the rights of its component parts with respect to internal proceedings, curiously blends in itself the principles of a consolidated dominion with those of a federal republic; and, last, though not least, the United States, in all that constitutes the material prosperity of a nation, have surpassed every country but the one that gave them birth, standing before the world as the most formidable rival of England in the race that has made her what she is—a position which accounts, more satisfactorily than anything else, for the undisguised and incurable jealousy, on the part of the Americans, of the land of their fathers.

But to return to the Spanish colonies: there appears to be reasonable room for doubting whether their independence has not cost them more than it is worth in an anarchy, which, inherent as it seems to be in every man's mind, threatens to be as durable as it is general. If Spain ruled her sons with a rod of iron, she secured to them, in a pre-eminent degree, the blessings of peace and order; if she burdened and fettered them, she guaranteed the undisturbed enjoyment of all the energy and freedom that she left; if she enhanced the price of imported goods by taxes and restrictions, she took care that the resources, which were to buy them, should not be wasted by the locust-like marches and countermarches of alternately victorious factions. In truth, the emancipation of Spanish America has been an unmixed good to the English races alone, for on them it has conferred, not only the monopoly of the trade, but also, through such monopoly, the virtual sovereignty of the country and of its adjacent oceans.

To resume the thread of my journal: the Catilina arrived to-day, the 17th of the month, from San Francisco, swelling the number of vessels in port to six. The air was cool, with heavy rain, from morning to night; and the tops of the distant mountains were covered with snow. It was quite the weather for a fire; and, as there was no pleasure in going ashore to be drenched, we took care to have our full allowance of the luxury of a blaze on board. Several whales were sporting near our vessel, the bay of Monterey being a favourite resort of that fish; and we were told that the shark, the thresher, the cod, and the sardine, also abounded. The sardine, by the by, furnishes an admirable illustration of the industry of the good folks of this province. The Californians, as has been elsewhere stated, eat no fish, because thay have no boats to catch them; but, when a westerly gale has driven millions of sardines on the strand, they do take the trouble of cooking what Dame Nature has thus poured into their laps.

The only places in the neighbourhood which are worthy of notice are, the Pueblo of Branciforte, and the Missions of Santa Cruz and San Carlos, the first two lying on the Bay of Monterey, and the last on the River Carmelo.

Branciforte contains barely a hundred and fifty inhabitants; and, as being the least populous, it is also, of course, the least profligate of the three pueblos of the upper province. But the deficiency of the pueblo in this respect is said to have been in some measure supplied by the uncanonical proceedings of some of the fathers of the neighbouring mission. In 1823, one

Quintanes, then a priest of Santa Cruz, forgot one of his vows in the society of a certain squaw, who, through penitence, or indignation, or vanity, or some other motive, let her husband into the secret of her conquest. After watching his opportunity, the man at last succeeded in mutilating the lover in the most brutal manner, leaving him insensible, but was himself dragged to the calabozo, whence, according to common rumour, he was soon afterwards carried off by the devil for his impiety. Quintanes, on the contrary, died with the fame of a martyr, for a long time elapsed before the truth was known through the confessions of a woman who had been privy to the injured savage's fatal revenge. Treading in the footsteps of Quintanes, though with more caution and greater success, his present reverence of Santa Cruz, brother of the jovial priest of Monterey, finds pleasant relaxation, to say nothing of his bottle, in a seraglio of native beauties, which is said to be, in general, more numerously garrisoned than the Castle of Monterey. I need hardly add, that the mission in question is in the usual state of decay and dilapidation; and, in fact, being so close to the seat of government, it was sure to be one of the first to suffer,—for a Californian is not likely to advance one step faster or farther than is necessary even in the pleasant and profitable path of spoliation.

Originally, the mission of San Carlos also stood on the bay, being the second that was established in the upper province. In a former passage, I have noticed that an expedition, which had been sent from San Diego by land to discover Monterey, had failed in its imme-

diate object, though it succeeded in making the more valuable discovery of the Harbour of San Francisco. Next year, however, two expeditions, the one by land, and the other by sea, reached the desired spot; and a graphic letter—whose second paragraph is a curiosity well worth preserving—conveyed from Father Junipero Serra to Father Palou the following account of their proceedings.

"My dearest friend and sir. On the 31st day of May, by the favour of God, after rather a painful voyage of a month and a half, this packet, San Antonio, commanded by Don Juan Perez, arrived and anchored in this horrible port of Monterey, which is unaltered in any degree from what it was when visited by the expedition of Don Sebastian Vizcaino, in the year 1603. It gave me great consolation to find that the land expedition had arrived eight days before us, and that Father Crespi and all others were in good health. On the 3rd of June, being the holy day of Pentecost, the whole of the officers of sea and land, and all the people, assembled on a bank at the foot of an oak, where we caused an altar to be raised, and the bells to be rung: we then chanted the *Veni Creator*, blessed the water, erected and blessed a grand cross, hoisted the royal standard, and chanted the first mass that was ever performed in this place; we afterwards sang the *Salve* to Our Lady, before an image of the most illustrious Virgin, which occupied the altar; and at the same time I preached a sermon, concluding the whole with a *Te Deum*. After this, the officers took possession of the country in the name of the King our lord (whom God

preserve!). We then all dined together in a shady place on the beach; the whole ceremony being accompanied by many volleys and salutes by the troops and vessels.

"As in last May it is a whole year since I have received any letter from a christian country, your reverence may suppose in what want we are of news; but for all that, I only ask you, when you can get an opportunity to inform me, what our most holy father, the reigning pope, is called, that I may put his name in the canon of the mass; also to say if the canonization of the beatified Joseph Cupertino and Serafino Asculi has taken place; and if there is any other beatified one, or saint, in order that I may put them in the calendar, and pray to them; we having, it would appear, taken our leave of all printed calendars. Tell me also if it is true that the Indians have killed Joseph Soler in Sonora, and how it happened; and if there are any other friends defunct, in order that I may commend them to God, with anything else that your reverence may think fit to communicate to a few poor hermits, separated from human society. We proceed to-morrow to celebrate the feast, and make the procession of *Corpus Christi*, (although in a very poor manner,) in order to scare away whatever little devils there possibly may be in this land. I kiss the hands, &c.

"Fr: Junipero Serra."

As all this happened, at the earliest, in the year 1770, some of the younger witnesses of the solemn and ambitious pomp may have lived, and may still be alive, to mark the contrast. To say nothing more of the expul-

sion of the friars, and the desecration of their labours, the Spanish crown, which, by its recent acquisition of French Louisiana, then possessed a colonial empire stretching in length from the sources of the Missouri to the confluence of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and, in its breadth, generally embanking either ocean, was left in about half a century without a single province, or even a single partisan, on the American Continent. This revolution, more extensively influential than any other that the world had ever seen, was far too improbable to enter, at that time, into any human calculations of the future. The United States had not yet given life and form to the opinion, that distant dependencies must sooner or later become independent; the colonial rulers, whether civil or military, were, through the prejudices of birth and station, more deeply attached to Spain than to her provinces, while the colonists themselves, sunk in ignorance and luxury, were contented to hug the muffled chains that checked their growth and impeded their movements; and, though here and there liable to be plundered by foreign assailants, yet Spanish America, as a whole, had proved herself to be more decidedly impregnable than perhaps any other country on the face of the globe. But, as if in mockery of man's foresight, the axe was already laid to the root of the tree. In 1763, the cession of Canada to England, and the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, by relieving the English colonies from their hereditary terror of France, had broken the strongest tie that kept them to their allegiance; and in 1765, within three short years, they had practically exhibited, in forcibly resisting the execution of an imperial

statute, the rebellious tendency of their new-born ease and security,—a tendency which, in eleven years more, ripened into the declaration of independence.

Again, the American war, partly by inspiring the French auxiliaries with an enthusiasm for liberty, and partly by embarrassing the French finances beyond the hope of remedy, was one main and immediate cause of that great European revolution, which, by placing Spain under the armed heels of a foreign dynasty, gave to Mexico and South America, at once, a favourable opportunity and a plausible pretext for rebellion; thus sending back to the one-half of the new world the same impulse which it had itself originally received from the other.

The heavy rain on Monday was on Tuesday succeeded by bright and warm weather, and we gladly went ashore, though at the cost of upsetting one of our boats in the surf. Such an accident is quite common, particularly with men unaccustomed to the work—our captain, for instance, and a whole party of friends, who had been dining on board, having been comfortably capsized into a cold bath, no farther back than last evening.

Though I was myself detained by business in the town, yet most of my friends started off to visit the mission of San Carlos, which, in this its second situation, is about four miles distant from Monterey, lying near the sea, on the Carmelo. The intervening country was very picturesque, presenting a succession of grassy slopes, with a sufficient sprinkling of timber to relieve the monotony: while in the distance there appeared, in

pleasing contrast, the illimitable ocean on the one hand, and the snow-capped mountains on the other. The number of cattle that grazed on the rich pasturage was very considerable. In fact, throughout the whole country, the herds roam so much at will, as to be dangerous to those who are not well mounted; and instances are not uncommon, in which solitary individuals have been "treed," for several hours at a time, by some ferocious rascal of an old bull.

Near the mission there is a very distinct rent in the earth, of a mile or so in length, and of thirty or forty feet in depth, the result of one of the recent earthquakes. The mission itself, in addition to the hand of the spoiler, has also had this same subterranean enemy to encounter; for the beautiful church, which, as usual, superstition has wrested from rapacity, has had one side pretty severely shattered by a recent shock. The exterior of this sacred edifice is more highly finished than is generally the case in the missions, inasmuch as the skill and taste of the good fathers have, in most instances, been reserved for the interior decorations. Two elegant towers sustain a peal of six bells; and on the walls of the same are two or three monuments; one of them, which reminded us that we too were strangers in the land, in memory of a marine of the "Venus," closing an appropriate inscription with the characteristic request, "Priez pour lui." In the interior, among other images, are two of the Virgin Mary, each holding a beautifully-dressed doll, to represent the infant Saviour. In addition to the images there are several excellent pictures, each surmounting a tablet,

which bears some description of it, generally terse and pithy; for instance, underneath the representation of Christ carrying his cross, the reader finds a homily in the line, "Thy sins were the cause of this misery." Several paintings portrayed, for the edification of the savages, the torments of purgatory and hell; and opposite to them was a realization of heaven, with an amusing preponderance of popes, priests, and nuns.

With the exception of the church, the immense ranges of buildings were all a heap of ruins. Here again, as in the case of Santa Cruz, the proximity of the ruling powers had hastened the work of destruction, the last tile having been rifled from the roofs, and sold to adorn the houses of Monterey. Of the seven hundred converts residing here, according to Humboldt, in 1802, not one remained; and the only living tenants of the establishment were a man and his wife, whose single duty was to take care of a church that had no priest.

CHAPTER IX.

SANTA BARBARA.

Voyage from Monterey—Mrs. Wilson—Von Resanoff and Donna Conception—Town, its situation and buildings, &c.—Inhabitants, manners, and dress, and customs, &c.—Resemblance of Spanish colonist to old Spaniard—Californian happiness and ease—*Compadres* and *Commadres*—Californian hospitality—Bishop of Santa Barbara—Episcopal pomp—Roman see, its estimate of distant dependencies—Home-made wine and brandy — Church — Santa Guadalupe and the miraculous blanket—Organist—Candlemas-day, gunpowder—Valley of Santa Barbara—Aqueducts and cisterns — Grist-mill—Garden — Indian village, remarkably old woman—Ball, with Scotch reel—Embarkation—Carcase of right whale—Perfect paradise for fish—Bishop's present of wine—San Pedro, pueblo of Nuestra Senora, with its bulls and its bears—Mission of San Gabriel—Valley of the Tulares, bands of horses—"Police" of California—San Diego—Concluding remarks on California—Gradual spread of English race in new world—Ultimate destiny of California—British claims, financial and territorial—Arrival in region of trade-winds.

On the 19th of the month, having completed our business in Monterey, we prepared to take our leave. But, as there was not a breath of wind all day, it was ten in the evening before we got under way, in company with the Fama and the Bolivar, and the two schooners California and Julia Ann, leaving the port and its twelve tax-gatherers deserted by every vessel except the Catilina. By next morning, the wind was right ahead, with the south-easter's usual accompaniment of thick and rainy weather—a state of things

which continued with no other change than an increase of the gale, till, towards evening on the 22nd, the sky began to clear, and the wind hauled round to the westward. At this time, according to our dead reckoning, we were off Point Conception, a remarkable promontory, whence the coast, instead of continuing to run a little to the east of south, trends nearly due east for a very considerable distance. Besides this peculiarity, the headland in question possesses the more practical distinction of terminating the belt of coast, which, during nine months of the year, is affected, more particularly in the mornings, by the north-west fogs; and, in fact, the sudden turn of the land places all, that is, below Point Conception, in the same position as the interior, with respect to the prevailing breezes of the summer. It is, moreover, probably with a precise reference to this cape, that San Francisco and Monterey, on the one hand, and Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and San Diego, on the other, are respectively classified as the windward and the leeward ports.

About thirty miles to the eastward of Point Conception lies Santa Barbara, with four islands abreast of it in the distant offing; and, in reliance on our dead reckoning, we ran boldly before the wind, so as to make a straight course for our destined port. About eleven in the evening, the first of the islands, as we supposed, was seen on our starboard bow; but, before midnight, the cry of "Land ahead!"—land so near, that we could discern the surf breaking on the beach—came just in time to prevent us from running ashore in the bay of San Luis Obispo, situated forty miles to the

north of Point Conception. To us, the error in our calculations appeared to be the more unaccountable at the time, inasmuch as we had been taking for granted that the current on the coast uniformly set towards the south, and was, therefore, always in our favour. But we soon came to the natural conclusion, that the current must be affected in its direction by the wind; and, besides our own experience in corroboration of this view, we found, from Langsdorff, that Von Resanoff's vessel, already mentioned, had been repeatedly carried to the northward, in the month of March, by the currents having, on one occasion, drifted imperceptibly, in a single night, from the mouth of the Columbia to the entrance of Whidbey's Harbour. In fact, where there do not happen to be any disturbing causes, this connexion between winds and currents may be regarded as a physical law, whether it be that the air moves the water, or the water the air. Thus the easterly trade-wind forces the Atlantic into the Carribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, with a current accelerated by the comparative narrowness of the intermediate channels; while this same current, forced to the north-eastward, under the name of the Florida Stream, by the opposing continent, is doubtless assisted in cleaving its well-defined way to the banks of Newfoundland, by the general prevalence of the south-westers on the adjacent waters.

Having escaped from the danger of the baffling currents,—almost the only danger on this part of the coast, for, at least to the north of Point Conception, the terrors of a lee-shore are hardly known, — we next

morning doubled Point Conception in real earnest; but, as the wind was light, it was dark before we could reach the roadstead. Seeing the Julia Ann standing into the port, we fired a rocket and blue light for signals to guide us; but, though the schooner took the hint, yet she was too far off for us to benefit by her answers. We, therefore, lay-to for the night.

In the morning, we found ourselves distant about ten miles from the mission of Santa Barbara, which, being situated on an eminence within a quarter of an hour's walk from the town, forms, with its white-washed walls, an excellent landmark for steering into the harbour. Being almost becalmed, with the prospect of not gaining an anchorage for several hours, we lowered the whaleboat, and stowed away as many of our party as she could accommodate, boarding the Julia Ann on our way, to thank her owner, Mr. Thompson, for his politeness of the previous evening. It was well that we did so; for, unless that gentleman had added to his kindness by accompanying us in his own boat to the proper landing-place, we should have had considerable difficulty in getting ashore. During the season of the south-easters, the surf is sometimes so heavy as to prevent boats from landing, to say nothing of their grounding on the sands and being entangled in the sea-weed. In summer, however, the surf is less dangerous, while the shallows are said to be deepened by the banking up of the sand on the beach in the absence of the seaward gales.

With the pilotage of Mr. Thompson and the assistance of his boat's crew, which luckily happened to

consist chiefly of Sandwich islanders, perfect ducks of fellows, we surmounted all obstacles without any mishap; and our guide, after conducting us to his residence and introducing us to Mrs. Thompson, handed us over to Mr. Scott, a native of Perth, to whom we had letters of introduction from his partner, Captain Wilson of the Index. Mr. Scott, who is one of the most prosperous merchants in the country, received us in such a manner as to make us feel that we were among friends, —an impression which every face that we saw in Santa Barbara only tended to confirm.

We immediately started to pay our respects to the principal inhabitants, amongst others Don Antonio Oreaga, Don Antonio Aguire, Don Carlos Carillo, and Mrs. Burke, by all of whom we were received with great cordiality; and then, returning to Captain Wilson's house, where Mr. Scott resided, we had the pleasure of being introduced to Mrs. Wilson, whom we already knew by name as a sister of Señora Vallego, and whom we now found to be one of the prettiest and most agreeable women that we had ever met either here or elsewhere. Before she became Mrs. Wilson, she had been the wife of Captain Pacheco, one of the few persons that have lost their lives in consequence of the revolutionary troubles of California,—a country in which, from various causes, intestine commotions have hitherto been comparatively harmless. Having been comrades in the same service, or being the sons of such as were so, the Californians cherish, either by habit or by inheritance, feelings of mutual regard, while their simplicity of character and contentedness of disposition

tend to prevent them from being split into petty cliques by social vanities and commercial rivalries. Again, even when they are divided against each other by political excitement, they possess but scanty means of doing mischief. Gunpowder, as we have seen, is always a scarce article; the sword is an awkward weapon to wield where there is so little of personal animosity; and as to the lasso, the Californians have not yet elevated it, I believe, to the dignity of noosing men, however cleverly it can disable a fellow without either killing or wounding him. To return to Mrs. Wilson, she insisted on our making her house our head-quarters, while Mr. Scott devoted the whole of his time to our service in the double capacity of interpreter and guide.

After dinner, we were joined by the remainder of our party, the Cowlitz having by this time come to anchor; and we again sallied forth to see a few more of the lions. Among the persons whom we met this afternoon, was a lady of some historical celebrity. Von Resanoff, having failed, as elsewhere stated, in his attempt to enter the Columbia in 1806, continued his voyage as far as San Francisco, where, besides purchasing immediate supplies for Sitka, he endeavoured, in negociation with the commandant of the district and the governor of the province, to lay the foundation of a regular intercourse between Russian America and the Californian settlements. In order to cement the national union, he proposed uniting himself with Donna Conception Arguello, one of the commandant's daughters, his patriotism clearly being its own reward if half of Langsdorff's description was correct: "She was lively and

animated, had sparkling, love-inspiring eyes, beautiful teeth, pleasing and expressive features, a fine form, and a thousand other charms; yet her manners were perfectly simple and artless."

The chancellor, who was himself of the Greek Church, regarded the difference of religion with the eyes of a lover and a politician; but, as his imperial master might take a less liberal view of the matter, he posted away to St. Petersburgh with the intention, if he should there be successful, of subsequently visiting Madrid, for the requisite authority to carry his schemes into full effect. But the Fates, with a voice more powerful than that of emperors and kings, forbade the bans; and Von Resanoff died, on his road to Europe, at Krasnoyarsk in Siberia of a fall from his horse.

Thus at once bereaved of her lover, and disappointed in her hope of becoming a pledge of friendship between Russia and Spain, Donna Conception assumed the habit, but not, I believe, the formal vows, of a nun, dedicating her life to the instruction of the young and the consolation of the sick. This little romance could not fail to interest us; and, notwithstanding the ungracefulness of her conventual costume and the ravages of an interval of time, which had tripled her years, we could still discover in her face and figure, in her manners and conversation, the remains of those charms which had won for the youthful beauty Von Resanoff's enthusiastic love and Langsdorff's equally enthusiastic admiration. Though Donna Conception apparently loved to dwell on the story of her blighted affections, yet, strange to say, she knew not, till we mentioned it to her, the im-

mediate cause of the chancellor's sudden death. This circumstance might, in some measure, be explained by the fact, that Langsdorff's work was not published before 1814; but even then, in any other country than California, a lady, who was still young, would surely have seen a book, which, besides detailing the grand incident of her life, presented so gratifying a portrait of her charms.

Santa Barbara is somewhat larger than Monterey, containing about nine hundred inhabitants, while the one is just as much a maze without a plan as the other. Here, however, any thing of the nature of resemblance ends, Santa Barbara, in most respects, being to Monterey what the parlour is to the kitchen.

The site of the town has doubtless been fixed by the position of the port, if port it can be called. In the offing, as already stated, lie four islands, the nearest of them, however, being too distant to afford any shelter; the bay, as the shore of the mainland may perhaps be termed, is exposed at every point to the worst winds of the worst season of the year; and, to crown all, the bottom is not to be trusted in the hour of trial, being hard sand covered with sea-weed. But the port, such as it was, had been selected for want of a better, while the superiority of the climate, which was at once drier than that of San Francisco and Monterey, and cooler than that of San Pedro and San Diego, rendered the neighbourhood the favourite retreat of the more respectable functionaries, civil and military, of the province. Hence, among all the settlements as distinguished from the rascally pueblos, Santa Barbara possesses the double

advantage of being both the oldest and the most aristocratic.

The houses are not only well finished at first, but are throughout kept in good order; and the whitewashed adobes and the painted balconies and verandahs form a pleasing contrast with the overshadowing roofs blackened by means of bitumen, the produce of a neighbouring spring. Compared with the slovenly habitations of San Francisco and Monterey, the houses of Santa Barbara are built and maintained at an addition of cost the greater on this account, that nearly the whole of the difference immediately resolves itself into that most expensive of all articles in this indolent country, the time of hired labourers and mechanics. In spite of the abundance and cheapness of most of the materials, a comfortable dwelling of two stories cannot be erected for less than five or six thousand dollars in hard cash, while to the interest of the capital which is thus already sunk must be added the annual expenditure in repairing the inroads of wind and weather. But it is internally that the houses of Santa Barbara are seen to the greatest advantage. The rooms are, in general, handsomely furnished, many of them with carpets; and, indeed, the saloon of Don Antonio Aguire quite struck us with surprise, set off, as it was, by the presence of his young wife and her black-eyed beauty of a sister. In Santa Barbara, as elsewhere, the beds appear to be the grand point of attraction, and to embody all the skill and taste of the females of families; though the farther that one advances to the south, the linen and the lace, and the damask, and the satin, and the embroidery, serve

only to enshrine more populous and lively colonies of *Las Pulgas*,—decidedly the best lodged, and, as we found to our cost, not the worst fed denizens of California.

Nor is the superiority of the inhabitants less striking than that of their houses.

Of the women, with their witchery of manner, it is not easy, or rather it is not possible, for a stranger to speak with impartiality, inasmuch as our self-love is naturally enlisted in favour of those who, in every look, tone, and gesture, have apparently no other end in view than the pleasure of pleasing us. With regard, however, to their physical charms, as distinguished from the adventitious accomplishments of education, it is difficult even for a willing pen to exaggerate. Independently of feeling or motion, their sparkling eyes and glossy hair are in themselves sufficient to negative the idea of tameness or insipidity; while their sylph-like forms evolve fresh graces at every step, and their eloquent features eclipse their own inherent comeliness by the higher beauty of expression. Though doubtless fully conscious of their attractions, yet the women of California, to their credit be it spoken, do not "before their mirrors count the time," being, on the contrary, by far the more industrious half of the population. In California, such a thing as a white servant is absolutely unknown, inasmuch as neither man nor woman will barter freedom in a country, where provisions are actually a drug, and clothes almost a superfluity; and, accordingly, in the absence of intelligent assistance, the first ladies of the province, more particularly when treated, as they too seldom are by native husbands, with

kindness and consideration, discharge all the lighter duties of their households with cheerfulness and pride. Nor does their plain and simple dress savour much of the labour of the toilette. They wear a gown sufficiently short to display their neatly-turned foot and ankle, in their white stockings and black shoes, while, perversely enough, they bandage their heads in a handkerchief, so as to conceal all their hair except a single loop on either cheek; round their shoulders, moreover, they twist or swathe a shawl, throwing over all, when they walk or go to mass, the "beautiful and mysterious mantilla."

The men are generally tall and handsome, while their dress is far more showy and elaborate than that of the women. Round a broad-brimmed hat is tied a parti-coloured cord or handkerchief; a shirt, which is usually of the finest linen, displays on the breast a profusion of lace and embroidery; and over the shirt is thrown a cotton or silk jacket of the gayest hues, with frogs on the back, and a regiment of buttons on the breasts and cuffs. To come next to the nether man, the pantaloons are split on the outside from the hip to the foot with a row of buttons on either edge of the opening, which is laced together nearly down to the knee; round the waist is a silken belt which, to say nothing of its value as an ornament, serves the utilitarian purpose of bracing up the inexpressibles; and underneath, through the gaps aforesaid, there peer out a pair of full linen drawers and a boot of untanned deerskin, the boot on the right leg invariably forming the scabbard for that constant companion, the knife.

But our dashing friend, to be appreciated by the reader, must be placed on horseback,—the quadruped being generally as gay as his master. The saddle, which is encumbered with trappings, rises both before and behind, while at either side there swings a wooden shovel by way of stirrup. Thus comfortably deposited on his easy chair and pair of footstools, the human half of the centaur propels the whole machine by means of enormous spurs, with rowels to match, setting rain at defiance from head to heel, without the help of any of your patent waterproofs. To say nothing of the broad-brimmed hat, his legs are protected by a pair of goat-skins, which are attached to the saddle-bow, and tied round the waist, while his body is covered by a blanket of about eight feet by five, with a hole in the centre for the head. This blanket, or *serape*, appears to be to the vanity of the men what the bed is to that of the women. It varies in price, from five dollars to a hundred, sixty dollars being the ordinary rate for a fine one; it is made of cloth of the most showy colours, sometimes trimmed with velvet and embroidered with gold. With such painted and gilded horsemen, anything like industry is, of course, out of the question; and, accordingly, they spend their time from morning to night in billiard-playing and horse-racing, aggravating the evil of idleness by ruinously heavy bets.

Implicit obedience and profound respect are shown by children, even after they are grown up, towards their parents. A son, though himself the head of a family, never presumes to sit, or smoke, or remain covered in presence of his father; nor does the daughter, whether

married or unmarried, enter into too great familiarity with the mother. With this exception, the Californians know little or nothing of the restraints of etiquette; generally speaking, all classes associate together on a footing of equality; and on particular occasions, such as the festival of the saint after whom one is named, or the day of one's marriage, those who can afford the expense give a grand ball, generally in the open air, to the whole of the neighbouring community.

In such a country, singing and dancing may be expected to be as common as eating and sleeping. The balls, in fact, look more like a matter of business than anything else that is done in California. For whole days beforehand, sweetmeats and similar delicacies, of which the fair Señoras are doatingly fond, are laboriously prepared in the greatest variety, the little flour that can be got being almost exclusively devoted to the composition of such dainties; and from beginning to end of the festivities, which have been known to last several consecutive nights, so as to make the performers, after wearing out their pumps, trip it in sea-boots, both men and women display as much gravity as if attending the funeral obsequies of their most intimate friends. Again, with respect to music, no one can enter a house without finding one or more of the family playing on the guitar and singing. From the father and mother, down to the youngest child, all are musicians, every one strumming away in turn till relieved by another; and, though one may have too much even of a good thing, yet it must, in justice, be owned that they generally possess correctness of ear and sweetness of voice.

They play nothing but national music, the fandangos, boleros, and baccaroles of Old Spain, having, in this respect, as in almost every other, had little opportunity, and perhaps as little inclination, for deviating from the customs of their fathers.

In all but the place of their birth, the colonists of Spain have continued to be genuine Spaniards, the same causes operating to produce uniformity of character on either side of the water. Throughout Spanish America, the temperature does not, in general, materially differ from that of the old country, while something like the same alternation of mountain and valley tends still farther to make the one a physical counterpart of the other. Nor have moral influences led the two branches of the race in different directions. Spain and Spanish America, by the mildness of their climates and the abundance of their resources, have equally fostered indolence and improvidence; they have equally been the votaries of a church which practically, if not intentionally, checks mental culture, and impedes material improvement; they have equally passed through the successive tyrannies of individual despotism and popular licentiousness.

To bring all these points of resemblance to bear with greater weight on the uniformity of character, both Spain and Spanish America were studiously shut out from the rest of the world, almost as studiously as China or Japan, this policy of the government having been seconded by the prejudices of the people. In this respect, however, the new country has been induced, by the necessities of its situation, to relax the bigotry and

pride of the old; for it is only by freely communicating with foreigners that Mexico and South America can realize commercial prosperity—the main object and principal fruit of all their sacrifices of property and life, of peace and order. In California, this tendency of the grand revolution has been more peculiarly powerful, inasmuch as the province depends more exclusively than any other portion of Spanish America on extraneous supplies; and here, accordingly, foreigners and natives cordially mingle together as members of one and the same harmonious family.

In a word, the Californians are a happy people, possessing the means of physical pleasure to the full, and knowing no higher kind of enjoyment. Their happiness certainly is not such as an Englishman can covet, though perhaps a Californian may with reason disparage much of what passes under the name in England—the accumulating of wealth for its own sake; the humouring of the caprices of fashion; and the embittering even of the luxuries of life by blended feelings of envy and pride. But, whatever may be the merits or the demerits of Californian happiness, the good folks thrive upon it. They live long, warding off the marks of age for a period unusual even in some less trying climates; and with regard to the women this is the more remarkable, inasmuch as they are subjected to the wearing effect of early wedlock, sometimes marrying at thirteen, and seldom remaining single after sixteen. In the matter of good looks, both sexes merely give nature fair play, scouting as well the cares as the toils of life.

To make these toils and cares, if possible, sit more

lightly upon them, men and women have respectively their sworn allies, under the names of *compadres* and *commadres*—a custom which bases temporal friendship on a spiritual foundation. The name appears to be derived from the circumstance that the *compadres* are bound to stand godfathers, and the *commadres* godmothers, to the children of each other, so as to render the spiritually connected pair fellow-fathers or fellow-mothers of one and the same infant, who in turn is bound to regard the adoptive parent and the natural one with equal veneration. As between the parties themselves, the engagement is a most important and momentous one, each being bound to assist the other under any circumstances, and at any inconvenience, trouble, or expense. To men, particularly when travelling, or when borne down by misfortune, the custom in question is highly beneficial; and as to the fair sex, one can easily imagine in how many ways a confidante, pledged to fidelity by this holy alliance, can become useful and agreeable. Perhaps nothing can give a better idea of the closeness of the connexion, than that brothers and sisters often sink their natural relation in the conventional titles of *compadres* and *commadres*.

Among the light-hearted and easy-tempered Californians, the virtue of hospitality knows no bounds; they literally vie with each other in devoting their time, their homes, and their means, to the entertainment of a stranger. This we found to be more particularly the case in Santa Barbara, where accommodations were pressed on our acceptance in almost every house; and as we were unwilling to lose an hour of the agreeable

society of the place, to say nothing of the discomfort of embarking and disembarking through surf, and shallows, and sea-weed, we gladly distributed ourselves among our friends for the night. Next morning, the 25th of the month, we again met at Mrs. Wilson's breakfast-table, and immediately afterwards, having been provided with horses through the attention of Dr. Den, a true son of Erin, we started off for the mission of Santa Barbara, about a mile distant from the town, where the Bishop of the Californias, whose arrival in his diocese we had already honoured with a salute, had taken up his residence. Independently of the central position of this establishment, Father Garcia Diego had reasons for his choice, which were peculiarly creditable to the neighbouring community. Unlike the Vandals of San Francisco and Monterey, the inhabitants of Santa Barbara had evinced something of taste and feeling in sparing the buildings of the mission, a disposition which doubtless formed a stronger ground of the bishop's preference than even the ready-made home which it gave him. In fact, all but the better classes were unfriendly to the bishop: the provincial authorities regarded him with an eye of jealousy as a creature and partisan of the central government; and the mass of the people dreaded any symptom of the revival of a system which had, in their opinion, sacrificed the temporal interests of the colonists to the spiritual welfare of the aborigines.

Even in this his day of small things, the bishop received us with much pomp and ceremony, attended by two monks, three or four graduates, and a train of servants. In addition to the episcopal costume, which,

besides its intrinsic gorgeousness, doubtless looked all the better for being new, he wore, to say nothing of more vulgar jewels, a diamond ring, which had been presented to him in the name of the pope on the occasion of his consecration. The churches of the remote east and west have always been special pets of the Roman see. The discoveries of Portugal and Spain, the most zealous supporters of the Catholic faith, just came in time to console the pope for the loss of half of Europe, with a far more extensive dominion in India and America; so that, by the earlier part of last century, his Holiness, who had just grasped California and still held China, had made Rome the centre of a spiritual empire, which, in the largest sense of the expression, literally stretched from sea to sea. If this dominion has, since that time, seen its limits contracted and its strength broken, the successor of St. Peter, of course, clings with the greater tenacity to all that remains of it; while, through the instrumentality of France, he is striving to find compensation for this his second loss in the clustering isles of the Pacific Ocean. It is thus that the erection of a transatlantic bishopric is hailed at Rome as a peculiar triumph of the church; and it is a curious fact that the illustrious genius of Columbus has conferred a more durable authority in the new world on his own native Italy, than on the Castile and Leon of his royal mistress, Isabella. In fact, almost from the very beginning, the papacy indirectly swayed the destinies of the new world; and not only did Spain and Portugal vie with each other, but even France, with less reason for gratitude, rivalled their zeal in establish-

ing beyond the setting sun a Roman empire that was to outlive their own. Compared with England, those powers certainly made far greater sacrifices for the conversion of the heathen; though, to place the comparison on juster grounds, we should remember the important facts, that England herself had no foreign influence at work to clothe her in the garb of piety, and that most of her continental colonies, at least as far as religion was concerned, were the very reverse of national establishments.

From the gate, where we were received by the bishop, we were conducted into an apartment of ordinary size, lighted by a small grated window. This room and its contents presented a contrast which, besides being agreeable in itself, was interesting as an evidence at once of the simplicity of the old fathers, and of the ostentation of their episcopal successor. The walls were white-washed, and the ceiling consisted of rafters, while articles of furniture that would not have disgraced a nobleman's mansion occupied the floor. The carpet was the work of the Indians of Mexico; the table was covered with crimson velvet, on which lay a pillow of the same material, adorned with gold; and the sofa and chairs had seats of the same costly and showy description. But the gem of the whole was a throne, with three steps in front of it. It was hung with crimson velvet, which was profusely trimmed with tissue of gold; and its back displayed an expensively framed miniature of the reigning pope, painted by a princess, and sent by Gregory to the bishop, along with his diamond ring, as a gift. In this his own chair of state, the good prelate insisted on

placing me, though I am afraid that, in thus planting a heretic before his most highly valued memorial of His Holiness, he must have sacrificed in some degree his orthodoxy to his politeness.

Between the bishop and his two monks there was a contrast not less striking than that between the apartment and its furniture. While the former was overloaded with finery, the latter were arrayed in the coarse and simple habit of their own mendicant order, even to the sandals on their feet, and the ropes round their waists. One of them, Father Narcisse Duran, was from old Spain, a pious and laborious man, and prefect of the missions; and the other, Father Antonio Ximenes, was a Mexican by birth, who was more a man of the world than his companion, and endeavoured to interest us in favour of the missions against the spoliation of the local authorities.

While we were engaged in an agreeable and amusing conversation, some of the attendants brought in a table, placing on it, among other refreshment, a pile of cakes, the work of Donna Conception. The wine was the produce of the vineyard of the mission, rather sweetish, but of excellent quality; the brandy, also home-made, was superior to the wine, being flavoured with fruit into a perfectly colourless cordial; and the cigars, as the bishop assured us, had been selected by himself in Mexico. After our repast, which was seasoned and recommended by the hospitable pleasantries of the bishop and Father Antonio, we proceeded to take a view of the establishment.

We first entered the vestry, a spacious room hung

with pictures and crucifixes, where the good prelate took evident delight in showing the rich vestments and the massive plate, more particularly a pix of solid gold for the consecrated host. From the vestry we followed the bishop into the church, crossing ourselves, and kneeling, according to his example, as we passed the altar. This edifice, which far outshone everything that we had previously seen in the country, was large, but well proportioned. The altar-piece was at once simple and elegant. A pair of full curtains of spotless white, springing from a crown of glory over the communion-table, were held open by two well executed statues of seraphs, so as to disclose a portrait of Santa Guadalupe, cased in a golden frame.

Encouraged by the admiration which we could not refrain from expressing, the good bishop detailed to us such a history of the painting, as convinced us that the new world had its miracles as well as the old. Upwards of three hundred years ago, the saint made her appearance in the spirit, to a Mexican Indian, daguerreotyping on his blanket a likeness of herself, of which the portrait before us was a copy. The blanket was forthwith surrounded with a border of cloth of gold, and enshrined in one of the principal churches of the City of Mexico; and, though the border has often required to be renewed, yet both the representation of the saint and the fabric that bears it have hitherto triumphed over time, with all its moths and damps. But the miraculous durability of the saint's work has been subjected to a peculiarly severe test, a bottle of vitriol having been lately broken by accident, so as to soak the inestimable blanket with-

out doing any injury. The good father, during his recent visit to the capital, had himself seen this blanket, and told us with a kind of whispered awe that the impression, though it assumed at a distance the appearance of a finished painting, yet presented on closer examination a number of unmeaning stains. To the faith of our informant, the proof of the prodigy was completed by the fact that the many artists who had critically examined the marks had unanimously decided that they were not the work of human skill.

To continue our survey of the church, the walls were covered with the usual assortment of pictures and images, while from the ceiling were suspended several beautiful chandeliers by means of flags of silk of various colours, spangled with silver and gold. In the music-gallery there was a small but well-tuned organ, on which a native convert was executing several pieces of sacred music with considerable taste, and amongst them, to our great surprise, Martin Luther's hymn. This man was almost entirely self-taught, possessing, like most of his race, a fine ear, and great aptitude; and, though his countenance was intelligent enough, yet his dress was rather a singular one for an organist on active service, consisting of a handkerchief that confined his black locks, and a shirt of rather scanty longitude, belted round his waist.

Besides the organ, the choir mustered several violins, violoncellos, triangles, drums, flutes, bells, &c., with a strong corps of vocalists; and had we been able to wait to the 2nd of February, we should have enjoyed a grand treat in the musical way, as the bishop was then to

celebrate pontifical mass with the full force of voices and instruments. Immense preparations were making for this religious festival, some of them being, according to our notions, of a very peculiar kind. Fireworks, for instance, were, if possible, to be exhibited; and, as gunpowder could not be obtained for love or money either for this purpose or for the giving of signals, we won the hearts of bishop, priests, graduates, servants, and all, by promising to present them with a barrel of the needful from our ship.

When Roger Bacon invented gunpowder, he little thought that he was providing future friars of his order with an engine for propagating the faith; but, whether the sublime or the ridiculous predominated in the bishop's contemplated show, he was at least making a more innocent use of the deadly composition, than many zealots of orthodoxy had made before him, in the cause of religion.

From the body of the church we ascended into the belfry, which commanded the most extensive view of the valley in which the mission stood, running to the sea from a parallel range of rocky hills at the distance of five or six miles; while there rose immediately under our feet two elegant towers, containing a large peal of bells, the heaviest weighing about four tons and a half.

The church, with its appendages, as just described, is said to have cost the priests several years of toil with about two thousand native workmen, the fathers themselves discharging the multifarious duties, — self-taught in all, — of architects, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, and labourers. To close the description of the build-

ings, the dwellings of the natives and the workshops were, here as well as elsewhere, hastening to decay.

This mission is plentifully supplied with excellent water, brought down all the way from the rocky hills already mentioned, by the labour of the priests and their converts. About a quarter of a mile from the dwellings, the grand reservoir, which is sheltered from the sun by an edifice of stone, is fed by a single conduit, while again it sends forth two channels, the one open and the other covered. The open channel flows into a vast cistern, about sixteen feet deep and about a hundred feet square, which, as adobes cannot bear the wet, is, of course, built of solid masonry; and as a crowd of natives, if left to their own notions of cleanliness, would have engendered a pestilence, this cistern was intended to afford them the greatest possible facilities for the washing of their clothes and their persons. The covered channel, which rests partly on an artificial aqueduct, terminates in front of the church with a classical urn, throwing out a number of graceful jets into a circular basin that surrounds it; this basin empties itself into a second, through the mouth of a grotesque figure of a man lying on his belly; and the second again, through the jaws of a lion, pours its water into a third, which, overflowing its brim, sends forth in every direction a number of rivulets to irrigate the gardens and fields.

In addition to these works, which, whether in point of taste or of utility, might well be deemed wonderful, the fathers had brought from the hills another stream for the comparatively vulgar purpose of driving the grist-mill of the mission. But now the water was

stopped and the reservoir choked with weeds and bushes; while, to express in one word the present state of agriculture, the best use which the Californians had been able to find for a ready-made grist-mill was to unroof it. The fathers themselves, too, had for a long time discountenanced the introduction of such machinery, not because they had no wheat to grind, but because, even without the means of economizing labour, they often hardly knew how to employ their proselytes. This narrow policy, of course, tended to defeat its own object, for the mere drudgery of beasts of burden could not teach human beings to be spontaneously industrious. It, in fact, lost sight of one grand distinction between civilization and barbarism; the latter knowing no other expedient to lighten toil than the forced assistance of the slave, but the former enlisting in its service not only the creatures of earth and air, but also the very elements themselves.

The garden, which is walled all round, consists of five or six acres. Notwithstanding the neglect of several years, it contained figs, lemons, oranges, pears, apples, grapes, quinces, raspberries, strawberries, melons, pumpkins, plums, prickly pears, and whole avenues of olives. In the days of the priests, fruits were to be obtained here at every season, more particularly raspberries and grapes, from the spring to the close of autumn, and strawberries all the year round. But, ever since 1836, not only had the branches been left unpruned, but even their very produce had been allowed to fall to the ground; so that now most of the trees were in a deteriorated condition, and the figs in particular

had, on the recent arrival of the mission, been cut down to their stumps. Of esculent vegetables there was an almost endless variety,—potatoes, sweet and common, cabbage, tomata, garlick, onions, chili pepper, and, of course, the everlasting frixole, &c. Of plants and flowers, even in the depth of winter, we saw the following in bloom :—the jonquille, the marigold, the lily, the wallflower, the violet, the hollyhock, &c. The priests had just begun to turn their attention to the garden, after having made the requisite preparations for accommodating the bishop; and they had accordingly repaired the water-trenches, cleared away weeds and underwood, and pruned the trees and vines.

After bidding farewell to the bishop with mutual thanks and good wishes, we were presented by his priests with a curious pile, in the form of a beehive, made of the seeds of the pine, all baked and ready for eating, as a specimen of both the food and the ingenuity of the natives. With many apologies for making so poor an offering, they regretted that they could no longer do as they could once have done, and referred to the old times when they could have supplied us with provisions, fruit, wine, &c., for our voyage to the Sandwich Islands; "and, perhaps," added Father Antonio with a good-natured nod, "with more than you wanted."

Before returning to the town, we extended our ride through the undulating and picturesque valley. It was carpeted with an unusually close sward, which had undoubtedly been owing to the constant pasturing of the cattle; and it displayed a great profusion of clover. Both here and in the garden the soil was evidently ex-

cellent; and the priests had assured us that, on the farm of the mission, twenty-five returns of wheat were a poor crop, and eighty or a hundred by no means uncommon.

We visited a village of free Indians, situated in the valley. The inhabitants were the miserable remains of the two thousand natives that once swarmed here; and they now found room in eight or ten hovels of bulrushes, similar in every respect to those which we had seen at Sonoma. They appeared, however, to be, on the whole, more comfortable than General Vallego's serfs, possessing enclosures of land, with a few cattle and horses; and yet they were engaged in the wretched expedient of making bread of acorns. Among them, there was one woman so old that she must have been well advanced in life at the first settlement of the upper province, and must have seen the missions rise, and ripen, and decay before her. Her skin was shrivelled, so as to look, in the absence of other clothing, like a case of parchment; her eyes were dim and sunken; her body was bent double; but, nevertheless, amid all these signs of age, her head, the more hideous, perhaps, on that account, displayed a thick and tangled bush of black hair.

We returned to Mrs. Wilson's in time for dinner, without having visited, as we had intended, the mineral springs, hot and cold, in the neighbourhood. In the afternoon, we were honoured with a visit by the bishop. He was drawn by four mules, in an antique carriage, and was attended by a band of outriders, in the persons of Father Antonio, and several graduates and servants.

After half an hour's chat, during which he reiterated his professions of friendship, he again betook himself to his rickety conveyance, and rattled off with all the pomp and circumstance of episcopal dignity.

In the evening, we attended a ball, given on the occasion of a wedding. We were highly amused with the serious looks of the dancers; nor were we less highly gratified by their graceful movements, as they went through some of their mysterious figures, tying themselves into a knot, which they again untied without separating hands. Previously to our departure, the entertainments were, in compliment to us, varied by a Scotch reel, to which the solemn gravity of the Californians, who shared in it, gave additional zest in our eyes. After having been gratified at Sonoma with the national song of "Auld Lang Syne," we were the less surprised at receiving this mark of attention from the people of Santa Barbara—the head-quarters, as it were, of foreign influence in the province. In fact, on account of its central position, the superiority of its climate, and the respectability of its population, this little town is the favourite resort of the supercargoes, captains, and owners on the coast, many of whom, as we have seen in the cases of Mr. Thompson and Captain Wilson, have selected it as the permanent home of their families.

Next morning, being the 26th of the month, we paid farewell visits to our hospitable and agreeable friends, and embarked on board of the Cowlitz, with the intention of leaving the port immediately. In sleeping ashore, by the by, we had run some risk of being detained longer than we could well afford to stay. To

the southerly winds, which prevail during the winter, every point of the bay, as I have elsewhere stated, is a lee-shore; so that, when the push comes, the vessels in port have no other choice than that of making the best of their way past Point Conception into the open ocean, and there remaining till the storm has blown over.

Just as we embarked, the wind failed us, so that we were unable to move; and, to turn our detention to the best account, we went to examine the carcase of a right whale that was floating near. It had been killed by threshers, which, small as they are, are more than a match for their unwieldy victims, their mode of operation being to burke the monster by pummelling his air-holes with their tails — while such of them as prefer the anatomical department effect a diversion by nibbling at his belly from below. The huge animal was weltering like a small island among the sea-weed, being large enough for five or six people to stand high and dry on him; for, though small of his kind, he yet measured from fifty to sixty feet in length. Had he been taken alive, he would have yielded about a hundred barrels of oil; but the best of his bladder had been carried off by the shark, the sword-fish, &c., while the remainder of it was by no means in prime condition. Such, however, as he was, the crew of the Julia Ann had made prize of him, and expected to wring about forty barrels out of him. His body was puffed up with wind, which the stroke of a knife let out with a hissing noise and an insufferable smell; and indeed the whale has been known to burst among his human persecutors

with the report of a cannon, and almost to suffocate them with the stench.

Of fish for the table, there was an abundant variety in our neighbourhood, though, for the reasons already mentioned, they were left undisturbed in their native element. Even the approach of Lent made no difference to them, beef being orthodox for both laity and priesthood all the year round; but, taking pity on the consciences of Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Scott, we sent each of them a tierce of salted salmon from our sea-stores.

In the evening, the brig Catilina, which we had left alone at Monterey, came to anchor. I have been the more particular in recording the arrivals and departures of vessels, with the view of explaining more in detail the nature of the trade in which they are engaged.

Early next morning, we received on board, as a present from the bishop, a barrel of wine, the produce of the vineyard of the mission. Most of the stuff which we had tasted we should have carried away without compunction, thinking that we were doing the owners a service; but we were sorry to deprive the very reverend donor, in the present state of his cellar, of a really good article, which might have been at least as available as our gunpowder for the festivities of Candlemas Day.

It was afternoon before the wind suited us; and then, under the influence of a fine breeze, we rapidly made for the island of Santa Cruz, leaving the little town of Santa Barbara behind us, with many recollections of the kindness and hospitality of its inhabitants. As the intermediate channel, or, rather, according to

the nomenclature of the whole coast, the intermediate canal, is only twenty-five miles wide, we soon passed, not only the island just mentioned, but also that of San Nicholas, on which the Russians formerly killed vast numbers of sea-otters.

We were now steering our course for the Sandwich Islands, though, had we not been very much pressed for time, we should not have hurried away from a country which had afforded us so much interest and amusement, without visiting the remaining ports of San Pedro and San Diego.

San Pedro is an open bay, which has no better claim to the character of a harbour than almost any other point on the coast, being exposed to both the prevailing winds, and being destitute of every thing in the shape of a house, or even of a shed. Its only recommendation is, that it affords access to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora, about eighteen miles distant, which contains a population of one thousand five hundred souls, and is the noted abode of the lowest drunkards and gamblers of the country. This den of thieves is situated, as one may expect from its being almost twice as populous as the two other pueblos taken together, in one of the loveliest and most fertile districts of California; and being, therefore, one of the best marts in the province for hides and tallow, it induces vessels to brave all the inconveniences and dangers of the open and exposed bay of San Pedro.

In this village, the custom of making the bull and the bear bait each other, though common to the whole province, is peculiarly popular and fashionable; a

custom which, by excluding human combatants from the arena, banishes entirely that higher interest which arises from the introducing of "man, and man's avenging arms," into the national entertainment of the old country. In Spain, the cruel spectacle involves the display of dexterity and courage; while, in California, it possesses no redeeming quality to raise it above the dignity of a cock-fight. Between the two animals there is a natural antipathy, which often leads them, even in a state of nature, into deadly contests, and in these cases the bull is generally the assailant; for the bear, when let alone, is contented to carry on the war only against the calves. Having the advantage of choosing his time and place of attack, the bull often disables the bear at once; but even when bruin is all but gored to death, he cunningly seizes his enemy, while exulting in his victory, by the tongue, or any other tender part, and destroys him. When the two animals, however, are pitted by their common enemy against each other, the bear, seeing no means of escape, encounters the bull with more determined front; but even here the terms are not equal, for bruin, unless sufficiently reduced, as he almost always is, by fatigue and rage, is tied by the leg, so as to reach his adversary only with his claws. The savage sport ends with the death of one or other of the combatants, and perhaps of both. For the tortures which, when at Sonoma, we saw inflicted by means of the lasso, we could find something of an excuse in the well-founded pride of the performers; but we could fancy no palliation for the delight with which the Californians, on the safe side of an impassable barrier, were

said to gloat on the dying throes of at least one of two caged brutes.

The best evidence of the fertility of the soil in the neighbourhood of the village just named, is to be found in the once flourishing condition of the mission of San Gabriel, distant about eight miles. That establishment is said to have possessed, in the palmy days of its prosperity, the almost incredible number of eighty thousand cattle, and to have forced at once into the market, on the approach of evil times, nearly fifty thousand head. After making due allowance for exaggeration, the district must be a splendid one to have yielded pasture for such multitudes, over and above the hundreds of smaller herds belonging to the pueblo. The garden of this mission was justly celebrated for the excellence of its fruits and the flavour of its wine, producing, in the greatest abundance, grapes, oranges, lemons, olives, figs, bananas, plums, peaches, apples, pears, pomegranates, raspberries, strawberries, &c., &c.; while at the mission of Santa Buenaventura, not far distant, there were, in addition, tobacco, the plantain, the cocoa-nut, the indigo plant, and the sugar-cane. In fact, there is hardly a vegetable or fruit which cannot be produced in California. Such, to give a particular instance, is the bounty of Nature, that, amid the richest profusion of the ordinary elements of soap, she furnishes a ready-made substitute in the bulbous root of a certain plant, called the amole; and such is the laziness of the inhabitants, that they almost universally use the free gift of mother Earth in spite of its decided inferiority.

To return to San Gabriel. This mission was founded

under circumstances which, if they do not involve a miracle, serve at least to explain why the Church of Rome is peculiarly successful with ignorant savages. I quote the words of Father Palou, the biographer of Father Junipero Serra. While Father Pedro Cambon and Father Angel Somera were selecting a site for the mission, under the safeguard of ten soldiers, "a multitude of Indians, all armed, and headed by two captains, presented themselves, setting up horrid yells, and seeming determined to oppose the establishment of the mission. The fathers, fearing that war would ensue, took out a piece of cloth with the image of our Lady de los Dolores, and held it up to the view of the barbarians. This was no sooner done than the whole were quiet, being subdued by the sight of this most precious image; and, throwing on the ground their bows and arrows, the two captains came running with great haste to lay the beads which they brought about their necks at the feet of the sovereign queen, as a proof of their entire regard."

In the neighbourhood of the mission of San Gabriel commences the valley which pours the San Joachin into Freshwater Bay, the receptacle also of the Sacramento. This region, by far the finest in the province, is distinguished as the Tulares from the number of bulrushes, called *tule* by the natives, to be found in its waters. Though it has hardly been trodden by civilized man, yet it is capable of supporting millions of inhabitants. Its lakes and rivers all teem with fish, while most of them afford the means of communicating with the ocean. Its undulating surface is studded with

forests, generally free from the encumbrance of underwood, of cedar, bastard maple, mulberry, ash, poplar, birch, sycamore, beech, plane, yellow and white pine, and mountain, live, and scrub oak. The size of trees in California, as is also the case on the more northerly coast, is occasionally quite incredible.

One tree is mentioned by Humboldt as being a hundred and eighteen feet in girth; but this is a walking-stick to another tree at Bodega, described to me by Governor Etholine, of Sitka, as being thirty-six Russian fathoms of seven feet each in span, and seventy-five in length; so that, even if it tapered into a perfect cone, it must have contained nearly twenty-two thousand tons of bark and timber. In addition to more than all the beasts of chace, which have already been enumerated under the head of Sonoma, the magnificent valley of the Tulares contains immense multitudes of wild horses, which are often seen in bands of several thousands each. Enveloped in clouds of dust, these enormous troops indicate their approach chiefly by making the ground tremble beneath their tramp; and, as a proof of the extent of the tumultuary columns, one person has been known, while a band was galloping past him, to lasso and bind five horses in succession.

Nor are the birds inferior in number and variety to the quadrupeds. In the Tulares there are the eagle, the turkey-buzzard, the falcon, the goshawk, the sparrow-hawk, the large-horned owl, the partridge, the crane, the heron, the goose, the duck, the pelican, the cormorant, the water hen, the humming-bird, the golden-crested wren, the wood pigeon, the plover, the snipe, the

goat-sucker, the bee-eater, the woodpecker, the crested quail, and the condor. Though most of these are seen in other portions of the province, yet the condor is said to be rarely observed beyond the limits of this teeming valley, where he has been found measuring twelve feet in breadth between the tips of his wings. The crested quail, which is said to be peculiar to California, is delicious eating. It appears in flocks of two or three hundred at a time. It is not unlike a small partridge, excepting that it has a beautiful spotted plumage and a tuft of feathers on its head, somewhat resembling a peacock's crest. Some of the larger birds are of incalculable utility in devouring the myriads of carcases, which the farmers are too lazy even to burn, and which, being most numerous in the hottest months of the year, must otherwise generate a pestilence; and the turkey-buzzard in particular, being so tame as to be knocked down with a stick at the very doors of the houses, is familiarly distinguished as the "Police of California."

To return to the coast. The last of the five ports, San Diego, is, next to San Francisco, the safest and best harbour in the province, being land-locked, with deep water and a good bottom. The soil of the neighbourhood is sandy, while its climate is remarkably dry, two features which, as already stated, admirably fit it for the curing of hides.

Thus, at its opposite extremities, Upper California possesses two of the best ports on the Pacific Ocean; while each of them is greatly enhanced in value by the distance of any other harbours worthy of the name, San Francisco being nearly a thousand miles from Port Dis-

covery, to the north, and San Diego being about six hundred miles from the Bay of Magdalena, to the south.

What a splendid country, whether we regard its internal resources or its commercial capabilities, to be thrown away on its present possessors—on men who do not avail themselves of their natural advantages to a much higher degree than the savages whom they have displaced, and who are likely to become less and less energetic from generation to generation and from year to year! Sooner will the Ethiopian whiten his skin, than the Californian lay aside his indolence; and in fact, without such a change of pursuits as he has at present no motive for attempting, he can find no employment for industry in the possession of cattle, that need no care, and of horses, that involve no expense. The love of labour must be nursed, as well as acquired, by real or imaginary necessity. If Scotchmen are industrious, they have had to contend with a rugged soil and an ungenial climate; and if Dutchmen are industrious, they have had to pay a rent to nature for their country, in the expense of embanking seas and rivers; but neither Dutchmen nor Scotchmen could retain their laborious habits, and still less could they communicate them to their children, in California, were it not that they would long continue to consider as necessaries of life many other things besides the daily supply of their physical wants.

The English race, as I have already hinted, is doubtless destined to add this fair and fertile province to its possessions on this continent—possessions which, during the last eighty years, have grown with unexampled

rapidity. Previously to the capture of Quebec, Englishmen were confined to the comparatively narrow strip of land between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies, being, in effect, surrounded by inveterate foes—by the Spaniards, towards the south, and by the French, towards the north and west. At the peace of 1763, they became undisputed masters of Florida, the eastern half of Louisiana, and the whole of Canada; thus reaching, as if by a single leap, the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi, and the remotest sources of the St. Lawrence; and, in the first quarter of the present century, the younger branch of the race extended its dominion to the Rocky Mountains, while the elder, carrying its commerce across this formidable barrier, occupied with its trading posts a country of a thousand miles in length, as far as the shores of the Pacific Ocean. In this state of things, the south alone remained to its ancient possessors; and, as Texas has been wrested from Mexico on the one side of the continent, so will California be speedily lost to her on the other; either province, too, being only the first step in a march, of which the rate of progress appears to be merely a question of time.

The only doubt is, whether California is to fall to the British or to the Americans. The latter, whether one looks at their seizure of Texas or at their pretensions to the Oregon, have clearly the advantage in an unscrupulous choice of weapons, being altogether too ready to forget that the fulfilment of even the most palpable decrees of Providence will not justify in man the employment of unrighteous means. But, though England cannot afford to acquire additional territory by such

measures as would shake that reputation for integrity on which her empire is founded, yet she has one road open to her by which she may bring California under her sway, without either force or fraud, without either the violence of marauders, or the effrontery of diplomatists.

Mexico owes to British subjects a public debt of more than fifty millions of dollars, which, though never formally repudiated by her, is a burden far too heavy for her to bear. By assuming a share of this debt, on consideration of being put in possession of California, England would at once relieve the republic and benefit the creditors, while the Californians themselves would eagerly prefer this course to the only other possible alternative of seeing their country follow in the wake of Texas.

In fact, under the treaty of 1790, which has been already cited, England is even now entitled to colonize a considerable portion of the upper province. As America has renounced every thing that lies below the parallel of forty-two degrees, England and Mexico, as the successor of Spain, are regulated in their reciprocal relations to the southward by the stipulations of the international compact aforesaid; so that England, without being questioned by any one, may immediately occupy the coast from the forty-second parallel of latitude down to the due range of the settlement of San Francisco.

Now, the due range of a settlement varies in direction according to its position. If unconnected, like Monterey, with the interior, a settlement must be presumed

to be likely to spread along the coast; while, if situated, like San Francisco, at the outlet of many navigable waters, it will, in all probability, creep along the shores of its lakes and rivers. Neither on principle, therefore, nor in fact, does San Francisco extend many miles to the northward of the mouth of its harbour; so that, to take an instance, England may to-morrow justifiably occupy the valley of Santa Rosa, which opens into Bodega Bay.

To return to my narrative, which left us on the 27th of the month. Making our way from Santa Barbara to the southward, we soon lost sight of California and its adjacent islands, while a fine breeze from the north-west carried us in three or four days into the region of the north-east trades.

CHAPTER X.

VOYAGE TO HONOLULU, &c.

Course and distance—Appropriate name of Pacific Ocean—Gradual increase of temperature — Bottle-nosed porpoise and flying fish —Albatros and tropic bird—Amphibious voyage, its literary advantages—Volcanic mountains of Hawaii—Early discovery of Sandwich Islands by Spaniards—Cook's discovery accidental—Mutual relations of the islands of the group—Volcanic origin of group—Volcanic agency, its general direction—Lahaina, residence of king—Communication between islands in days of barbarism—Peopling of Polynesia—Brig Joseph Peabody—Ruggedness of Woahoo—First impression of torrid zone—Distant view of Honolulu—Harbour, its discovery—English pilots—Coral reefs—Every thing to remind us of England, contrast between us and early navigators—Harbour, general description—Towing through channel—Governor Kekuanaoa and others—Our residence—Honolulu, population and buildings, climate, &c.—Valley of Nuannau, scene of important battle.

Our course from Santa Barbara had been so nearly due south, that, on catching the trades in about latitude 27°, we were only in about longitude 118°, rather to the east than otherwise of the meridian of our point of departure; and as between our present position and the port of Honolulu the difference of latitude was barely six degrees, while the difference of longitude amounted to forty, we now steered west-south-west, under all our canvass, on a voyage of fully two thousand three hundred miles. This immense distance we accomplished pretty much in the line of the crow's flight; for, during the

twelve days of our run, our breeze, though it ranged from north-east to east-south-east, was yet uniformly fair; and so equable was the weather, that we never took in either studding-sail or sky-sail during the whole of our course. The only thing that broke that monotony of progress, which becomes almost tiresome in the swiftest steam-ship, was the circumstance that our rate of sailing varied from six to eleven knots an hour.

If it was under similar circumstances, as is said to have been the case, that Magellan, the first European that traversed this ocean, and probably the first navigator that spanned it at a stretch, made his way from South America to the Philippines, he could not possibly have bestowed on it, so far as his own knowledge went, a name at once so appropriate and so expressive as that of the Pacific. Nor did his individual experience differ from the general fact. Excepting in its more northerly and more southerly latitudes, this boundless sea, embracing, as it does, as much of the equator as all the rest of the world put together, is ordinarily so calm, that open boats may cross it with safety; and, in fact, its least sheltered portion, lying between the Polynesian Islands and Spanish America, and almost equalling the breadth of the Atlantic, has actually been so traversed, Captain Hinckley, whom we met at San Francisco, having carried a number of horses,—rather ugly customers, by the by, for the occasion,—in an undecked vessel from California to Woahoo. It is doubtless this characteristic tranquillity of the Pacific Ocean which has been the means, under Providence, of peopling almost every islet that floats on its bosom,—a fact

which appears to be in itself truly remarkable, without reference to the times and modes of its gradual accomplishment.

As we edged away towards the south, the heat became more oppressive from day to day. The skies were usually a little overcast, coming down upon us now and then with a flying shower; so that, even when our breeze was at its freshest, the air felt close and sultry. In the very draft that ventilated the cabin, the thermometer ranged from 70° to 74° of Fahrenheit, seldom showing a difference of more than one degree between day and night.

Of the finny creatures we saw very few; not a whale, not a shark, not a dolphin,—the bottle-nosed porpoise and the flying fish alone showing themselves. The liver of the former is said to be very good eating, and the latter to be a delicacy, excepting that it partakes of the dryness and insipidity of the deep-sea tribes. All this, however, we were obliged to take on trust, for we caught neither the one species nor the other; nor would the flying fish, while it whisked through the air perhaps a furlong at a time, condescend to heighten our amusement by falling exhausted on our deck.

Among the tenants of air, we had no companions save the albatros and the tropic bird. The latter is the most elegant creature of these regions: it is beautifully white, with a dash of pink; and, as it generally soars high in the heavens, it looks almost transparent in the sunshine, glittering like a speck of silver, or a flake of snow. The albatros, again, is of various colours, brown, gray, and speckled, the largest measuring eight or nine

feet between the tips of the wings; though, in the Southern Pacific, it is sometimes found broader by half, and as white as snow. When skimming the surface of the water with expanded pinions, it surpasses the swan in gracefulness; but on the deck of a vessel it is a mere waddler, besides that it becomes sea-sick, and pumps up a most unromantic cascade of yellow oil. But this curious bird would not come to our relief any more than the flying fish; and, in fact, excepting within ten degrees of Cape Horn, where it has keen air and short commons, it is too dainty to be hooked by means of a bait.

In such a state of affairs, books were our best auxiliaries in the grand business of killing time; and, during these my wanderings, I have often felt that an amphibious voyage possesses this singular advantage, that the leisure of the water, besides being itself beguiled by the task, prepares one, by means of reading, to profit by what one may see and hear on the land.

On the evening of the 9th of February, we felt tolerably certain that the next day's sun would find us within the visual range of Hawaii; though, as nothing but the clearest atmosphere could serve our purpose, we were rather likely than otherwise to be prevented from actually seeing it. In the morning, however, this last anticipation was agreeably disappointed. At a distance of a hundred and ten miles, we descried the snowy summit of Mouna Kea, the nearer as well as the loftier of the two volcanic mountains, which, with the tableland between them, occupy the entire centre of the island. Its height is variously estimated from about

fourteen thousand to about sixteen thousand feet,—a calculation which, independently of other modes of measurement, tallies pretty accurately with the fact, that it has been distinctly seen from positions more remote than our own by a score of miles; so that, in the extent of visible horizon, Mouna Kea falls very little short of the stupendous St. Elias, on the north-west coast, which Vancouver continued to see in his wake, still "like a lofty mountain," at a distance of fifty nautical leagues. For several hours, we discovered no other symptom of land than Mouna Kea, swelling, as if a solitary iceberg in breadth and height, out of the blue ocean: not a single winged messenger came to salute us; and our only companions on the borders of this archipelago were the albatrosses and tropic birds that had followed us all the way from California.

Mouna Loa, the more distant of the two central mountains of Hawaii, is very little inferior in height to Mouna Kea, being, according to most calculations on the subject, more than thirteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. Its visible horizon, therefore, must have reached, if it did not overleap, the track of the galleons running before the trade-wind from Acapulco to Manilla; and the chances of its being seen by the Spaniards in early times were considerably increased, if the crater on its summit, as was most probably the case, was then in a state of activity. Even if there were no direct evidence of the discovery, the contrary supposition would be all but incredible; for the mere silence of a jealous people with respect to islands, which, though useless to Spain, might yet have furnished an impreg-

nable shelter to the plunderers of her commerce, would not have even a negative bearing on the fact. To give an analogous example, Nootka Sound had, in all probability, been known to the Spaniards before it was discovered by Cook; and it was perhaps the same nervous dislike of publicity that enabled Americus Vespucius, as the first person who detailed the wonders of the new world to the old, to usurp what would have been Columbus's richest reward.

But there is ample proof of a general description, that the Sandwich Islands had been seen, and visited too, by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, or, at the latest, in the seventeenth. Among the natives there have been found to exist traditions of the occasional appearance among them of a race different from their own, too numerous and too circumstantial to be explained by any thing but their essential truth; and perhaps such traditions carry more of verisimilitude in them on this account, that they almost exclusively refer to Hawaii, the very island which, as being at once the largest and the loftiest and the most southerly of the group, was the most likely to attract the notice of the Spaniards. Again, the Spanish charts, however carefully they were kept out of the hands of the enemy, contained still more positive, if not more interesting, proof of the hypothesis; one chart in particular, which was found by Anson on board of his great prize, having been the means of revealing for the first time to the world at large a cluster of islands in the latitude; and, considering the instruments and the science of the times, pretty correctly in the longitude of the Hawaiian

group; and of this cluster, by the by, one island was distinguished as La Mesa, or The Table, the most natural and appropriate of all names for the truncated summit of Mouna Loa, the first, and for hours the only, landmark to a vessel approaching from the south. Moreover, besides such charts and traditions, circumstances, more conclusive in their nature so far as their number goes, confirm the same view. The helmets and cloaks of the natives resemble those of the Spaniards; their military tactics, as compared with those of the other savages of Polynesia, bear the impress of civilized instruction; and perhaps in the Hawaiian language a careful investigation might detect many words of Spanish origin.

Though Cook must have been acquainted with Anson's chart, yet he would appear to have discovered the Sandwich Islands, without reference to its information. As the error in the longitude, on the part of the Spaniards, which has been already mentioned, placed the group considerably too far to the east, our celebrated navigator, if he had been looking for La Mesa, would have kept so much to the windward of Hawaii as most probably not to be within the visual range of either of its landmarks, while, in reality, he had bent his course so far to the west, that he barely descried the island which terminates, in that direction, a group occupying nearly three degrees and a half of latitude, and fully five degrees and a half of longitude.

In fact, though neither Cook nor the Spaniards had discovered the archipelago, some vessel or other must soon have stumbled on it. Each of the four principal

islands, Hawaii, Mowee, Woahoo, Kauai, presents points high enough to prevent any seaman from passing in clear weather between any two without seeing at least one of them; so that, generally speaking, the group, as a whole, was as little likely to remain hid as an ordinarily level country of the size of Great Britain would have been to remain so in the same neighbourhood.

Next morning, the 11th of the month, gave us a full view of Mowee, with its rugged hills of about eleven thousand feet in height, this island ranking next to Hawaii as well in elevation as in extent and position,—a remark which may also be applied to Woahoo with respect to Mowee, and to Kauai with respect to Woahoo. In fact, the whole group appears to have been thrown up from the deep by volcanic action, advancing from the north-west to the south-east, and increasing in force as it advanced; so that, while island rose after island, each grew at once in height and in breadth according to the intensity of the power that heaved it upwards from the waters. Thus, Bird Island, a barren rock taking its name from its only inhabitants, and lying about as far to the north-west of Kauai as Kauai lies of Woahoo, must be considered as the germ of the archipelago,—as the first fruits of a submarine energy that was here only kindling its fires; while the other main links in the chain, Kauai, Woahoo, Mowee, and Hawaii, not only differ, as I have just mentioned, at once in extent and in elevation, but also present as they proceed less and less evidence of antiquity in their gradually diminishing proportions of land capable of cultivation,—a proof the more conclusive, inasmuch as the soil of the whole group

undeniably consists of the successive gifts of years, and ages, and centuries. Moreover, the visible laboratories of the subterranean fire, which are scattered over the archipelago, confirm the same view; the craters are all extinct, excepting on Hawaii; and even on Hawaii, Mouna Loa, the most south-easterly of its three great safety-valves, alone bears living testimony to the creative impulse that has called the whole chain into existence, and bears it, too, only through its lateral volcano of Kilauea, which, besides itself looking to the east, appears, by the gradual advance of subsidiary outlets down its eastern declivities, to be rolling the hidden sources of its strength,—peradventure there to forge fresh islands,—under the bed of the ocean. But in whatever order or at whatever times the Sandwich Islands came into being, they must in all probability have sprung from the ocean. Coral and shells are said to have been found on some of the mountains of Kauai; and the whole group is known, from a careful comparison of minute changes in different localities, to be slowly but surely continuing to rise,—to be still, as it were, in the throes of creation.

It is a curious coincidence, which it would be unphilosophical to ascribe to chance, that the direction of volcanic agency, as just described, has, generally speaking, been one and the same in this archipelago and on the neighbouring continent. The general line of the western shore of America from Behring's Straits to the equator is as nearly as possible parallel with the chain of the Sandwich Islands,—the opposite coast of Asia, by the by, running with a similar inclination to the

southern extremity of Malacca, so as to complete an isosceles triangle with half the circumference of the earth as its base; and on the said western shore of America, volcanic agency appears to have travelled from the north-west to the south-east; for Mount Edgecumbe, in the neighbourhood of Sitka, and Saddle Hill, near the mouth of the Columbia, have exhausted themselves, and the craters of California are diminishing in activity, while the more southerly fires continue to blaze as fiercely as ever.

In corroboration, or at least in illustration, of the last two paragraphs may he cited other physical phenomena from the history of the Sandwich Islands. Inundations of the sea, as if the water periodically struggled to recover the land annually escaping from its grasp, have often flooded the lower shores of the group, flowing and ebbing with a force that seemed to concentrate into a few minutes the tides of a week; and on one of these occasions, which caused a heavy loss of property and life, the great volcano of Kilauea,—for great it confessedly is, with whatever other volcano on the earth's surface it may be compared,—palpably exhibited a sympathy with the ocean in a fiery inundation of more than ordinary magnitude. Now the very last instance of the kind happened just about nine months before our arrival; and we afterwards ascertained that an almost simultaneous flood had assailed the shores of Kamschatka, a country whose southern extremity is situated in a line with the general direction of the Hawaiian archipelago and its volcanic agency. Here again it would be by no means philosophical to consider the coincidence as fortuitous.

To return to Mowee: Lahaina, on the leeward side of its western extremity, has been for a considerable time the residence of the king. In the days of Cook, as all the world knows, each island, or at least each of the four principal islands with its adjacent islets, had its own king, who would appear, however, rather to have been the lord paramount of the chiefs than the immediate sovereign of the people. After a lapse of thirteen years, Vancouver found the political condition of the archipelago to be pretty nearly the same, excepting that the king of Hawaii was obviously on the point of becoming the master of the whole group. His island was about twice as extensive and perhaps also twice as populous as all the other islands, large and small, put together: he had the whole force of his little monarchy at his disposal, for he held Hawaii at once by inheritance and by conquest, having vanquished and slain in self-defence the rightful occupant of the throne, whose heir he was, and having subsequently crushed the rebellions of various chiefs who envied his elevation,—and though last, not least, he had earned the sympathy and assistance of foreigners by the humanity and integrity, which, in spite of the example of the other kings, and of the suggestions of his own chiefs, he had uniformly displayed in his intercourse with them.

Accordingly, in 1795, the very year after Vancouver's final departure, Kamehameha acquired by force of arms permanent possession of Mowee and Woahoo, while he soon after received the voluntary submissions of his royal brother of Kauai. But Hawaii, as has often happened elsewhere, gradually became a dependency of its own

conquests. Its victorious chief removed the seat of government to Honolulu in Woahoo, which, on account of the superiority of its harbour, was the favourite resort of foreign vessels; and, though he did pass the last few years of his life in his native island, yet neither of his successors has imitated this his later example. Honolulu was indeed speedily found to be too troublesome a home for youths, who, being destitute of their father's commanding character, wished to escape from the importunities and assumptions of white residents and white visitors; and, at last, Lahaina was selected as the ordinary abode of Hawaiian majesty, affording perhaps the most central position in the archipelago, with Mowee and Hawaii to the east, and Woahoo and Kauai to the west.

As we proceeded on our voyage, we had in sight, at one and the same time, the four islands of Mowee, Lanai, Molokoi, and Woahoo, the first three on our left, and the last on our right. We were, in fact, now sailing along one of the eight seas, as the native ditties designate the channels of various width, which separate the islands from each other,—a form of expression which, even if it stood alone, would indicate not merely that the islanders knew the extent of their secluded group, but also that they were habitually impressed with a sense of common nationality. In the case of this archipelago, mutual communication was doubtless facilitated by the circumstance that the north-east trades, falling pretty nearly at right angles to the general direction of the group, seldom presented to the voyager the obstacle of a head-wind, whether he was running to the north-west

or to the south-east; and even in the case of such other archipelagoes of the Pacific as possessed not the same advantage, mutual communication between island and island seems to have been maintained, if not with equal ease, at least to such an extent as evinced considerable skill and boldness in navigation.

In all probability, the gregarious disposition, if one may so speak, of the Polynesian Isles has been an instrument in the hands of Providence for the peopling of this vast ocean. Besides rendering the natives all but amphibious, it multiplied, to an infinite degree, the chances of their being involuntarily carried to neighbouring clusters, and that, too, while transporting from one island to another the fruits and the animals of their original homes. Whether Polynesia, as a whole, has derived the germs of its population from Asia or from America, its parts are demonstrably proved by points of identity, which may hereafter be noticed, to have been colonized from each other by successive families of one and the same race — families which must often have accomplished voyages fully as long as the voyage of Columbus from the Azores to the Bahamas. As an instance of this, the Sandwich Islands, according to the traditionary belief of the inhabitants, were peopled from Tahiti, distant from the most southerly extremity of Hawaii upwards of thirty-six degrees of latitude; and, whether this traditionary belief be correct or incorrect, the rude minstrelsy of the group, certainly more ancient than the visits of civilized navigators, makes household words, not merely of Tahiti, but also of Nuhahira of the Marquesas, as well as of the names of other islands of other groups.

But the mere accomplishment of long voyages was not the most wonderful feature in the grand scheme of colonizing the Polynesian Isles. Their successful result, as I have already hinted in a former passage, appears to be far more wonderful. When we consider how many civilized mariners, with all the light of science and experience to guide them, traversed the length and breadth of the Pacific before each of the now known groups was revealed to the world—when, for instance, we reflect that one section of the Marquesas was visited in 1595, and the other, sometimes distinguished as the Washington Islands, only in 1791—how marvellous, or rather how miraculous, that ignorant savages, with their frail and tiny barks, should have so uniformly reached the same goals, forestalling, as it were, those honours which are deemed worthy of being a bone of contention between the rival navigators and rival nations of modern times! Either the primeval adventurers must have possessed a secret, which is now lost, for discerning some symptoms or other of distant land, or they must often have perished miserably in their blind pursuit of unknown shores, or, what is far more probable than either supposition, they must have been led by a special Providence to their respective havens through means as unerring, though not so palpable, as a pillar of cloud or of fire.

To give a definite form to this last hypothesis, might not birds, while retracing their flight to clusters previously visited, have lent the pilotage of their own mysterious instinct across the trackless waste of waters?

In the channel between Molokoi and Woahoo, we

were joined by the American brig, Joseph Peabody, bound for Honolulu from Mazatlan — a vessel which, carrying on trade between Mexico and the Sandwich Islands, brought under our notice one instance more of the ubiquity of the English race in the very ocean which was once closed against it as an inland lake of the Spanish Indies. In company with this ship, we passed the south-eastern point of Woahoo, forming, of course, the boundary between the windward and the leeward coasts of the island.

In our present position, Woahoo bore a remarkably sterile and rugged aspect, exhibiting, at least to our comparatively distant view, nothing but desolate rocks, which varied in form, and in form only, between the truncated crater and the towering peak — the sandal-wood, which once clothed them, having been literally extirpated. Of the craters, the most perfect and conspicuous was the headland, which bounded our prospect of the coast towards the west. It was distinguished by the natives as Leahi, which was merely translated into Diamond Hill, from a notion that it contained, or had once contained, precious stones. On rounding this cape, we saw immediately before us a belt of level ground, washed in front by the sea, and skirted in rear by the continuation of the mountains, of which, however, the lower slopes partook, in some measure, of the verdure of the plain below. This belt appeared to extend as far as the eye could reach, and was studded with clumps and groves of trees, among which the tall and straight stem of the cocoa-nut could not be mistaken; and this noble palm, to me the first peculiar symptom

of a tropical climate, electrified me, as it were, with the consciousness of having now entered a new world, of being now surrounded by a hitherto unknown creation. At its nearer extremity, just within the promontory, lay the village of Waikiki, while, at a distance of about six miles, the town of Honolulu presented a strange admixture of the savage and the civilized, stacks of warehouses rising amid straw-huts, and the whitewashed Mariners' Chapel, with its stunted tower, overtopped by still remaining specimens of primeval vegetation.

Waikiki Bay used to be a favourite place of resort among the earlier voyagers, possessing the only essential requisites for a port of refuge and refreshment; shelter from the trade-winds; a beach that would afford a landing; and ground that would hold an anchor. In 1794, however, Waikiki Bay was supplanted, in common with most of the frequented anchorages in the group, though, of course, more completely than any of the others, by the dock-like harbour of Honolulu, which was, in that year, entered and surveyed by an English skipper of the name of Brown; so that, so far as the right of discovery went, not only the whole group, but also its most valuable part, had fallen to the lot of our country. Within a few months, Brown met the same fate as Cook, without having, like his more distinguished predecessor, done anything to provoke it, being murdered, for the sake of booty, by the savage tenants of the very spot which he had fitted to be, not only the metropolis of Polynesia, but also the emporium of the Pacific. Happily, Brown's death was the

last act of bloodthirsty treachery that disgraced the shores of Woahoo, for, in 1795, the very year in which our countryman fell, Kamehameha, the friend of the whites, became, as I have already mentioned, the undisputed lord of the island.

On coming in sight of Honolulu, we had made signals for a pilot by hoisting our colours and firing two guns, our companion having done the same; and very shortly two came off to us, Reynolds, an American, boarding the Joseph Peabody, and "Old Adams," an English tar who has lived on the islands these thirty or forty years, and appears to have been appointed to his post by a British man-of-war, taking the Cowlitz under his charge. "Old Adams," who knows his work well, is very tenacious of his official dignity; and we were told that, when he was last autumn piloting the Vincennes, he flared up at some interference or other on the part of Commodore Wilkes, called his boat alongside, and left the vessel and her commander's superior judgment to boot, in the lurch.

The harbour, which is capable of containing about forty vessels, appears to owe its existence to the peculiar habits of the lithophyte. The coral reefs, such as generally gird the Polynesian Islands, though they are less continuous in this group than elsewhere, form a natural breakwater, while a gap in the work of the submarine architects is wide enough for the passage of ships without being so wide as materially to diminish the amount and value of the shelter. Generally, though, as Sir Edward Belcher has shown, not universally, such openings are to be found only on the leeward sides of

the islands, while their precise position on the same is said to be commonly, if not exclusively, opposite to the mouths of streams, the temperature of the fresh water being supposed to be too low for the taste and health of the little builders. With both these conditions, the harbour of Honolulu literally complies. To say nothing of its being on the southerly coast of the island, it receives a brook that has just escaped from the almost frigid atmosphere of the mountains, formed, as it is, from the numberless cascades which rush down the sides of the valley of Nuannau, or Great Cold, in the very rear of the town. Whether or not the proximity of cold water satisfactorily explains the phenomenon in question, the antipathy of the insect to that element seems to be a matter of fact beyond denial or doubt. It is almost entirely within thirty degrees of latitude on either side of the equator, within the range, in fact, of the trade-winds, that the labours of the lithophyte abound; while, even within such assigned limits, they are far more widely spread in the Asiatic section of the ocean, on which the current flows from the south, than on its American section, on which the current comes down from the arctic seas.

As the entrance of the basin is too intricate to be attempted with anything but a fair wind, we were reluctantly obliged to wait for the sea-breeze, which generally blows in the morning, from a little before sunrise to about nine o'clock; and we accordingly anchored for the night in the outer roads, where we were soon visited by Mr. Pelly, the Hudson's Bay Company's agent in the archipelago, and Mr. Allan, an officer in our

regular service. We had met pilots who spoke our language as their vernacular tongue; we now enjoyed the society of English visitors; and, as if still further to remind us of home, and also to make amends for our not landing at once, we were favoured by Captain Dominis, of the American brig, which was in company, with several English and American newspapers, bringing intelligence down to the 9th of December. These journals were an inestimable treat to wanderers, who had received no tidings from the civilized world of more recent date than April; and we heard, with much interest, of the burning of the tower of London, of the accession of the Conservatives to power, of the birth of the Prince of Wales, and of a thousand topics more, of which even the least important yielded a peculiar pleasure, which "gentlemen of England, who live at home at ease," can never appreciate, when communicated to us in our own idiom, at the distance of nearly half the globe from our native land.

What a contrast between our own times and the days of the discoverers of this group! "Whilst we were at dinner," says Captain King, the friend and companion of Cook, "in this miserable hut, on the banks of the River Awatska, the guests of a people with whose existence we had before been scarce acquainted, and at the extremity of the habitable globe, a solitary, half-worn pewter spoon, whose shape was familiar to us, attracted our attention; and, on examination, we found it stamped on the back with the word *London*. I cannot pass over this circumstance in silence, out of gratitude for the many pleasant thoughts, the anxious hopes, and

tender remembrances it excited in us. Those who have experienced the effects that long absence and extreme distance from their native country produce on the mind, will readily conceive the pleasure such a trifling incident can give." But the personal contrast, if I may presume so to speak, between us and our celebrated navigator himself was still more striking. We had just anchored in front of a large and flourishing town, into which the enterprise of the English race had attracted upwards of eight thousand comparatively civilized natives; and, on the self-same day, the 11th of February, in the year 1779, did Cook return to Kalaikeakua Bay, after what had appeared to be his final departure, to seal, ere half a week should have elapsed, his discovery with his blood!

On the morning of the 12th, we were all stirring betimes. While the vessel was preparing to enter the harbour before a fair wind, we took a more careful look of the town, observing in particular a fort well provided, to all appearance, with guns, and admirably situated for commanding the narrow and intricate passage; and, in the event of hostilities, we could not help thinking that even the most formidable visitor would be wise, while on the safe side of the reef, to begin by smashing so ugly a customer into silence. But the harbour is said to have worse enemies to dread than shot and shells. In consequence of the gradual rising of the islands, to which I have already alluded, the opening in the reef is supposed to be diminishing in depth, a difference of three feet having been actually observed and ascertained about fifteen or sixteen years after Brown's exploration; while

the very brook, to which, in all probability, the gap in the lithophyte's labour is owing, is generally believed to be, to a certain extent, neutralizing its own work by washing down mud to elevate the bottom of the basin. To provide against the possible results of such causes, the basin might easily be dredged, and the reef might, by some means or other, be cut to a sufficient depth; and at all events there has been found, at a distance of a few miles to the westward, a harbour equal to that of Honolulu, though its shores are by no means so well fitted to be the site of a town. It seems hardly worth while to mention another candidate for future honours in a convenient basin with a beautiful country round it, situated on the windward side of Woahoo; for its reef, which has only nine or ten feet of water on the opening, would require far more cutting at the very outset, than that of Honolulu would require for ages yet to come.

On entering the channel, whose breadth did not exceed twice the length of the Cowlitz, we could almost have touched with an oar a crowd of natives who were elbowing each other on the reef up to their middles in water, all the while jabbering, and shouting, and bellowing, in their outlandish tongue, which, by reason of the numerical superiority of its vowels and the softness and indistinctness of its consonants, resembled rather a continuous howl than an articulate language. On our handing out a hawser to these fellows, who, if sufficiently numerous, could, I verily believe, tow a vessel swimming, we were speedily hauled close to the wharf; and, after mooring our ship and saluting the town, we prepared to go ashore.

On landing, we immediately proceeded to pay our respects to several of the inhabitants, beginning, as in duty bound, with Governor Kekuanaoa, one of the natives who accompanied the late king and queen to England: we were much pleased with the shrewdness of this old gentleman, who in fact has, by his official ability, raised himself from the rank of a subordinate chief to be one of the principal rulers of the archipelago. We next called in succession, for etiquette of that kind is requisite in Honolulu, on the British, French, and American consuls, and some of the principal residents.

Mr. Pelly, being aware beforehand of the probability of our arriving about this time, had procured a house for accommodating us during our visit, being nothing less than a royal palace. It had been originally built by the king, Kauikeaouli, or Kamehameha III., for his own use; and when his majesty, for the sake of retirement, removed his court from Honolulu to Lahaina, it was transferred to Haalilio, who, like Kekuanaoa, has risen in the world by his talents, till at last, after Haalilio, in his capacity of secretary, followed his master to Mowee, it was reserved as a kind of caravansera for receiving such of the principal chiefs as might visit Honolulu. The lower flat, however, had been devoted to vulgar and utilitarian purposes, being occupied as a store; and the upper flat, which, in addition, of course, to kitchen, outhouses, yard, &c., was our share of the palace, consisted of four apartments, two large and two smaller.

Having collected together furniture, &c. &c., we established ourselves in our new domicile. The walls

of the rooms were hung with several good engravings of the American Declaration of Independence, a portrait of the King of Prussia badly executed in oil, and various daubs of coloured engravings. These paltry embellishments, however, were an evidence not of savage but of civilized taste, for they had been presented, always excepting, of course, the symbols of democracy, by His Prussian Majesty, who must have borrowed his idea of the Kamehamehas from the good old times when a gallon of beads would have bought up half the hogs of a whole valley. This gift, from one king to another, could not have cost the donor much beyond five pounds sterling. In this our temporary home we received visits from all the missionaries and foreign residents in the town.

Honolulu contains a population of about nine thousand souls, nearly one thousand perhaps consisting of pretty equal proportions of foreigners and half-breeds. It is about half a mile long and about a quarter of a mile broad; and it consists of one good street, which, having been but recently opened, is only half finished, with a number of narrow and irregular alleys. Most of the houses are built in the native fashion, which will be described at large in the sequel; but there are also many substantial edifices, some of them of two stories, of wood, adobes, coral, and stone, with tinned roofs, which, generally speaking, are finished with balconies, verandahs, and *jalousies*, and enclosed within small gardens of ornamental plants, indigenous and exotic.

But already has this incipient metropolis begun, like its older models, to go out of town. The more respect-

able of the foreign residents have their rural boxes up the adjacent valleys; but more particularly up the valley, elsewhere mentioned, of Nuannau, or Great Cold, as being the nearest and most accessible.

The very name of this principal retreat of the Polynesian Cockneys explains the matter at once: they find their city too hot to hold them; not because the heat is very intense, but because it is tolerably uniform and constant, with little or no regard to the distinctions of day and night, or of summer and winter. This cannot be made clearer than by borrowing from the Hawaiian Spectator a table of the average temperatures at Honolulu of every month of two successive years, expressed decimally in degrees of Fahrenheit:—

MONTH.	7 A.M.		2 P.M.		10 P.M.	
	1837.	1838.	1837.	1838.	1837.	1838.
January . .	67·9	69·3	76·6	75·6	71·3	71·5
February . .	71·1	71·2	77·7	75·3	72·7	72·1
March . . .	69·6	72·0	76·6	75·1	72·4	72·5
April . . .	72·1	71·5	78·4	76·7	73·7	72·8
May . . .	73·4	73·2	80·2	80·3	75·0	75·5
June . . .	76·1	75·5	81·9	81·7	77·5	77·1
July . . .	76·4	76·4	81·5	82·5	77·3	77·9
August . .	76·9	77·2	82·8	83·2	78·1	78·4
September .	76.5	76·7	83·0	82·6	77·0	78·4
October . .	74·8	75·0	80·6	80·1	76·0	76·9
November .	72·7	72·3	77·9	76·6	73·8	73·7
December .	69·9	71·5	76·5	76·3	71·1	73·3
Average of Year	73·1	73·5	79·5	78·8	74·8	75·1

These temperatures, besides being almost as regular as clockwork, are decidedly low for a place which is

fully two degrees within the tropics,—both their lowness and their regularity being caused chiefly by the trade-winds, which, blowing over so little land on even the broadest of the islands, sweep the leeward coasts with the same purity and coolness, generally speaking, as they have brought from the ocean to the windward shores. If at any point to the leeward the temperature is materially higher than at the corresponding point to windward, the difference may be traced to the fact, that there the wall of mountains is at once so near and so continuous as to screen from the trade-winds all that lies between it and the sea, with occasionally a belt of the sea itself into the bargain. This is more or less the case at Lahaina; whereas, at Honolulu, on the contrary, the valley of Nuannau, which opens directly on the town, forms a natural funnel for the free and easy passage of the north-east gales.

To return to the suburban villas, the diminution of heat has its accompanying drawbacks, which make it cost fully as much, perhaps, as it is worth. The change is too sudden to be agreeable, for a walk of three or four miles up the gentle ascent of the valleys makes one glad to substitute thick woollens for the lightest and scantiest covering, merely jacket, and shirt, and trousers, of grass-cloth; and this change is entirely owing to the abruptness with which one rises above the level of the sea; for the city of Mexico, which is nearly in the latitude of Woahoo, and almost twice as high as its loftiest peaks, enjoys, on her inland table-land, at least the average temperature of the very shores of that island. But the suddenness of the change in question

is less objectionable than the rains, which so frequently drench the valleys. Being intercepted at almost every point by the mountains, the clouds which have been wafted hither on the wings of the trade-winds exhaust themselves on the windward side and central region of each island, leaving little for the leeward coast but a few flying drizzles; so that the inhabitants of Honolulu are frequently tantalized by the sight of showers advancing down Nuannau, but arresting their course on the very verge of the parched plain of the town.

It is chiefly during the winter—the months of February, March, and April—when the trades are either interrupted by calms, or supplanted by breezes from the south and west, that the south-western shores receive their share of rain; while, in proportion as the leeward coast thus becomes the windward, the windward also becomes the leeward coast. But, disagreeable as is the drought of summer at Honolulu, the moisture of the winter is still more so; and, in fact, so much is the wet disliked, that, throughout the whole group, even the native villages have always been more numerous to leeward than to windward; thus, for the sake of a pleasanter atmosphere, sacrificing productiveness of soil, and submitting to the labour of irrigation. The leeward side, it is true, possesses the advantage of more favourable shelter for its fishing-grounds; and, perhaps, the circumstance is worthy of notice, that this very advantage of Kamehameha's district of Kona, by exciting the cupidity of some rival chiefs, led to the war in which that truly magnanimous savage laid the foundations of his supremacy.

The name of this first and best monarch of the archipelago leads me, in concluding my general account of Honolulu, to notice, that the valley of Nuannau is classic, nay, sacred ground, in the annals of the Sandwich Islands, as having been the theatre of the decisive battle, in which civilization actually achieved its real triumph over barbarism. Kamehameha was here opposed by his own lieutenant, Kiana, who had traitorously united his division of the army with the forces of Woahoo—a chief who had visited the civilized world, and was the grand patron of the plundering and murdering policy which, if successful, would have rendered the islands not a blessing, but a curse to the trade of the world; and the first shot on Kamehameha's side, fired too by an English tar, in the person of the well-known John Young, laid Kiana prostrate, with all his schemes of massacre and spoliation. From that day forward, the whole group, with one exception in Kauai, which, as the island was still independent, only confirmed the rule, afforded greater security to foreigners than most countries in Christendom; and Honolulu, in particular, is more deeply indebted for its wealth and prosperity to the victory, which protected its civilized visitors from treachery and violence, than to the discovery which sheltered them from the perils of the ocean. If Young had not, under the auspices of the only sincere friend of the whites, rid the island of Kiana, Brown's Harbour would have continued to be rather a snare than a refuge to strangers.

END OF VOL. I.

NOTICE

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