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THE MUSEUM AT
PRINCE RUPERT, B.C.

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FRONT COVER The Museum at Prince Rupert, B.C., second in a series drawn specially for the News by Vancouver member Robert Genn.

EDITORIAL

Ho hum, another Centennial, and the last one still not paid for! Nowhere has it been truly stated what we are all supposed to be celebrating, other than the existence of British Columbia as a Province within Confederation. If that is the case then it must be considered as something "good" as it seems hardly possible to celebrate something "bad". With the present stress on saving our environment before it's too late, the history of our past 100 years should provide a lesson in what not to do for the future. Our greatest fear for the future is not what we ourselves must do but what we must prevent our neighbours from doing to us. We still have a beautiful province, and it behooves all of us to make certain it stays that way. This can only happen if we use "foresight" and use the history of this province to provide "hindsight". For the past decade our fears for the future were founded on the fact that we were the "buffer zone" between two great powers and could become a military no man's land. Now a new dimension has been added - industrial pollution - within and without. Our whole coastline is threatened by the thought of huge oil tankers using our coastal waters, not to mention the alternative of pipe-lines through the province. The greedy interested parties assure us nothing will happen because all is well, and safety precautions will positively guarantee there will be no accidents. Man might be able to go to the moon and back but he still hasn't tamed nature yet. I was brought up to believe that there were only two things certain in this life and that was death and taxes, and I see no reason to include marine safety.

"Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet."

"It is your own interest that is at stake when your next neighbour's wall is ablaze." (Horace Epistles)

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MINUTES

Minutes of the Third Council Meeting of the 1970-71 season of the British Columbia Historical Association, held at 1654 Warren Gardens, Victoria on February 14th, 1971. Present: Mr R. Brammall (Pres.), Mrs M. Jordon (Past Pres.), Mrs P. Brammall (Treas.), Mr P. Yandle (Sec.), Mr G. T. German (2nd Vice-Pres.), Mr H.B. Nash (Exec. Member), Mrs Adams (Alberni & Dist.), Mrs C. Claxton (Gulf Islands), Mr Leeming (Victoria), Mr F. Wilson (Burnaby), Mrs Anne Yandle (Vancouver).

The President called the meeting to order at 2.00 p.m. and it was moved Mr Wilson, seconded Mr Nash that the minutes of the second Council Meeting be adopted as circulated. - Carried.

A letter was read that had been received by the President from Mr F. Hardwick and it was the unanimous opinion of Council that the contents were not relevant to the aims and objects of the Association and that it should therefore be received and filed.

ESSAY COMPETITION There was considerable discussion on the forthcoming competition which has a deadline of midnight March 15th, 1971 for the receipt of entries. It was moved Mrs Adams, seconded Mr Nash that the judges panel shall consist of Mrs M. Jordon, Mr G. Newell and Mrs Anne Yandle. - Carried. Arising out of the discussion it was also moved Mrs P. Brammall, seconded Mr F. Wilson that a certain standard of excellence shall be expected and it shall be to the discretion of the Judges' Panel to decide, that should this standard not be met in any one of the categories, then the Association shall not be obligated to award the full amount of the prize money for that category. - Carried.

B.C. HISTORICAL NEWS The Editor asked that Council give some consideration to his proposal that he should have a commitment from each Society, early in the Fall, as to the number of copies of the B.C. Historical News that they will require for the four issues, November, February, April and June, which is the working year of the incumbent Council. Since the number of copies of each issue of the News supplied in bulk to the Secretaries is based on the per capita dues paid for that period in February, then the amount paid by each Society, at \$1.00 per member, should correspond with the number of copies requested in the Fall for the coming year. Arising out of the discussion it was moved Mrs P. Brammall, seconded Mrs Jordon that Council recommend to all affiliated Societies that they must submit their requirements to the Editor not later than October 15th of each year, of the number of copies of News they will want for each issue and this number shall then set the amount of per capita dues to be paid in February, and the Treasurer to notify all Societies accordingly. - Carried.

CONVENTION Mr Leeming presented the following programme for the Convention to be held in Victoria on May 27th, 28th and 29th, 1971 as follows:- May 27th, 7.30 p.m. Registration and coffee party. Commander Coning will make an address of welcome to the delegates. May 28th. Newcombe Auditorium. Council meeting and registration, 9.00 a.m. - 10.00 a.m. Annual General Meeting 10.00 a.m., opening with an address by Mayor J. Courtenay Haddock of Victoria, and recessing at 12.15 p.m. Lunch 12.30 p.m. (sharp) at Queen Victoria Inn, with President's address, recessing at 2.00 p.m. Government House 3.00 p.m. and tea will be served at 3.30 p.m. New Council meeting 5.00 p.m., Newcombe Auditorium. Tour of the Archives conducted by Mr Willard Ireland 7.30 p.m. May 29th. 9.00 a.m. Trip to Fort Rodd Hill and Royal Roads. Afternoon arrangements not decided yet. Banquet at Faculty Club, University of Victoria 6.30 p.m. No host bar. 7.00 p.m. Dinner. (Guest speaker to be arranged)

NEW BUSINESS The British Columbia Genealogical Society, with headquarters in Richmond, has made a request through the Secretary for affiliation with the B.C. Historical Association and it was the feeling of Council that they should postpone their request until such time as they had an established list of elected officers and their own constitution. Council extended an invitation to their membership to attend the forthcoming Convention in Victoria.

The President raised for discussion the question of future sites for Conventions and Mrs Adams stated that the Alberni and District Society would be interested in hosting the Convention in 1973. Mrs Brammall undertook the responsibility of seeking sites for future Conventions.

It was moved Mrs Jordon, seconded Mr Wilson that the B.C. Historical Association seek affiliation with the American Association for State and Local History. - Carried.

Moved Mrs Jordon, seconded Mr Nash that the meeting adjourn at 5.15 p.m.

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SOCIETY NOTES AND COMMENTS

ALBERNI For their Centennial theme the Alberni Society is planning to use the petroglyphs at Sproat Lake as indicative of the art of the very early residents of the Valley. The Society is also cooperating with the Girl Guides in their Centennial project "Know B.C. better, know your Government better", by assisting with research, providing artifacts for display, etc.

BURNABY At the Burnaby Historical Society's meeting in December the guest speaker was the Chairman of the Burnaby Centennial Committee, who outlined plans for the foundation of Heritage Park and Museum, a project in which the Burnaby Society is actively involved.

GULF ISLANDS In July Mr Tomas Bartroli visited the Gulf Islands Historical Society and delighted his audience with his tales of the early Spanish explorers of the coast. In August the Society discussed the annual bursary which was awarded to Miss Jean Azak of Bella Bella. Mr Bruce Scott, author of Breakers Ahead (reviewed elsewhere in this issue) spoke to the October meeting about Vancouver Island's west coast, of the dangers of commercial encroachment to which designated park land is exposed, and of the need for an informed and vigilant public to protect it.

EAST KOOTENAY Much of the East Kootenay's activities have been concerned with Fort Steele. For the records of the Fort Steele Restoration Foundation Mrs Mabel Jordon procured from Ottawa the names of twenty-five members of the Northwest Mounted Police detachment who were stationed at Fort Steele in 1887. More early pictures of area Indians and whites were procured by members of the Society and identified, for the purpose of making plaques for the Museum. The Opera House at Fort Steele is progressing, despite a shut-down during recent cold weather. It is not known yet whether it will be ready for a live vaudeville show this season.

Thanks to Captain W.A. (Andy) Anderson the Association members enjoyed an interesting ride on the river boat "S.W. Kootenay" on June 13th. After a pleasant trip down the Kootenay River, a stop

was made at the site of the old North Star Landing. Mrs B. Oliver told of the early river boating days and the thousands of tons of ore which were hauled from the North Star mine at Kimberley and loaded at this point on the steamboats.

On August 16th, in connection with Cranbrook's "Sam Steele Days" celebration, the Association sponsored a Gold Panning Expedition up Wild Horse Creek. Some 150 people took advantage of the opportunity to try their hands at the twirling art, under the guidance of Al Hunter, the chief instructor. Guests were present from as far afield as Los Angeles, California.

The annual International Picnic with the Bonners Ferry, Idaho, Historical Society was held at Goat River, B.C. on September 13th. After brief talks by various old and new timers, the restored early-day cemetery there was inspected. The Creston Knights of Pythias Lodge have been appointed official trustees of this closed cemetery and the East Kootenay Association has been working closely with them. They now have a registered map of the area. Thanks to Mr J. Fritz water has been obtained for the grass plot which the lodge is preparing, as well as a plaque and fencing.

WEST KOOTENAY At their first meeting of the Fall Season the West Kootenay Society travelled, by way of comments and slides, with member Mrs Ethel McIntosh on her trip to the South Pacific area where she visited Australia, New Zealand and Fiji.

At the November meeting there was considerable discussion on the subject of facilities to house the Society's museum pieces, photographs (which are mounted and ready for display) and records. A letter was read from Mayor DeVito reporting on his suggestion to the Trail City Council that the City of Trail sponsor and finance a wing of the Rossland Historical Museum specifically for Trail artifacts. The two communities are so tied together that a wing in the already existing excellent Rossland Museum would be better than a less desirable location in crowded Trail. The Society's President, Mr F. Edwards proposed to attend a meeting between Trail City Council and the Rossland Historical Museum on February 10th.

The speaker of the evening was Mr Harold Webber, Vice-President of the Kootenay Doukhobor Historical Society, with headquarters in Castlegar. Mr Webber described the aims of the Society and gave a brief history of the Doukhobor people and the reasons behind their migrations.

Mr Gibson Kennedy spoke at the January meeting on the history of the railroads of the southern interior of British Columbia, covering the period between the crossing of Canada by the C.P.R. in 1885 and the final link around the southern end of Kootenay Lake in 1931. During that time something like 32 charters to build railroads were issued - and they had their ups and downs in more ways than one. Mr Kennedy pointed out that an examination of a map of southern B.C. shows a fairly easy access from the United States of rail lines to feed the south-north valleys, but to build a line across the mountain ranges required some ingenuity. Pictures of the old

wooden trestle bridges on the Kettle Valley Railroad bore witness. The speaker detailed many of the lines serving various mines, concluding with some interesting slides of various types of engines, passenger coaches, etc.

NANAIMO The Nanaimo Society is promoting a historical pageant to be produced on July 1st as a Centennial event. The Centennial Committee, along with the Arts Council, have formed a pageant committee, with representatives from drama groups, ethnic groups, Malaspina College, and the Historical Society. A pageant-writing competition was set up, open to all B.C. writers, with a prize of \$250. There is a proposal that Nanaimo have a Dominion Day parade, that Nanaimo citizens be encouraged to dress in old time costumes for that day, that afterwards everyone be encouraged to adjourn to Bowen Park for an old-time picnic, and then end the day at the pageant. The Historical Society's main responsibility is to supply historical data and to check the chosen script from the point of view of historical accuracy.

VANCOUVER At their November meeting a talk was given to the Vancouver Historical Society on the growth of radio in Vancouver, by Mr David Savage, author of the well known and long lived C.B.C. programme, The Carson Family. At this meeting Mr E. A. Alm, who made a generous donation towards the publication of Vancouver's Svenskar, was presented with a specially bound and engraved copy of Svenskar on the occasion of his induction as an Honorary Patron of the Society.

In January, Professor Stanley Read, a past Chairman of the Vancouver Public Library Board, gave a talk on the Library in Vancouver, covering in witty fashion the Library from the first Mechanics' Institute to the present Public Library.

VICTORIA At the Victoria Society's November meeting, Dr Margaret Ormsby, Head of the Department of History, University of B.C., presented the Canadian Historical Association's award for Local History to Mrs Barbara Lowther for her Bibliography of B.C., 1849-1899. Following the presentation, Dr Ormsby addressed the meeting on her chosen topic "Sir James Douglas and the Natives".

The December meeting took the form of a Christmas dinner held at the Faculty Club, University of Victoria. Over 100 members enjoyed the festive evening, especially the address by a former president of the Victoria Branch, Col. G. S. Andrews. His talk was a word picture of living conditions in the northern part of British Columbia in the early 1920's.

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JOTTINGS

Mr Harley Hatfield of the Okanagan Historical Association writes that they are trying to mount a campaign and ask for support from all historical and conservation groups for the H.B.C. Brigade Trail of 1849-60 from Hope to Tulameen. They found and remarked quite an additional length of the actual trail last summer, and expect to take some 36 men and boys, mostly Boy Scout Venturers, from Hope to Tulameen this summer.

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Recently received was the second Newsletter of the Doukhobor Historical Society, Box 581, Castlegar, B.C. The Society's aims are to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the Doukhobors, restore a communal village and preserve the home industries of the Doukhobor people. Castlegar and Kinnaird have accepted the first stage of the village as their joint Centennial project. A tentative site has been found and plans have been prepared for a complete village and communal house. Artifacts are being collected for the reconstruction and books and pamphlets are being collected for their archives. A successful venture was the Doukhobor summer market which sold more than \$6000 worth of merchandise, 10% of the proceeds being given to the Society. It is hoped that construction can begin as soon as the ground is dry as the Centennial project must be completed in 1971.

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The Interior Lumber Manufacturers' Association, Ste 4, 44 West Padmore, Penticton, B.C. is canvassing on behalf of the Provincial Museum which is planning a display to be located in Golden, entitled "The Forest Industry in British Columbia 1778 - 1973". They are searching for the following material:

Saw Blades	Pulley & Belts
Hand Trucks & Wagons	Small Cut-off Saw
Springboard	Double Blade Axes
Safety Belts	Period Photographs & related
Wedges	Literature, Documents, Etc.
Fire Barrel	Peaveys
Old Drill Press	Crosscut Saws
Other associated equipment	Hand Tools

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It is to be hoped that sufficient pressure can be brought to bear to make sure that the present dispute regarding the Nitinat Triangle can be resolved to insure its inclusion in the West Coast National Park. The usual ammunition is being used by the Council of Forest Industries - namely mass unemployment if they cannot log this area.

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Prince Rupert has formed a Historical Society and will hold its inaugural meeting on Sunday February 21st. The Council and, I'm sure, all members of the B.C. Historical Association send their congratulations and look forward to having them join with us.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BREAKERS AHEAD by R. Bruce Scott. Sidney, Review Publishing House, 1970. Available from the Author, 1173 Hewlett Place, Victoria, B.C. for \$4.50 including sales tax and postage, or from leading bookstores for \$4.00 plus tax.

To employ a tired, old non-nautical phrase, this book ploughs into a field that has already been worked over. It remains to be seen if anything new is turned up.

What do we have? Basically, a paper-back, covering the wrecks and groundings of ships on a specifically defined stretch of the West Coast of Vancouver Island - the 'Graveyard of the Pacific'. An area that has been limited to that of the author's own deeply felt and expressed personal knowledge.

Is it a legal axiom (or fiction) that the truth, in the mouth of an eye-witness, is almost always unreliable? Especially when there are two or more eye-witnesses - and their remarks are published - separately?

For instance, in two separate publications (Breakers Ahead being one of them), a specific loss of life is, in one publication, attributed to having been caused by a life-boat knocking over and killing the parties concerned. In another publication - dealing with the same story - it is the fall of a main mast that causes the above deaths. Again, in one publication, the statement is made that no cargo could be salvaged. In another publication the statement comes forth that cargo was salvaged. Again, in one publication ... "three life-boats were launched", in another "only two".

So, wherein does the truth lie ... or what paper do you read?

One could have wished for a bit more detail concerning the ships themselves - details that could have been obtained from such basic references as Lloyd's Register. A brief mention of, in most cases, tonnage, is not too satisfactory - as it is not quite clear enough an indicator as to the actual size or nature of the ship involved.

A minor, though irritating, point; it would have been of considerable aid to the reader if the listing of the name of a ship had been carried out in standard practice, i.e. in type face differing from that of the general text.

The printing of the basic reference map of the area, which is the subject of the book, on the outside of the back cover is an error.

It is not easy to refer to physically and the indicated wreck sites are in print too small for normal legibility.

Nevertheless, it is a useful and handy book. It has been produced in a compact and relatively inexpensive format and, with the burgeoning interest in our local history, should prove to be an appreciated addition to history buffs' shelves.

Entertaining, it is not. Disaster and death - effected either by man or by nature - are not subjects for general light-heartedness. The author brings no great new historical revelations to the subject (it is doubtful if the exact truth and sequence of events can, in most cases, ever be determined), but he does bring the viewpoint of a special pleader - that for Safety at Sea (and on Land). In view of man's continuing sorry record in both these areas, it is well that voices like Bruce Scott's should be raised. We need more of them.

L. G. McCann

Mr McCann is Assistant Curator, Maritime Museum, Vancouver, B.C.

Frontier Days of Vancouver Island, by E. Blanche Norcross and Doris Farmer Tonkin, Courtenay, Island Books, 1969. \$3.95 Available from the publishers and from bookstores in Vancouver and Van. Island.

Frontier Days of Vancouver Island is a collection of thirty-nine essays most of which were written by Miss Norcross and Mrs Tonkin during the past two decades for publication in newspapers and periodicals. In this book they have arranged the essays within seven chapters using the ingenious device of entitling each chapter a "Frontier". The first chapter, or "Frontier One", is "Landfall". It concerns Nootka, the earliest settlements there, the Indian-white man contact, and the subsequent history of the area. "Frontier Two" - Hudson's Bay Company towns" - has Victoria and Nanaimo as its subject matter, and this is succeeded by "Tales of two valleys" (Comox and Cowichan), "The logger is king", "Turn of the century", "Power centre" (Campbell River), and "The last frontier" (N. Vancouver Island).

Arranging these essays - which presumably were not written with their compilation in book form in mind - must have presented the authors with seemingly insuperable problems. Surprisingly their approach has succeeded in giving coherence to the collection. Once the reader is prepared to vault in time, and, to a lesser extent, in space, from essay to essay, he will find the arrangement satisfactory.

The authors tell us in their "Foreword" that they "intend to glance quickly at the landscape as it was and as it is, and how the people make their living. Mostly, though, we'll be meeting people". (p.12) These objectives they fulfill. It must be remembered, however, that the picture they present is not a comprehensive one. The essays are quick glances, but the scenes they provide of life in Vancouver Island are nonetheless interesting, no doubt in

large part due to the fact that the authors' "favourite subject" is "The Island". While they are obviously more comfortable in some areas than in others, their work is consistently readable. They have a warm sympathy for the men and women they portray - particularly pleasing to read was Miss Norcross's "Love and the labour movement" which concerns the Sam Guthries of Ladysmith.

Throughout the essays the authors have a fortunate way of saying what they want to say, though the newspaperman's habit of writing in short, one- or two-sentence paragraphs mars the effect of some passages. Because of the good humour which prevails in the essays, I was surprised to come across Mrs Tonkin's caustic comment that "Indiscriminate digging (at Cumberland) was stopped ... by a wise man who took out a lease on the richest area, and now charges people for permission to dig". (p.73) However we can rejoice in such a lapse in a day when conservation of our historical resources is almost a hot political issue.

George Newell

Mr Newell is an archivist in the Provincial Archives, Victoria.

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Recently published:

History of Port Edward, 1907 - 1970, by Gladys Blyth. Copies available at \$4.75 plus 5% tax from Mrs Gladys Blyth, Port Edward, B.C.

It is to Mrs Blyth's credit that she has compiled and published the only history of this town, and it will find a place among the local histories of the province.

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ESSAY COMPETITION DON'T FORGET THE CENTENNIAL ESSAY COMPETITION

"Some historical aspect of B.C. British Columbia within the Canadian Confederation from an economic, political, scientific or social point of view."

DEADLINE: March 15th, 1971

For details see the June issue of the News.

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B. C. HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL CONVENTION

May 27th, 28th and 29th at Victoria. (See page 3)

We hope to get a good turnout for Centennial Year.

See the April issue of the News for full details and registration form.

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THE SPANISH "PRESENCE" ON THE NORTHWEST COAST (18th CENTURY)

by Tomas Bartroli

The North Pacific, early XVIII century: At the time of her discovery of America and of the Pacific Ocean, Spain began to claim exclusive sovereignty over all of the western parts of the Continent and aimed at gradually colonising them and at exercising control over the whole of the Ocean. Although other powers challenged such wide-ranging claims, Spain maintained them right down to the 18th century and indeed tried to have them incorporated into international treaties. By the first quarter of that century she had under her control most of the western zone of America, from its southern tip to about the present northern boundary of Mexico. The northern portion of this territory belonged to a very large administrative area officially named New Spain, (but also referred to as Mexico), run by a viceroy and with its capital in Mexico City. The coast farther north had been explored during the 16th and 17th centuries in the course of sporadic voyages of the Spanish Royal Navy, but only up to about latitudes 42 and 43 degrees. Aside from these, the only known exploration of that part of the coast had been effected by the British privateer Francis Drake (in 1579), who named the area New Albion, after the old poetic name for Britain.

The North Pacific unknown: The coast and mainland farther north were inhabited by peoples in an elementary stage of civilization having no direct contact with the "civilized" parts of the world. These nations had no verified knowledge of the realities of the northwest areas of America and the northern reaches of the Pacific Ocean, but there was much interest, and, for want of knowledge, several legends and assumptions were current, described and delineated in accounts and cartography which, in retrospect, appear fantastic and even amusing.

One of the main concerns was whether or not the northern territories of Asia and America made contact or were separated by water or ice; in other words, whether there was navigable communication between the northern waters of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Somehow or other the notion spread that there was a channel which, cutting through North America, connected the two oceans. Viewed from western Europe this hypothetical passage would lie in a north-westerly direction and it was often referred to as "The Northwest Passage", especially in England. This nation eagerly searched for it by exploring the coast of what is now Eastern Canada (and incidentally discovering Hudson Bay and Baffin Bay) but, of course, in vain, as there was no such navigable waterway.

Imaginary Spanish discoveries: Spain, having dominions in America on the littorals of both oceans, had no particular need of an inter-oceanic waterway and made only half-hearted efforts in searching for it. Yet in the course of time rumours and reports arose to the effect that mariners in the service of Spain had found such a waterway. Of these alleged discoveries three were to have considerable influence in the actual exploration of the North Pacific and its American coast. Here is a brief account of them:

(a) A book published in England in 1625 reported that in 1592 a Greek called Apostolos Valerianos had been an officer in the Spanish Navy, in which he was known under the name of Juan de Fuca. He had sailed from the Mexican port of Acapulco in command of a ship under orders to search for the Strait of Anian. Navigating up the coast he found, between latitudes 47° and 48° , an entrance which turned out to be that of the sought-after Strait. He sailed the length of it and ascertained that it connected with the "North Sea" (implying the North Atlantic).

(b) In an English magazine of 1708 there appeared a letter stating that in 1640 a naval expedition with three ships under the overall command of one Bartholomew da Fonte, described as Admiral of New Spain and Prince of Chile (titles which never existed in fact), having set out from the Peruvian port of El Callao discovered, on latitude 53° of the Northwest Coast of America, a series of interlocking channels and lakes leading to the Atlantic.

(c) In Spain, around 1609, one Lorenzo Maldonado (or Ferrer-Maldonado) recounted that in 1588 a ship, apparently Spanish, setting out from Lisbon (then under the Spanish Crown) had crossed the Atlantic, entered the Davis Strait, proceeded up to latitude 75° North then, turning west southwest, found the Strait of Anian and ascertained that it debouched on the American coast of the Pacific, approximately on latitude 60° North.

Each of these reports contain fantastic details on the alleged waterway. None received much acceptance upon first appearance but all were to be given much credence and publicity, in books and maps, during the 18th century, especially after the Russians had initiated the exploration of the northern coasts of the Pacific. Furthermore Spain's secrecy concerning her possessions and discoveries in the New World contributed to their receiving much credibility throughout Europe.

Russian activity and Spanish reaction: By the early part of the 18th century the territories of the Russian Empire had stretched across Siberia as far as the Kamchatka Peninsula on the Pacific coast, and this fact partly explains why it was this Empire which seized the initiative in making the first systematic exploration of the northern reaches of the Pacific.

This exploration began with two maritime voyages, under the command of Vitus Bering, setting out from the Kamchatka coast. During the first voyage, undertaken in 1721, the strait now called after Bering was explored. During the second voyage, in 1742, were discovered the Komandor Islands, some of the Aleutians and some portions of the northwest coast of America between latitudes 56° and 60° north. Incidentally it was observed that these various territories contained an abundance of animals, bearing furs of the type which were highly prized in Asia and Europe. Shortly thereafter, adventurous men setting out in flimsy craft from the Kamchatka coast, began to journey to these islands in search of furs. Proceeding in a natural East-West progression, starting at the Komandor Islands, by 1772 these adventurers had already covered most of the Aleutian

archipelago and there was a move afoot favouring official incorporation of the area into the Russian Empire. Vague information on these events and moves belatedly reached Spain which, still considering this part of America as exclusively her own, became fearful lest the Russians would establish themselves permanently there. This fear was the main incentive which prompted the Spanish Empire to undertake, from Mexico, under the leadership of successive Viceroy's of New Spain, an expansion which materialised in two concurrent endeavours (a) the beginning of the colonization of what is now the State of California (U.S.A.) started in 1768; and (b) some exploration of the coast stretching north of California, and an effort to set up outposts thereon.

In this second endeavour, which is the subject of this study, there were two periods of activity: one between 1774 and 1779, and the other between 1788 and 1796. This actually required several voyages, most of which set out from the port of San Blas on the Pacific coast of Mexico.

Three Spanish voyages and one British: The activities of the first period consisted of three maritime voyages undertaken from San Blas between 1774 and 1779, with orders to explore the coast to the north of California, ascertain the extent of the Russian presence there, carry out landings at suitable locations, take official possession of them on behalf of Spain, and study the area and its inhabitants.

(1) In 1774 Juan Perez, in command of one ship, explored the coast between California and Dixon Entrance (Lat. 51°N.), but sighted only some stretches of it, here and there. He attempted landing at two different parts of the coast, now part of British Columbia, the northwestern extremity of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and a bay or bight which he named San Lorenzo, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, estimating its latitude as being $49^{\circ}30'$. At both of these places bad weather marred the efforts to land, but natives of the vicinity, paddling canoes, approached the ship and exchanged articles and friendly greetings with the crew.

(2) In 1775 two ships, commanded by Bruno de Heceta (or Hezeta) and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, explored stretches of the coast "up" to about latitude 58° , effecting landings on the parts now belonging to California, Washington and Southern Alaska (Panhandle). In some places they had encounters with natives who were generally friendly, but on the Washington coast a tribe fell upon a group of six Spaniards and apparently killed them all.

(3) In 1779 two vessels, commanded by Ignacio Arteaga and the aforementioned Bodega y Quadra, reconnoitered some tracts of the Alaska coast from about latitude 55° to the Trinity Islands (southeast of Kodiak Island). The voyagers landed in several places and searched for indications of a possible navigable passage to the Atlantic.

This voyage was carried out in complete ignorance of the fact that during the previous year a British naval expedition, led by Captain James Cook, had explored, albeit only cursorily, the enormous length of coast from Oregon to the Bering Strait, searching in particular for the inter-oceanic passage. The expedition made a stay at

Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island, Lat. $49^{\circ}35'$. Some years later the Spanish began to maintain that this was precisely the spot which Perez had named San Lorenzo during his voyage of 1774 and consequently, they had discovered Nootka.

It is definitely possible that the bight or bay which Perez called San Lorenzo was the bay adjacent to the Nootka Inlet. The data in the records of the Perez voyage is not specific enough to prove or disprove the point, but, in any case, the voyagers did not enter such an inlet, did not even notice its entrance, and did not effect any landings in that region. For these and other reasons the Spanish claim to discovery of Nootka is almost groundless and the credit for the discovery must be given to Cook.

Interlude: 1779 to 1788: In 1779 Spain declared war on Great Britain, siding with France in support of the thirteen British Colonies in North America which were striving for independence. Spain continued her colonization of California but, largely because of the demands the war made on her navy, discontinued the voyages of exploration to the coast further north, and for nine years no Spanish vessel appeared on it.

From 1779 to 1785 the only strangers operating on the northwest coast were Russians engaged in gathering peltry. They gradually expanded eastwards from the Aleutian Islands, eventually covering the southern coast of the Alaska peninsula; they made some incursions further eastward as far as Prince William Sound and set up a few outposts here and there.

The war ended officially in 1783 and the rebel British Colonies became the United States of America.

From the year 1785 vessels of British ownership, setting out from different parts of the world, began to visit the coast between Oregon and Bering Strait to purchase furs from the natives. In 1786 two vessels of the French Navy explored parts of the coast. These various voyages made some contributions towards the knowledge and charting of the coast, the main ones being (a) the discovery of the entrance to a sea arm between latitudes 48° and 49° , which was named Strait of Juan de Fuca from the assumption that it was the interoceanic passage of the Fuca story; (b) the realization of the existence of the Queen Charlotte Islands. However, the fact that there also existed a large island, now named Vancouver Island, was not yet realized.

1788 - A Spanish voyage - Developments at Nootka Belatedly, vague and oftentimes inaccurate reports concerning the activities of Russians, Britons and French on the Northwest Coast of America reached the Spanish authorities; two such reports, actually inaccurate, stated that the Russians now had establishments at Prince William Sound and at Nootka. These various reports caused Spain to be alarmed at what she felt was a growing and illegitimate "foreign" intrusion on the western shores of America, which she still considered her own. Reacting to this challenge, she began a second period of activity on the coast to the north of California, which was to last about eight years.

The first move was a voyage carried out in 1788 in two vessels commanded by Martinez and Lopez de Haro, to ascertain the true extent of the Russian presence. They explored the stretch of coast between Prince William Sound and Unalaska Island (Aleutian Archipelago), met natives in different parts, and visited some Russian outposts. There the voyagers gained the impression that the Russians had no establishment at Nootka, which was true, but were planning to set one up the following spring, which appears to have been a false rumour.

Martinez and Lopez de Haro had been instructed to visit Nootka during the voyage but did not do so: if they had, they would have found there a fur-trading expedition, commanded by the Englishman John Meares; although the expedition's sponsors were all British, its ships were placed under the Portuguese flag in order to avoid payment of duties affecting British merchant vessels operating on the Pacific. The expedition spent some months at Friendly Cove, at the entrance to Nootka Sound, where it built a small wooden house on land which, according to Meares and his companions, he had bought from the natives. Most of the available statements concerning this matter are vague and conflicting, and were made by these people at a time when, as a result of events occurring at Nootka, they had vested interests in magnifying the extent of their activities on the Northwest Coast; for these and other reasons this information is very questionable.

The United States of America made their first appearance on the North Pacific with their ships Columbia Rediviva and Lady Washington, which arrived at Nootka in the autumn of 1788. The Meares expedition was still there but departed shortly afterward. There is much indirect evidence that, before leaving they demolished the small wooden house they had built at Friendly Cove (perhaps taking aboard some of the lumber used). This action was probably motivated partly by the desire to deny the use of this structure to the Americans, who planned to spend - and did spend - the following winter there.

Conflicting plans: During this winter, 1788-89, conflicting plans affecting the Northwest coast of America and Nootka Sound in particular were formulated.

(a) At the ports of Macao and Canton, Meares and a representative of a fur-trading company with headquarters in London, made arrangements for two ships which had participated in the recent Meares expedition, plus two others, to operate on the Northwest coast of America in the purchase of furs, under the overall leadership of Captain James Colnett, with instructions to set up a trading outpost somewhere on the coast, preferably at Nootka.

(b) The Viceroy of New Spain, in view of the notion that the Russians were going to establish themselves at Nootka, and of other factors, decided that an expedition under the command of Martinez should carry out a token occupation of the Sound, in order to convey the impression that this would become a permanent Spanish settlement with land and shipping communication with the Spanish possessions in California. In the event of encountering mariners of other powers operating on the Northwest coast without Spanish consent, Martinez was to inform them that Spain was exclusive master of the area and would not permit such activity.

A Spanish force at Nootka: In May 1789, the expedition under Martinez, with two ships, arrived at Friendly Cove, Nootka. The house which Meares had erected there was no longer standing. The expedition set up a small fort on a tiny rocky island commanding the entrance to the Cove. For some time relations between Spanish and the local natives were quite friendly, but they deteriorated until on one occasion a native chieftain offended Martinez by calling him insulting names, whereupon Martinez, and perhaps another Spaniard as well, rashly fired at the Indian, killing him. Justly infuriated, the natives severed their contacts with the Spanish, though only for a short time.

Although it had not been stipulated one way or the other, Martinez came to assume that his expedition would be staying at Nootka indefinitely but, late in July, he received an order from the Viceroy requesting him to abandon the place before winter came.

At different times during his stay Martinez encountered seven "foreign" vessels, the American Columbia and Washington, the Iphigenia, the Northwest America, the Princess Royal and the Argonaut of the Meares consortium, and subsequently the Fair American of U.S. registry.

The commanders of all of these vessels were English-speaking, although the Iphigenia was in a different category. Through an interpreter of this language, Martinez communicated with these commanders, had them produce their credentials, and informed them of Spain's stand on "foreign" activities along the Northwest coast. The confrontation concerning the Columbia and the Washington was fairly straightforward; Martinez did not harass them in any way and they left in their own time. With regard to the four ships of the Meares consortium the matter was much more complex, partly because of some irregular or odd circumstances, too complex to detail here, concerning their credentials and their personnel.

The Iphigenia, though British owned, displayed the Portuguese flag she carried a set of credentials in English, giving the true facts of ownership; she also had a legitimate Portuguese passport and sailing instructions in Portuguese, but containing deliberate false information. Besides her real commander - a Briton - she carried a Portuguese mariner who was named in the Portuguese papers as her captain. This man showed these papers to Martinez who, objecting to a clause in these papers, seized the vessel. However, a few days later, declaring that he might have misunderstood, he set the vessel free but made her would-be captain post a bond, whereby Spain might still claim the ship.

In June the Northwest America arrived at Friendly Cove, obviously battered. Martinez, on the unfounded pretext that her crew had abandoned her on the beach as unseaworthy, appropriated the ship (though giving her commander a receipt for the allegedly usable materials and equipment) and arranged for the crew to be given passage to the port of Macao - Canton - whence they had come, and where Meares was then residing.

When the Princess Royal arrived at Nootka in June, Martinez

warned her captain against operating on the coast but on the other hand gave him some help and let him go in peace.

Subsequently the Argonaut came, commanded by Colnett, who revealed that he meant to set up an outpost at Nootka, or else on the neighbouring coast. Martinez told him he would not let this happen, and the two men engaged in a heated argument over their respective missions and the rights of Spain and Britain to that part of America; the outcome was that Martinez seized the Argonaut.

Later the Princess Royal reappeared in the vicinity of Nootka; her captain, assuming that Colnett was there, free, and probably intending to make contact with him through the Indians, surreptitiously made for the coast in a boat, but the Spanish caught him in the act, arrested him and subsequently seized the ship. Shortly afterward they sent her and the Argonaut, along with one of their own ships, to San Blas. Later, as the Spanish force was preparing to leave Nootka, the U.S. schooner Fair American, engaged in the fur trade, arrived in the area. Martinez seized her, although giving her crew much-needed assistance. Then, on October 30th the Spanish force, with their one remaining ship and the Fair American and the Northwest America voyaged to San Blas.

Re-occupation of Nootka, 1790-1792: About six months later another Spanish expedition from San Blas came to Nootka and started to set up an establishment which, at its maximum development, attained about two years later, included a simple fort, a sizeable building for headquarters, several smaller structures for use as living quarters, bakery, sick-bay, workshops, storage, two drinking water wells, vegetable gardens, pens for livestock, etc. The personnel obtained fish, game and some vegetables locally but, the land being unsuitable for any large scale farming, most of their foodstuffs had to be brought from Mexico or from the Spanish establishments in California, as were other essential supplies. On the whole, they had quite friendly contacts with the natives.

Anglo-Spanish controversy; Nootka Sound Convention, 1790 Meanwhile there were developments arising from Martinez' seizure of ships.

The schooner Fair American was set free at San Blas and no further complications ensued.

Meares and his associates presented to the British Government reports on the seizure of their ships and the background of the incident; they made vague and largely unfounded statements implying that the Spanish had appropriated lands and buildings acquired by Meares at Nootka Sound, Clayoquot Sound and the vicinity of Fuca Strait. Accordingly they requested that Spain be required to make good these appropriations and to pay indemnities for all actual or conjectural losses incurred by the owners. The case was centred largely on Meares. Inasmuch as between 1786 and 1788 he had operated in the fur trade on the Northwest coast, flouting British regulations, and had been at Nootka with an expedition disguised as Portuguese, he hardly deserved official British support for his claims. However it suited the British Government to support them fully in order to harass Spain and take the opportunity of making other demands of much greater import, the essence of which was recognition of British rights to operate or to settle on any part of the Pacific coast of America which was not under Spanish control prior to the seizure of British ships at Nootka.

The Spanish Government, after a token resistance, soon agreed to return the ships and pay indemnities, but resisted the demands hinging on sovereignty, by reiterating her right to absolute possession of the whole of the western part of America and claiming that Nootka had been discovered by the Spanish four years before the Cook expedition visited the place. Britain counterargued, claimed the discovery, pressed her demands and eventually presented Spain with an ultimatum: acceptance or war. It soon became clear that, if war resulted, Britain could count on effective support from her allies, but that Spain could not expect any positive co-operation from her main ally, France which was then in the throes of revolution. Thus, Spain finally accepted practically all the British demands, which were embodied in a Convention signed late in 1790. Its main points were:

- (a) Spain would return the seized vessels and pay indemnities.
- (b) Spain would restore to Great Britain what was described as "buildings and tracts of land" situated on the Northwest coast, of which British citizens had been dispossessed by the Spanish.
- (c) Both British and Spanish would have equal right to operate (voyage, trade and fish) on any part of that coast to the north of the parts already occupied by Spain prior to the Nootka incident.

For various reasons, only one of the seized vessels was returned to the owners, but the value of the others was included in the agenda of compensations which were discussed by an Anglo-Spanish commission. The British Government appointed as its representative Captain George Vancouver who at the time was scheduled to carry out explorations and charting on the Northwest coast of America. With regard to the restitution of "buildings and tracts of land" the Government, taking for conveniency all of Meares' claims, took the position that the Spanish representative should officially transfer to Vancouver the whole of Nootka Sound and Clayoquot Sound. With regard to sovereignty, Great Britain assumed that the Convention definitely implied that the northern boundary of the exclusive dominions of Spain on the Pacific coast of America was the Bay of San Francisco, as being the northernmost point of the coast which was under Spanish control or occupation prior to the Nootka incident.

The Spanish Government appointed as its commissioner the officer Bodega y Quadra who had participated in the voyages of 1775 and 1779. The Government took the view that the restitution should affect only those tracts of land which could be proven to have been acquired by Meares and that the two representatives, studying the matter on the spot, should settle exactly what land was affected. The Spanish Government also considered that the two commissioners should decide, on the spot, which should be the boundary between the part of the coast exclusively belonging to Spain and the part on which Britain should also have the right to operate. In this respect Bodega y Quadra was instructed to suggest that the boundary be Nootka Sound. However, if Vancouver were to object too strenuously then the Spanish commissioner should suggest (presenting it as a concession) that the boundary be at the entrance of the Fuca Strait, but with the understanding that the Spanish would consider as exclusively theirs the American mainland to the east of a meridian line running from the entrance to the Strait up to latitude 60°. A map with such a line was drawn and given to the

Spanish commissioner, along with detailed instructions. In keeping with this attitude the Spanish decided to set up, forthwith, an establishment or outpost at the entrance of that strait, so that it would be a reality by the time the two commissioners would meet.

1792 - Activities and negotiations: 1792 was the most active year of the Spanish presence on the Northwest coast. In May, a Spanish ship, with about a hundred men and suitable equipment and supplies, started work on the scheduled outpost on the bay now called Neah Bay, at the southern tip of the entrance to the Fuca Strait (northwest extremity of Washington State). The force erected a large hut, a baker's shop, and set up other installations, including a vegetable garden. The intention was to create a permanent establishment, but the venture was fated to be ephemeral. During the spring and summer the Spanish had their largest contingent ever at Nootka, and carried out coastal explorations.

Captains Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver met at Nootka in August-September. The Spaniard initiated proceedings by producing information from various sources - including American fur traders - with which he tried to prove that the only land which could be considered, with some justification, to have been acquired by Meares, was the small flat clearing at Friendly Cove on which he had built a small house. This, Bodega y Quadra concluded, was the only land restitution due by virtue of the Convention. Vancouver argued that he did not deem himself authorized to enter into "retrospective considerations" but only to receive, on behalf of his country, the entirety of Nootka Sound and Clayoquot Sound. Then Bodega y Quadra offered (a) to transfer to Great Britain the aforementioned part of Friendly Cove, unconditionally and permanently and (b) to allow the use of the rest of the Cove, including all the installations of the Spanish establishment, from which the Spaniards would withdraw, but this on a provisional basis, pending a final decision on the part of the respective governments. Vancouver, who laboured under the handicap of having received only the paltriest instructions from his government, with no specific authorization for any give and take, felt duty-bound to refuse. Thus the matter was left inconclusive, the two commissioners referring it back to their respective governments.

By that time it had become apparent to the Spanish that Neah Bay was not a suitable site for a permanent establishment. In view of this and of the stalemate of the Vancouver-Bodega y Quadra negotiations, which meant that for the time being Nootka would remain under exclusive Spanish control, the incipient outpost at Neah Bay was dismantled. It had lasted barely four months.

Explorations, 1789-1793 During these years the Spanish carried out several voyages of exploration on the Northwest coast; three of the voyages covered the coast from Nootka to Prince William Sound; four covered the coast immediately to the south of Nootka, the Juan de Fuca Strait and other waterways between Vancouver Island and the mainland; two voyages covered the stretch between the Fuca Strait and Monterey. Here are some details.

1789: Jose Maria Narvaez explored the entrance of the Fuca Strait in the former Northwest America which had been repaired and renamed by the Spanish.

1790: Salvador Fidalgo explored part of the Alaska coast as far as Prince William Sound. Manuel Quimper, using the captured British ship Princess Royal, explored the coast to the south of Nootka and the Fuca Strait, as far as the sort of basin, dotted with islands, where the Strait divides into several channels.

1791: Francisco Elisa and the aforementioned Narvaez explored again the Fuca Strait and also the contiguous Georgia Strait, as far north as latitude 50° , discovering in the process what is now the present shoreline of the City of Vancouver. An expedition of two vessels under Alejandro Malaspina, which was carrying out a voyage around the world, explored part of the coast between 57° and 60° , mainly in order to investigate whether, as alleged in the story of Ferrer Maldonado, there was a waterway connecting with the Atlantic. Besides, the expedition explored and charted in detail the whole of Nootka Sound and its environs.

1792: Jacinto Caamano reconnoitered the north and east coasts of the Queen Charlotte Islands. A frigate explored, though superficially, the coast between the Fuca Strait and Monterey. Two schooners commanded by Alejandro Alcalá Galiano and Dionisio Valdez, setting out from Nootka, continued the exploration of Fuca and Georgia Straits in the vicinity of what is now the University of British Columbia. They encountered a British expedition commanded by Captain George Vancouver, which was also exploring the area; both expeditions completed their exploration of the waterways between Vancouver Island and the mainland, and made their way to Nootka.

1793: The last Spanish exploration of the coast was carried out by two vessels between Fuca Strait and Monterey.

Some of these Spanish voyages, especially those covering the coast around Vancouver Island, resulted in important discoveries, but those ranging over parts of the coast previously explored by other nations produced only a few local discoveries. From their own findings and from information gathered from other sources, the Spanish plotted a general map of the Northwest coast of America, but they did not explore it any further.

Another Anglo-Spanish Convention: In the meantime the course of the French Revolution caused Spain and Great Britain to turn from foes into allies, and to form an alliance against France. In this new climate of friendship the two nations settled the matters pending from the Nootka Convention of 1790. Spain paid to Meares and his associates, by way of indemnity for their losses resulting from the Nootka incident, 210,000 hard Spanish dollars. While this sum was a good deal less than these people had demanded, it was surely greatly in excess of their actual losses.

Concerning the points of the Convention on which Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra had reached a stalemate, the two governments concerted a complementary Convention, signed in 1794, which stipulated:

- (a) Spain would abandon the establishment at Nootka.
- (b) Representatives from the two nations would meet there, and would

declare officially restored to Great Britain the "lands and buildings" referred to in the first Convention, but never specified.

(c) Both nations would have the right to use Nootka and erect there temporary structures but not permanent establishments.

(d) Both nations would deny to all others the use of Nootka.

The new Convention made no reference to any land or buildings outside of Nootka, and this definitely implied that the vague claims of Meares in this respect were now completely ignored. Nor did the document mention at all the matter of the northern boundary of the Spanish dominions on the Northwest coast, which had worried the Spanish and had been a major topic of dispute between Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver; undoubtedly this matter was deliberately overlooked in order to avoid friction between the two countries which circumstances had caused to become allies - for a while. Altogether the second Convention was about as vague as the first in many points, and might well have been a cause for dispute but for the fact that Spain, within a few years, began to lose her hold in North America.

Last years of the Spanish presence: After 1792 the Nootka establishment underwent some alterations but hardly any further expansion. Contacts between Spanish and natives were frequent and apparently friendly. During the summer months Nootka was visited by a number of vessels of British, United States of America, Portuguese and French registry. The Spanish officially and openly admitted British vessels, and ships of other nationalities were officially forbidden to approach the coast, but in fact none was barred access or expelled.

Agreeable to the stipulations of the 1794 Convention, a British and a Spanish commissioner met at Friendly Cove in March 1795. The Spanish establishment was dismantled; with a simple ceremony the British flag was symbolically hoisted, and the two men signed documents declaring that the buildings and tracts of land mentioned in the two Conventions had been restored to Great Britain. Within weeks the Spanish occupation force withdrew, and thus ended the northernmost outpost the Spanish ever had anywhere.

A last voyage, 1796: The Viceroy of New Spain decided that every six months a journey to Nootka should be undertaken as a token of Spanish rights there, but only one voyage materialized. This occurred in 1796 with a ship commanded by Jose Maria Tovar. During its brief stay at Nootka there arrived by chance a U.S. fur-trading schooner which carried as a guest passenger, Thomas Muir, a notable Scottish radical who, because of his political activities, had been deported to Australia, and who had escaped from that country on that vessel. He requested Tovar to give him passage to Mexico, and the Spaniard obliged, but in so doing he contravened old regulations restricting the presence of foreigners in Spanish-American dominions, and he was subsequently reprimanded for his generous action. This voyage constitutes the last episode of the presence of the Spanish Empire on the coast to the north of California.

Spain renounces claims on the coast: Vessels from Russia, Great Britain and the United States continued to visit the Northwest coast, mainly to exploit its fur resources. The Russians in their progress had previously operated only on the northern stretches of the coast;

about 1799, however, they started a major establishment at Sitka (Latitude 57°) and in 1818 a smaller one much farther south, near San Francisco. At the same time, dynamic European immigrants were pressing westward and numbers of United States citizens flocked into the territories of Florida, Texas, New Mexico and California which Spain had partially colonized and which were still, officially, under her dominion. However, from about 1808, as the remainder of the Spanish colonies in the Americas were struggling for their emancipation, the Spanish grip upon the northern regions of the continent, loosened more and more. In 1819, when that emancipation process was practically complete, Spain ceded to the United States all her territories to the east of the Mississippi River, and, besides, all Spanish rights and claims to the Northwest coast and its hinterland to the north of latitude 42°. This action constituted the official and final withdrawal of Spain from the Northwest coast of America.

Miscellany: Spain's presence on the Northwest coast was accomplished exclusively by the endeavours of her Royal Navy. The personnel were all masculine. Most of the officers, technicians and clergymen involved were natives of Spain, but the remainder were mostly Mexican and largely of Mexican-Indian stock. It is very likely - though not recorded in documents - that from the contacts of these personnel with native women at Nootka, some children were born. On the other hand, some children and a few older people from the Northwest coast were taken by the Spanish to California or Mexico, where they undoubtedly spent the rest of their lives.

Throughout the years several suggestions were made for a major Spanish enterprise in the fur trade to be developed, for which she had better facilities than the Russians, Britons or Americans. However, nothing came of it.

Many place names on the Northwest coast are reminiscent of the Spanish presence; a number come directly from the toponyms assigned by the Spanish, and others drawn from this source have changed sites. A good many names have been designated in recent times by Canada and the United States on the basis of what was known about the history of the Spanish presence on the coast. A few of the names have suffered curious spelling alterations.

Mr Bartroli of the Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies of the University of British Columbia needs little introduction to the members of the British Columbia Historical Association. He is an authority on the Spanish voyages to our coast and has spoken to many of our member societies on this subject.