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BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

"Any country worthy of a future should be interested in its past."

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CONTENTS

AFTER BERING: MAPPING THE NORTH PACIFIC*

I

The first successful attempts to determine whether Asia was joined to America and to ascertain the geography of the adjacent parts of these two continents were made by Bering in his two memorable sea voyages of 1728 and 1741. But it required more than fifty years to complete the map of the Northern Pacific. This work was accomplished through a long series of voyages between 1741 and 1800—some by private traders and others sponsored by the governments of various states. Unfortunately, the first-hand accounts of the traders' voyages, if ever there were any, have for the most part disappeared, and we must rely largely on secondary authorities. Their results have been embodied in various works dealing with the history of Alaska and of the Russian-American Company. Some years ago in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (January, 1913) Professor Golder compiled a list of these voyages in so far as he was familiar with them. That is the only one we have to date. It must be borne in mind that any list is bound to be incomplete, for there is little doubt that records of some of them have disappeared. Innokentii's *Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskago Otdyela* (3 vols. in 2, St. Petersburg, 1840) gives the names of Russian explorers of whom nothing else is known, a fact which compels the author to accept the view that the entire story can never be told.

Since the advance of Russian exploration in turn threatened to encroach on Spanish possessions and ultimately threatened conflict with Great Britain, it is of some importance to know the part played by the voyages of various nations in the progress of discovery. I have therefore combined with the Russians who can be identified the official Spanish expeditions which began in 1774 and extended to 1792, and the memorable voyages of Cook and Vancouver (1778–1779 and 1790–1794 respectively), as well as the voyages of English and American commercial companies after 1785.

A glance at the area which remained to be mapped in the years 1741 to 1795 and at the people who inhabited it shows something of the magnitude and diversity of the problems of the early voyagers. The

* The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance he received from his secretary, Elizabeth Harper John, in the preparation of this article, more particularly in that part dealing with the natives.

Aleutian Islands form a chain extending some 900 miles westward from the tip of Alaska Peninsula, in reality a continuation of the Alaska range of mountains. The five major groups which they comprise are the Near Islands (i.e., those nearest Kamchatka), the Rat Islands, Andreanof Islands, Islands of Four Mountains, and Fox Islands. The three large islands of Unimak, Unalaska, and Umnak are members of the Fox Islands group. The Aleutians possess a tremendous advantage in that they are ice-free and the surrounding waters are open to navigation the whole year around. Unalaska, visited for the first time probably in 1759, was for many years the principal centre of the Russian fur trade, though it became a permanent post much later.

Not until Sarychev came to the area with the Billings expedition of 1790–1792 were detailed charts of the Aleutians compiled. The early explorers discovered that the ordinary dangers of landing on an exposed, unknown coast were, in Aleutian waters, compounded by the uncertainty of the tides and the presence of countless pinnacle rocks. Rip tides were a frequent hazard. Not only are the Aleutians exposed to the full force of the Pacific, with very few sheltering harbours, but the islands are the meeting-ground of two conflicting sea areas and two conflicting weather areas, a circumstance which makes stormy sailing at almost any time of the year.

The coastal region of Alaska fronts upon waters almost equally treacherous. Together with the Aleutians, it forms a great arc of some 1,500 miles. The dominant feature of the southeasterly coast of Alaska and of the British Columbia coast is the submerged mountain chain which crops out to form countless islands, with the inundated valleys creating a maze of passages among them. The complex task of mapping this coastal labyrinth was slowed by the dense fog and snow-storms which make winter sailing hazardous.

The Pribilof Islands, discovered by Pribylov in 1786, are the breeding-place to which the fur-seals migrate in the spring from the southern coast, passing through the Aleutian chain, and whence they return every fall. Uninhabited by man but swarming with animal life, they were a bonanza for the Russian hunters.

The natives whom the Russians first encountered were the Aleuts, although the term itself does not appear in Russian sources until 1747. The Aleuts inhabited the Aleutian and Shumagin Islands and the Alaska Peninsula eastward to the Ugashik River on the north and to Pavlof Bay on the south. They are subdivided, chiefly on dialectal grounds, into two groups: the Unalaskans, who live on the Fox Islands, Shumagin

Islands, and the western part of Alaska Peninsula; the Atkhans, who inhabit the Andreanof, Rat, and Near Islands. They are members of the Eskimoan linguistic stock, but their language and the mainland dialects are not mutually intelligible.

The western Eskimo, interspersed with Aleuts in only a few areas, occupied the Alaskan coast from Prince William Sound and parts of the Alaska Peninusla, thence along the shores of Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean as far as Point Barrow. All the islands in the Bering Sea except the Aleutians and Pribilofs were also peopled by Eskimos. Those who figured most prominently in contacts with the early traders were the Aglemiut Eskimos, who occupied the upper part of the peninsula and Nushagak Bay, and the Kanagmiut Eskimos, who inhabited Kodiak and surrounding islands, and the adjacent coast of the peninsula.

An Athabaskan group, the Tinnehs, occupied the coast of Cook Inlet and much of the interior of Alaska to the east, including the valley of the Yukon.

To the south along the coast were the tribes which comprise the culture area of the Northwest Coast, falling into the following linguistic divisions: The Tlingit, the Haida, the Tsimshian, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, and the Salish on Vancouver Island and around the delta of the Fraser. The Tlingit appear in Russian sources as the Kalush (variants—Kaliuzhi, Koloshi, or Kaloshi). They appear also on occasion under clan names such as Agalagmut, Kenai, and Mednovtsi.

Certain aspects of the general aboriginal culture of the areas had a marked bearing on the course of their relations with the early traders. The social organization was quite loose, with the village as the largest political unit, although there were some casual natural groupings according to language and contiguity. Thus there existed no tribal, or even band, organization to co-ordinate resistance to Russian exploitation. Subsistence was drawn largely from the sea, so the natives were accomplished seafarers and, particularly in the case of the Aleuts, had the highly developed skills needed for hunting the sea-otter. This made them perhaps the most valuable natural resource which the Russians found—a reservoir of skilled labour at hand to be utilized in large-scale hunting operations. The natives were used to long trading voyages and were sophisticated traders well before the Russians arrived. In the Northwest Coast culture area proper, great emphasis was placed upon the accumulation of material wealth, although the prestige of the chiefs and leading men rested ultimately upon the generosity with which the

wealth was given away. The European voyagers had therefore not to introduce a radically new trade economy, but only to adapt to their own uses an already established culture pattern. Bancroft, in his *Alaska,* suggests that the astuteness displayed by the natives in trade and barter was the reason for the development by the Russians of the elaborate coercive methods for obtaining furs without having to cope with their equals in bartering. The natives fell into the trade quite readily, and later navigators found that the coastal natives had assumed the role of middlemen between the inhabitants of the interior and the white fur-traders. One such instance was in August, 1786, when Dixon was told by natives on Cook Inlet that they had sold out of marketable skins but would soon obtain additional supplies from inland tribes.

The Aleuts seem at first to have taken the Russians for supernatural beings, to whom they rendered homage and made offerings. A series of Russian atrocities soon corrected that notion, and the early story of Russian-Aleut relations is a grim one.

The Russians first merely traded with the natives for furs, but they soon devised more effective methods for large-scale fur collection. They impressed natives to hunt for them, having discovered that it was not only needless but dangerous for themselves to disperse in small hunting parties. The Aleuts were made to give hostages, usually women and children, for the safety of the Russians and the performance of their obligations. They were then issued traps and sent out to hunt for the season while the Russians loafed about the villages. Returning hunters surrendered their traps and furs in exchange for trade goods, and the Russians moved on to another island to repeat the operation. Still another method of getting furs was to furnish supplies to the Aleuts during their periodic famines, taking a lien on the following season's catch.

As the Russians moved southeast down the coast in search of fresh sources of fur-bearing animals, they took large numbers of Aleut hunters with them. The Tlingit and western Eskimo bitterly resented the Aleut intruders, failing to realize that they were only the helpless tools of the Russians. A state of warfare developed, so terrifying the Aleuts that even armed Russian escorts failed to save them from panic, especially when intruding in the Tlingit areas of Comptroller, Yakutat, and Lituya Bays.

The Russian methods coloured the relations of the coastal inhabitants with the traders of all nationalities. The custom of interchanging hostages while engaged in trade was carried eastward by the Russians and

became so well established that it was forced upon the English, Americans, and Spaniards. Portlock found it necessary to conform to the custom at various places in order to obtain trade, but as a rule he demanded four or five natives in exchange for one or two sailors from the ship.

The Russians extended to Northwest America the practice already prevalent in Siberia of claiming as tribute, or *yassak,* a portion of the fur-catch. Actually, the Crown received only a very small share, often none at all, and the collection of *yassak* proved to be a convenient cloak for all kinds of demands upon the natives. Bancroft states that in early times at least half of the trade was probably collected in the form of tribute by means of force or threats, while at the same time the authorities at home were being asked to relinquish its collection " because it created discontent among the natives."

The collection of *yassak* in Siberia had grown up as a substitute for the payment of the soul's tax exacted from peasants in Russia. The excesses and irregularities of the traders who had extended the practice to the Northwest Coast so distressed the Empress that she moved to correct the evil by abolishing altogether the collection of tribute by the traders and Cossacks. Bancroft, in his *Alaska,* cites an imperial *ukaz* of 1779 prohibiting the collection of tribute by the *promyshlenniki* and Cossacks, a reform measure stemming directly from the representations of Krenytsin to the Empress. The prohibition apparently was not rendered effective at that time, for in 1787 the Empress inquired by what decree a tribute was being levied upon the Aleutian Islands and forbade collection of any tribute not established by the authorities. In 1788 the collection of tribute on all islands was forbidden under severe penalties.

That the suspension of *yassak* was designed only to stop the excesses of the traders, and not to relinquish the government's right to levy tribute, is shown in the instructions to Captain Billings in 1785 to take a careful census of the male population of the islands and to lay the foundation for the levying of tribute in the future. The commander of the companion vessel, *Chernyi Orel,* made agreements with the Aleuts for the future collection of *yassak.* It is from Sarychev's account that we learn that " up to this time *yassak* had been determined in every settlement and village by the election of *promyshlenniki,* not more than two or three men who were called *yasashnye* " (II, pp. 122–123). The permanent settlement of the *yassak* question came only in 1799, when the Russian-American Company was granted the right to use the services of the natives in lieu of the tribute which was the prerogative of the Russians.

The founding of permanent Russian posts came quite late in the period under consideration. Shelekhov established the first known Russian post in Alaska on the southeast side of Kodiak Island at Three Saints Bay in August, 1784. A rival fur company established a post at Cook Inlet in 1786, and another at Nuchek on Hinchinbrook Island, Prince William Sound, in 1793. English, French, Spanish, and American competition in the fur trade caused the Russians to extend their sphere of operations to the southeast. Baranov established a post at Yakutat in 1796 and another, New Arkhangel, 6 miles north of present Sitka, in 1799.

A strange, complicating factor in the exploration of the Northwest Coast was the accumulated geographical misinformation which had grown out of the much publicized apocryphal voyages. A Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, alleged that he had been the pilot of a vessel which had sailed from Mexico in 1592 to discover the Strait of Anian, and that he had found the fabled passage between latitudes 47 and 48 degrees. The story gained some credence in England, where Michael Lok spent much of his fortune in financing voyages to rediscover the passage. In the following century a London magazine editor created and published as true the "Memoir" of Bartholomew de Fonte, reporting a voyage from Callao, the port of Lima in Peru, to discover the Northwest Passage, which he found in the latitude of 53 degrees. The fantasy was poorly constructed and aroused no great excitement at the time.

The tales might have died out harmlessly, but in 1752 the French geographers Joseph Nicholas Delisle and Philippe Buache published a map which embodied the "discoveries" of de Fuca and Fonte, and included for good measure another strait just north of Cap Blanc, alleged to have been discovered by Martin de Aguilar in 1603. Also included were the mythical lands of Jeso and Gama Land, said to exist in the western Pacific Ocean. The maps met heavy criticism at once, but they circulated widely and had much influence on ideas of geography. It was not until the explorations of Vancouver and the Spaniards in 1792 that it was conclusively proved that there was no northwest passage in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and even then there remained the possibility of Fonte's passage in 53 degrees north latitude which required investigation. The fruitless search for Gama Land drew many Russian vessels, including those of Bering, to the south on hazardous voyages which cost the lives of many men. The noted navigator Andrean Tolstykh lost his life in the search for Gama Land.

Geographers were further misled in 1788 when there was published in Madrid, in Almodóvar's *Historia,* the account of the alleged voyage of discovery of Captain Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado in the year 1588. Maldonado had sailed from the Atlantic through the 290-league Strait of Labrador to the Pacific, where he emerged at 75 degrees north latitude. He then sailed southwest to 60 degrees, where he found the Strait of Anian, an excellent short cut, since it was only 15 leagues long and could easily be passed with the tide in six hours. The information was seized upon by Philippe Buache de la Neuville, the son of the associate of Delisle, who in 1790 read a paper on it before the Academy of Sciences in Paris. This stir caused the Spanish Government to order the voyage of Malaspina to the Northwest Coast to search once more for the elusive strait.

The inconvenience, not to say the hazards, caused the explorers of the Northwest Coast by the circulation of false maps constituted one more obstacle to the completion of their tremendous task.

In this account of the voyages from 1741 to 1795 there is necessarily some overlapping with Henry R. Wagner's *Cartography of the Northwest Coast,* but, inasmuch as Wagner paid little attention to Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, I feel that I am not duplicating his work. I might also add that no attempt is made to give a bibliography covering the Spanish voyages, which can be drawn from Wagner.

Judge F. W. Howay, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* 1930 to 1934, has compiled with great care a list of the commercial vessels trading into the North Pacific after 1785, and while these voyages are included with our list, no effort has been made to give the full sources. The reader is therefore referred to Judge Howay's articles in that connection.

II

In view of the unsatisfactory and confused nature of the materials on which it is based, this list will inevitably be incomplete and will contain inaccuracies. All that can be hoped is that it will approximate the truth, and that it will enable the reader to form a clearer idea, not only of the way in which the various voyages gradually introduce some measure of clarity into the prevailing views on the geography of these regions, but also of how the explorations of the nationals of various countries interlocked with one another and brought the several governments into conflict for possession of these regions.

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III

Commercial voyages by the Russians began immediately after the return of Bering's second expedition. The unusually high prices commanded in the Chinese market by the sea-otter skins brought back by Bering were probably the principal stimulus for the voyages.

1743

Yemel'yan Basov of Tobolsk, in partnership with the Moscow merchant Serebrennikov, built a small *shitik* named *Kapiton,* in which he sailed to Bering Island, returning to Kamchatka in the following year. [Berkh, pp. 2–3.]

1745

Again Basov, now in partnership with the merchant Trapeznikov of Irkutsk, sailed in the *Kapiton.* He apparently made a rich haul of sea-otters, seals, and blue foxes at Bering and neighbouring islands. In 1746 he went farther east, sighting many islands but never landing because of very stormy weather. [Berkh, pp. 2–3.]

Basov's success on his first voyage prompted a group of merchants, Yakov Chuprov, Chevaevski of Ladoga, and Trapeznikov of Irkutsk, to emulate his example. In September, 1745, Chuprov sailed as skipper of the *Evdokia,* with the peasant Mikhail Nevodchikov of Tobolsk as navigator. This vessel, the first commercial expedition to reach the Aleutians proper, probably got as far as the island of Agattu. They also visited Attu, where they committed outrages against the natives, the memory of which is perpetuated in the name of Massacre Bay on the south side of the island. Another bay is called Nevodiskov, an obvious corruption of Nevodchikov. On the return journey, in September, 1746, the vessel was wrecked on Karaginskii Island, off the coast of Kamchatka, losing the entire cargo. The crew wintered there and made their way home in July, 1746. [Berkh, pp. 2–3.]

Ivan Rybinskii, of Moscow, and Stepan Tyrin, of Yaroslavl, were members of the company which dispatched the *shitik Ioann* to Copper

Island under the command of Andrei Vsevidov. There is some disagreement as to the date; Berkh gives as the date of departure 1747, while Bancroft, on the authority of *Neue Nachrichten,* gives the date of 1746. [Berkh, pp. 13–14; J.L.S., pp. 18–19; Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 109.]

A group of merchants, including Rybinskii, Fedor Kholodilov of Totemsk, Nikifor Trapeznikov and Vasilii Balin of Irkutsk, Kozma Nerstov of Totma, Mikhail Nikilinich of Novoyanski, and Fyodor Zhukov of Yaroslavl, petitioned successfully for permission to send an expedition in search of furs. Andrean Tolstykh, of Selenginsk, was named to command the ship *Sv. Ioann.* The expedition wintered on Bering Island and returned to Nizhne-Kamchatsk August 14, 1747, with a good catch of furs. [Berkh, pp. 11–12; J.L.S., pp. 18–19.]

1747

Another *shitik, Ioann,* went in 1747 to the nearer Aleutians, returning in 1749 with a valuable cargo of sea-otters and foxes. [Berkh, p. 13.]

Basov set out again, this time in his own vessel, *Sv. Petr,* going to Copper Island, whence he returned apparently in the same year with a substantial catch. [Berkh, p. 14.]

These voyages started a " fur-rush." Merchants who had come east to Siberia to make their fortunes trading with the natives abandoned that pursuit and turned to the sea.

A group composed of Ivan Zhilkin, of Solvychegda, Afanasii Bakhov, of Ustyug, and Novikov, of Yakutsk, constructed a vessel, the *Perkup i Zant,* on the Anadyr, whence it put to sea in the summer of 1747. The expedition, commanded by Bakhov, reached Bering Island in September. In October the vessel was wrecked by a storm while it lay at anchor off Bering Island, but the crew constructed a small boat from the ruins of Bering's ship which had been wrecked there in 1741, named it the *Kapiton,* and put out to sea in it in the summer of 1748. Sailing northeast, they sighted land, and Berkh speculated that if they had continued to it, they would have been the first to discover the American mainland, of which information up till then had been based merely on conjectures. The expedition returned to Kamchatka in August, 1749. [Berkh, p. 16.]

1749

It is rumoured that Basov made a fourth voyage, probably to Copper Island. [Berkh, pp. 2–3.]

The *Sv. Ioann,* under Vsevidov, made a trip to the nearer Aleutian Islands, returning in August, 1752. [Berkh, pp. 18–19.]

Also in 1749, some Cossacks made the voyage to Bering Island in *baidars.*

Tolstykh made another voyage in 1749, going to the islands discovered by Nevodchikov—Attu and Agattu. He spent two winters on Attu, and returned to Kamchatka in 1752. [Berkh, p. 17; J.L.S., p. 26.]

In August, Nikifor Trapeznikov sailed in the *Boris i Gleb,* which he had built, operating under the agreement that, in addition to levying *yassak,* he would give the government one-tenth of his catch. He discovered the island "Atkhu" (probably Atka), which seems to be the farthest point east that had been reached, and returned in 1752. [Berkh, p. 18.]

Rybinskii and Tyrin sent out the *shitik Sv. Ioann* to the Near Islands, whence it returned in August, 1753. [Berkh, pp. 18–19.]

1750

The *Sv. Ioann,* belonging to Yemil'yan Yugov, of Irkutsk, came to grief on the shores of Kamchatka, where the crew wintered. [Berkh, pp. 20–21.]

Trapeznikov's vessel, *Petr,* sailed under command of Nakvashin to the Andreanofs and visited Atka Island. [Polonskii, cited in Jochelson, p. 3.]

The *Jeremiah,* under the navigator Bashmakov, of Arkhangel'sk, sailed to the Aleutian Islands, where it was wrecked off the island of Adak, in 1752. The Russians remained on the island hunting till July, 1754, when they returned. [Polonskii, cited in Jochelson, p. 3.]

Rybinskii sent the ship *Sv. Simeon i Anna,* under the Cossack Vorob'ev, to Copper Island. The ship was wrecked on one of the smaller adjacent islands, and a smaller craft, the *Jeremiah,* was constructed from the wreckage. The *Jeremiah* made its way back to Kamchatka. [Berkh, pp. 23–24; Coxe (4th ed.), p. 124, refers to the original vessel as the *Simeon and John.*]

1751

Yugov again set out in the *Sv. Ioann.* Apparently Yugov hunted for three years around Bering and Copper Islands, on the latter of which he died. The vessel returned in July, 1754. [Berkh, pp. 20–21; Coxe (4th ed.), pp. 120–121.]

It was in 1751 that Mikhail Nevodchikov drew a map of the newly discovered islands (Attu, Agattu, and Semichi) and forwarded it to the Russian Senate.

1752

Trapeznikov sent out the *Boris i Gleb* under Alexei Druzhinin. The expedition twice suffered shipwreck, but the crew was rescued by Trapeznikov's ship *Sv. Nikolai.* [Berkh, pp. 24–25.]

It was in 1752 that the first authentic information of the Bering expedition (the second Kamchatka expedition of 1741) was given to the world and the map published at Paris by Joseph Nicolas Delisle. Since some of the information given in Delisle's map was incorrect, the Russian Government instructed the historian Gerhard Frederich Müller to publish in Berlin a reply. It is contained in *Lettre d'un Officier de la Marine Russienne à un seigneur de la Cour,* published at first separately and later in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque Germanique* (Berlin, 1753).

1753

The merchants Andrei Mikhailov Serebrennikov, Fedor Kholodilov, and Semen Krasil'nikov decided to build a ship and send it out on a voyage of exploration and discovery, to seek new islands and, if possible, the mainland of America. The ship put to sea in July under the command of Petr Bashmakov, of Arkhangel'sk, and sailed to the east, visiting some unknown islands. A storm carried it farther to the east, where it was wrecked, according to Berkh, near the island of Umnak. Although the crew clashed with the natives there, they remained on Umnak until 1754, when they built a boat out of the wreckage of their own vessel and returned to Kamchatka. [Beniowsky, pp. 27–28, credits Serebrennikov with the discovery of Fox Islands, although he underestimated the distance traversed to the 29th meridian east of Bolsheretsk, falling 5 degrees of longitude short. *See also* Berkh, pp. 25–27. Their evidence is contradicted by Veniaminov, who denies that this vessel reached Umnak.]

Fedor Kholodilov sailed in his own ship in August, 1753, to Bering Island, where he wintered. Putting to sea again in June, 1754, he went eastward to an unknown Aleutian island, where he wintered, returning to Kamchatka in 1755 with a catch of 1,600 sea-otter skins. [Berkh, pp. 27–28.]

1754

Semen Krasil'nikov put to sea in 1754, wintered on Bering Island, and in 1755 proceeded eastward to an unknown Aleutian island. Intimidated by an overwhelming number of natives, he turned back to Copper Island, where the vessel was wrecked by a storm and part of the crew perished. The survivors managed to get to Bering Island in a *baidar,*

where they were rescued by Trapeznikov's ship. [Berkh, pp. 28–29; Coxe (4th ed.), pp. 134–136.]

Trapeznikov's vessel was the *Sv. Nikolai,* commanded by the Cossack Durnev. It proceeded to the Near Islands, then farther east, returning in 1757 with a cargo valued at 187,268 rubles. [Berkh, pp. 29–30.]

1756

In August, Trapeznikov, Balin, and Zhukov commissioned a ship, the *Sv. Adrian i Natalia,* under the command of Andrean Tolstykh. Toltsykh wintered on Bering Island, then proceeded to Attu, where he encountered the *Sv. Nikolai* under Durnev. Tolstykh remained at Attu a year, returning to Kamchatka in 1757. [Berkh, p. 31; Coxe (4th ed.), pp. 136–137. Coxe called the island "Ataku."]

1757

The small ship *Kapiton,* built by Basov and Novikov on Bering Island in 1747 [*see* above; *see also* Berkh, pp. 2–3; and Coxe, p. 126], was confiscated by the government because it was built of the wreckage of a government-owned vessel, and its use was given for seven years to Ivan Zhilkin, of Solevychegda. Sent out on a voyage of exploration under the Cossack Studentsov, it was driven ashore on Kamchatka. After some difficulty it was refloated, but not in time to proceed this year on its voyage to the Aleutians. [Berkh, p. 32.]

1758

The *Kapiton* again set out under command of Studentsov. It proceeded first to Bering Island, whence they sailed in August to the Near Islands, thence eastward to anchor at an unknown island, where the vessel was wrecked by a storm. The survivors fought off the hostile natives, passed two winters on the island, and finally managed to build from the wreckage a new boat. Putting to sea in their makeshift craft, they reached another island, where they found the wreckage of Serebrennikov's vessel, which they repaired and used for the return voyage in 1761. [Berkh, p. 32.]

The *Vladimir,* owned by Nikifor Trapeznikov and Semen Krasil'nikov and commanded by Dmitrii Paikov, set out in 1758 and wintered on Bering Island. Setting out again in 1759, Paikov sailed to the south in an unsuccessful search for land, then turned back north to the island of Atkha. Finding no suitable harbours there, he went on to the Amlia,

where he wintered. To facilitate hunting operations, Paikov divided his crew into three parties: the first proceeded to the island of "Sigdak"; the second, under the Cossack Shevyrin, went to Atkha; the third remained with the vessel. The second party was exterminated by the natives, and Paikov recalled the first party, preparatory to returning to Kamchatka. At Atkha he encountered Bechevin's *Sv. Gavrilo,* outward bound, and the two captains decided to pool their resources. The *Vladimir* started home in June, 1761, while the *Sv. Gavrilo* moved on to Umnak and then the Alaska Peninsula, wintering in Isanotski Strait. [Berkh, pp. 37–40; Coxe (3rd ed.), p. 68; Jochelson, p. 3.]

A merchant named Nikiforov built at Nizhne-Kamchatsk the ship *Julian,* for which he selected as navigator the *myeshchanin* of Yar'ensk, Stepan Glotov. Glotov sailed to the east on September 2, 1758; contrary winds forced him to Copper Island, whence he proceeded to Bering Island to winter. From there he set out in August, 1759, on a voyage of discovery, putting in at the islands of Umnak and Unalaska, where his crews found excellent hunting. It was necessary at first to fight off the natives, but peace was made and gifts were exchanged; the natives pledged their fealty to Elizabeth and agreed to pay *yassak,* which the Russians collected for the years 1761 and 1762. On the return of the vessel in 1762, the Cossack Ponomarev, who had gone along to levy *yassak,* drew up a map showing eight large islands northeast of Unalaska. In 1764 one of the merchants who had been interested in the voyage was sent to the imperial court at St. Petersburg, where he presented some fine fox-skins to the Empress and gave her an account of the fur trade in the North Pacific. He exhibited a map, probably that prepared by Ponomarev, which was deposited with the Admiralty. *See* Tompkins and Moorhead, "Russia's Approach to America," for the international repercussions of this voyage. [Berkh, pp. 35–37; *Mesyatsoslov,* 1774; Ponomarev and Glotov, Report in Andreyev, pp. 23–29.]

It was in 1758 also that G. F. Müller published his *Nachrichten von Seereisen,* together with a map, to further correct Delisle's erroneous account of the discoveries made by Bering.

1759

The *Petr i Pavel,* commanded by A. Serebrennikov and owned by the merchant Rybinskii and his associates, set out in search of lands thought to lie south of the Aleutian Islands. Nothing is known as to where they prosecuted their search for furs, but they returned to Nizhne-Kamchatsk in 1761 with 2,000 sea-otter skins. [Berkh, p. 40.]

The merchants Shuiskii Postnikov, Krasil'nikov of Tula, and the Kul'khovs of Vologda sent out the *Zakharii i Elizaveta* under Captain Stepan Cherapanov. The vessel sailed from Okhotsk to the Aleutians, and it is assumed that it visited the Near Islands. It returned to Okhotsk in 1762. [Berkh, p. 40.]

1760

The *Sv. Gavrilo,* sent out by the Irkutsk merchant Bechevin in 1760, has been mentioned above in connection with the *Vladimir,* which set sail in 1758. Apparently it was commanded by Ponomarev, but it is uncertain whether it sailed from Bolsheretsk or Okhotsk. After parting company with the *Vladimir* in 1761, it proceeded to Unalaska and the island of Unga. The excesses of the crew there provoked retaliation from the natives, who drove the vessel away from Unga. The *Sv. Gavrilo* then put in at Umnak, and the outrages of this party were among the chief causes of the native rising on the Fox Islands in 1764. The vessel returned to Kamchatka in 1762 with a cargo valued at 52,000 rubles. [Berkh, pp. 41–42; Innokentii, I, p. 116.]

Andrean Tolstykh was owner and commander of the *Adrian i Natalia,* which wintered in 1760–1761 on Bering Island and the next year visited Attu, Agattu, Adak, and " Semichu." Proceeding under an imperial sanction, Tolstykh carried out a thorough reconnaissance of the Andreanof Islands. Upon his return in 1764, in recognition of his services, the government remitted its customary 10-per-cent levy on the profits of the voyage. The Cossacks Lazarev and Vasyutinski, who had accompanied the expedition for the purpose of levying *yassak,* wrote a description of the Andreanofs (*see* Andreyev) and were raised to the level of " local nobles " as a reward for their services. [Berkh, pp. 52–57; Coxe (4th ed.), p. 79.]

Berkh mentions also an expedition to the Aleutians of the Lala merchant Teretii Chebaevskii, who returned in 1763 with a cargo valued at 104,218 rubles.

1762

A large joint-stock company, including Nikifor Trapeznikov, Vasillii Popov, Jakob Potasov, and Ivan Lapin, dispatched four vessels, three of which were lost. The *Zakharii i Elizaveta,* under the command of Alexei Druzhinin, wintered in Petropavlovsk and proceeded in July, 1763, to Umnak, where she met the vessels of Glotov, Korovin, and Medvyedev. [*See* below.] Druzhinin then directed his ship's course to Unalaska, where two of his three hunting parties were wiped out in an

uprising of the natives. He was forced to abandon vessel and take refuge on the ship of Korovin. [Berkh, p. 63; Tikhmenev, I, p. 3.]

The second of the vessels, the *Svyatata Troitsya,* under Ivan Korovin, reached Unalaska in August, 1763, in company with Medvyedev's ship. After he picked up the survivors from Druzhinin's ship, his own vessel was wrecked, and his company had to escape in *baidars* to Umnak. There they found the wreck of the third vessel, name unknown, and the bodies of the captain, Medvyedev, and the crew, all murdered by the natives. The fourth of these ill-fated vessels, name and captain unknown, proceeded to Unalaska and the Alaska Peninsula, and was lost in Isanotski Strait. [Berkh, p. 58; Innokentii, I, pp. 118–119; Veniaminov's discussions of these early voyages suggest that in addition to the above there were a number of others, of which all records have been lost.]

The merchants Terentii Chebayevskii, Ivan Lapin, and Ivan and Vasillii Popov sent out the *Adrian i Natalia* under the command of Glotov. This vessel proceeded to Umnak, where Glotov joined forces with Druzhinin for a little while. He soon went on to Kodiak, where the hostility of the natives prevented effective hunting operations. Returning to Unalaska, he found that Korovin had just picked up the survivors of Druzhinin's party, and for a short time he joined forces with Korovin, then later with Glotov. In 1766 he returned to Kamchatka. [Berkh, p. 63; Tikhmenev, I, p. 3.]

Shalauroff set out in 1762 from the Kolyma River, but his expedition was forced to turn back to Nizhne-Kolymsk because of unfavourable weather. He tried again in 1764 under the sanction of the government, but he never returned and his fate is unknown. [Sauer, p. 96; Coxe (3rd ed.), pp. 263–269, says that Shalauroff set out in 1761, wintered at the mouth of the Kolyma, and came back to the mouth of the Lena, 1763–1764. He speculates that Shalauroff and his crew were killed about 1767 near the Anadyr by the Chukchi.]

1764

The merchant Olednikov sent out the *Petr i Pavel* under Solov'ev to the Aleutian Islands. Solov'ev proceeded to Umnak, Unalaska, and the Alaska Peninsula. Returning to Unalaska he picked up the survivors of the crews which had been massacred by the natives [*see* above, 1762], and exacted a frightful vengeance from the natives. He returned to Kamchatka in 1766. [Berkh, pp. 47–62; Beniowsky, I, p. 267.]

Another *Petr i Pavel,* sent out by Grigorii and Petr Panov, had a less eventful voyage to the Fox Islands, whence it returned in 1766. Delarov commanded the ship. [Berkh, p. 72.]

Under orders of Saimonov, then Governor of Siberia, Lieutenant Synd, who had been a member of Bering's party, sailed from Okhotsk on a voyage of discovery. His vessel, the *Sv. Pavel,* proved unseaworthy, and he set out again in 1765 in the *Sv. Ekaterina.* He may have convoyed some commercial vessels, though this point is uncertain. The territory which he covered is also uncertain, but he may have reached the American mainland, touching it on or about Seward Peninsula. He returned to Okhotsk in 1768. [Coxe (4th ed.), pp. 264–266; Bancroft, pp. 157–158.]

It was in this year also that three vessels were secretly dispatched from Arkhangel in the hope of finding open sea that would enable them to pass around the northern coast of Europe and Asia to enter the Pacific through Bering Sea. This voyage was promoted by the Russian scientist Lomonosov as part of an ambitious scheme to explore the sea routes between the Atlantic and Pacific. They were to meet another expedition to be sent from Okhotsk to carry out the thorough exploration of the Aleutian Islands. The above three vessels, commanded by Chichagov, Panov, and Babayev, reached the northwest coast of Spitzbergen and returned without fulfilling their mission in 1766. [*Proekt Lomonosova,* pp. 142 ff.] News of this leaked out to the Spanish Ambassador, who reported it to his home government. [*See* Tompkins and Moorhead.]

1765

The merchants Blasov and Mostovskii, backed by Lapin, Oryekov, and Shilov, were this year authorized by decree of the Empress, issued by the chancery of Okhotsk, to send out an expedition. In view of irregularities, elaborate instructions for the conduct of the expedition were given the commander, Gerasim Izmailov, and the *peredovchik,* Lukanin. They sailed first to the Fox Islands, then to Unalaska, where they had considerable trouble with the natives in 1766. Attempts to collect *yassak* had caused difficulty with the natives, but in spite of that they returned with a substantial catch of fur. [Berkh, p. 45.]

The newly formed company of Lapin, Shilov, and Oryekov built two vessels, the *Sv. Petr* and the *Sv. Pavel,* at Okhotsk. The *Sv. Petr,* under command of Andrean Tolstykh, sailed southward from Bolsheretsk, searching for the mythical Gama Land. The vessel was wrecked

in a storm off the coast of Kamchatka, and Tolstykh was drowned. The *Sv. Pavel,* under Ocheredin, sailed to the Aleutians, passing one winter on Umnak and another on Akutan. Hunting operations were constantly hampered by the hostility of the natives, and in 1768 the natives made concerted onslaughts on the vessels of Ocheredin and Popov, both then trading at Unalaska. The *Sv. Pavel* returned in 1770. [Berkh, pp. 76–80; Bancroft, *Alaska,* pp. 153–154.]

1766

The Tula merchant Semen Krasil'nikov and his company dispatched the ship *Vladimir* under the command of Sapozhnikov. He is supposed to have visited the Fox Islands, where he obtained a catch of sea-otters, blue foxes, and fur-seals. [Berkh, p. 81.]

It was in 1766 that Shilov went to Moscow, where he was presented at court to tell of the Pacific trading activities. He gave Catherine skins and a map of the Aleutian chain east to Umnak. In recognition of his services she remitted the customary government tax of 10 per cent on his catch.

1767

Grigorii and Petr Panov again sent out the *Sv. Petr i Sv. Pavel,* which returned in three years with a rich cargo and at once set out on a third voyage, for which no return is recorded. [Berkh, p. 82.]

Ivan Popov sent out the newly constructed ship *Ioann Ustyuzhskii.* Her captain and destination are unknown, but she is supposed to have passed a year in the Aleutian Islands. She returned at an unknown date and was sent out on a second expedition, from which she returned in 1770 with a substantial catch. She immediately made a third voyage, from which she returned in 1772. [Berkh, p. 82.]

Peloponisov (obviously the first Greek who appears as a participant in these voyages) and Popov formed a company and sent out a ship, the *Sv. Ioann Predtecha,* which left Nizhne-Kamchatsk in 1767, possibly reached the Aleutian Islands, and returned in 1772. [Berkh, Appendix.]

1768

Ivan Zasypkin, Afanasii Oreykhov, and Ivan Mukhin sent out the ship *Nikolai,* which returned in 1773. Where its catch was obtained is not recorded. [Berkh, p. 85.]

An official voyage was undertaken this year under the express instructions of the Empress Catherine, who felt that exact scientific information

should be obtained with regard to the location of the Aleutian Islands and the mainland of America. This voyage was part of the scheme fathered by Lomonosov to complete the mapping of the northern and eastern coasts of Siberia and the Aleutian Islands and to complete the work of Bering. Two vessels were commissioned — the galliot *Sv. Ekaterina,* under Lieutenant Krenitsyn, and the hooker *Sv. Pavel,* commanded by Lieutenant Levashev. Krenitsyn was in supreme command. The expedition seems to have made a false start in 1766, but did not finally carry out its task until 1768–1769. It proceeded eastward along the Aleutian chain to Unalaska. Krenitsyn seems to have wintered in Isanotski Strait, while the *Sv. Pavel* wintered at Unalaska. The expedition encountered the *Sv. Pavel,* of Ocheredin, which was entrusted with a dispatch to the home government. One of the chief tasks of this expedition was the compilation of a chart marking the track of the vessels both going out and returning. In the harbour of Unalaska and Isanotski Strait, careful observations were made and distances accurately computed, thus clearing up for the first time the confusion in the geography of the Aleutians. It might be noted that previous expeditions had been under the impression that one had to reach the Aleutians by proceeding northeast, and thus the Fox Islands and the Alaska Peninsula were presumed to be far to the north of their actual locations. Lomonosov conjectured that this error was due to the ignorance of the inexperienced pilots of the local variations of the magnetic compass. [Coxe (4th ed.), pp. 248–263; *Proekt Lomonosova* 143, letter of Lomonosov to Chernyshev, September 15, 1765.]

1769

Peloponisov and Popov sent out the ship *Sv. Adrian.* The vessel suffered partial shipwreck on its return trip in 1773, but managed none the less to limp back to Kamchatka. [Berkh, p. 85.]

A company made up of Matvei Okoshnikov, of Vologda, and Prokopii Protodyakanov, of Yakutsk, sent out from Okhotsk the *Prokopii,* which returned in 1773 with a very meagre catch of fur. [Berkh, p. 85.]

1770

Vasilii Serebrennikov, of Moscow, dispatched the ship *Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii,* which returned four years later. [Berkh, p. 86.]

Vasilii Shilov, Ivan Lapin, and Afanasii Oryekhov selected Ivan Maksimov Solov'ev to command the ship *Sv. Pavel,* which sailed from Okhotsk in July, 1770. It visited Unalaska, Umnak, and neighbouring islands and returned in 1775 with a good catch of furs. [Berkh, p. 86.]

1771

Gerhard Friedrich Müller this year published a new map of the Russian Empire to correct mistakes in his earlier map of 1758. [Müller, *Istoriya Sibiri,* I, p. 105.] This map incorporated discoveries made by Bering.

This year saw one of the most fantastic incidents in the history of naval activity in these regions. A prisoner of war captured in the disturbances in Poland in 1768, Mauritius Augustus, Count de Beniowsky, succeeded in organizing a conspiracy among his fellow prisoners at Bolsheretsk. The prisoners revolted, secured arms, overpowered the garrison, and killed the commandant, Captain Nilov. They then seized a ship in the harbour, the *Sv. Petr i Pavel,* upon which they embarked for a voyage to freedom. With Beniowsky were a number of Russians, at least one of whom, Izmailov, had made previous voyages. It is quite impossible to trace the exact course followed, but Beniowsky claimed that they sailed across the Bering Sea, touched on the coast of America, and then turned southward, entering the Pacific and proceeding southward until they finally reached the port of Macão. Here the party apparently broke up, and Beniowsky and some of the crew proceeded to Europe—how is not known—and the others found their way back as best they could. Ismailov had been put ashore on one of the Kurile Islands to find his way back to Siberia. Beniowsky's expedition contributed little to maritime discovery, but it created a profound impression in administrative circles, since it disclosed the comparative ease with which determined prisoners could escape from exile and led to a shake-up in the administration. [Beniowsky, Vol. I.]

1772

The company of Oryekhov, Lapin, and Shilov this year fitted out the *Sv. Vladimir* under the command of Potap Zaikov. Zaikov left Okhotsk on September 22, 1772, and put into the mouth of the Borovskaya River, 16 versts north of Bolsheretsk. The following year he sailed again on June 12, 1773, and passed through the Kurile Islands in a southeasterly direction in search of Gama Land. Unsuccessful, of course, he turned back to winter on Copper Island, which he explored very carefully. Putting to sea again in July, 1774, he sailed to the island of Attu, where he decided to spend the winter hunting for fur. In July, 1775, he left Attu, and sailed along the Aleutian Islands to Umnak, where he met the *Sv. Evyel,* commanded by Burenin, with whom

he joined forces. Leaving a party on Umnak with Burenin, Zaikov proceeded eastward in August to make further discoveries. On August 3, 1775, he entered Isanotski Strait, where he wintered. Zaikov apparently spent three years at Unimak. In May, 1778, he started home. Putting in to Umnak he found Burenin and divided the catch with him. He wintered in Umnak and set out again in May, 1779, stopping at Attu to pick up a party which he had left behind. On June 12 he reached Bering Island and in September finally put into Okhotsk. The seven years' voyage was remarkably successful. Zaikov apparently had some nautical training, for he was able to correct the observations of Krenitsyn, which had placed the Aleutian Islands 5 degrees too far west, and it was Zaikov who drew up the first accurate charts of the Aleutian chain. [Berkh, p. 87 ff.; Pallas, III, 274–288.]

Petr and Grigorii Panov sent out a vessel of unknown name in 1772; there is no information as to the destination or the success of this voyage. [Berhk, p. 94.]

Dmitrii Polutov sailed from Bolsheretsk on September 8, 1772, in command of the *Arkhangel Mikhail,* a ship owned by the Totem merchant Alexei Kholodilov. A storm on September 20 drove him on the shore of Kamchatka, but the vessel was relatively undamaged. In July, 1773, he again put to sea, reaching Bering Island, where he wintered. Polutov set out again on July 17, 1774, and on September 7 dropped anchor off Unalaska. There he spent two years hunting among the neighbouring islands. June 15, 1776, he proceeded to Kodiak, where he put into a bay on the eastern side of the island which penetrated the land 15 versts. The hostile attitude of the natives boded ill for his trade with them, and he decided to return to Unalaska. Thence he proceeded to Attu, August 2, where he wintered. He departed on July 25, 1777, and reached Nizhne-Kamchatsk that summer. [Berkh, pp. 94–96.]

Baidars frequently went from the mainland to Bering and Copper Islands, but records of such trips were rarely kept. However, Berkh records that in 1772 and 1774 the *baidar* of Ivan Novikov made two trips to the Near Islands and brought back rich cargoes.

1773

The *Sv. Evyel,* sailing under command of her owner, Fedor Burenin, set out from Nizhne-Kamchatsk. Burenin put in at Copper Island, Attu, and finally Umnak, where, as we have seen, he joined forces with Zaikov. He returned home in 1779. [Berkh, p. 97.]

A new map of discoveries in the North Pacific was issued in 1773 by the Geographical Department of the Academy of Sciences.

1774

This year Jakob von Stahlin published in the periodical *Mesyatsoslov* an article, "A New Northern Archipelago," accompanied by a map which purported to give the results of recent explorations in the North Pacific. This publication found its way to Spain through the Spanish Ambassador and did something to stimulate Spanish interest in Russian exploration.

The merchants Protod'yakanov and Okonishnikov dispatched the *Sv. Prokopii* on its second voyage. It returned in 1776 with a catch which barely paid the expenses of the voyage, and the discouraged owners got out of the business. [Berkh, p. 99.]

The merchant Osokin, of Tobol, sent out his own *Sv. Pavel,* but it suffered shipwreck at some unknown location and became a total loss. [Berkh, p. 99.]

News of the Russian explorations in the region induced the Spanish Government to send its first recorded voyage into the North Pacific. The expedition was headed by Juan Pérez in the vessel *Santiago,* which sailed from San Blas, on the west coast of Mexico, January 25, 1774. Although ordered to explore north to the 60th parallel, Pérez reached only 55 degrees north latitude. He apparently put in at Nootka Sound (although there is some question as to the accuracy of this observation), then proceeded northward along the west coast of Vancouver Island and the mainland to 55 degrees. He turned back south on July 22 and reached San Blas in September. [For the numerous authorities for this voyage, the reader is referred to Wagner, I, pp. 172–174.]

1775

A second Spanish expedition occurred in the year following Pérez's first voyage. Bruno Heceta, in the *Santiago,* headed the expedition. A second vessel, the *Sonora,* was commanded by Juan Francisco de la Bodega. The expedition sailed from San Blas on March 16, 1775. On August 17 the mouth of the Columbia River was discovered, but so many of his men were ill that Heceta could not dispatch a party to explore it. The vessels had separated about August 1 in latitude 47 degrees, Heceta turning back south and Bodega continuing north in an effort to carry out his orders to sail to 65 degrees. The *Santiago*

anchored in Monterey on August 29. Bodega reached approximately 58 degrees on August 22; there heavy weather and illness of much of the crew forced Bodega to turn back to the south. The *Sonora* reached Monterey on October 7. [For an account of the voyage and of the six extant accounts of the expedition, *see* Wagner, I, pp. 175–179.]

1776

Grigorii and Petr Panov sent out the *Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii* to the Aleutian Islands, whence it returned in 1779. No further information on this voyage is available. [Berkh, p. 100.]

Oryekhov, Lapin, and Shilov sent out the *Sv. Pavel* under the command of Gerasim Izmailov. Ivan Lukanin was *peredovchik;* i.e., the leader of the hunting parties. We have no information from Russian sources as to their destination, but the fact that Captain Cook encountered Izmailov at Unalaska in 1778 indicates that the expedition made its headquarters on that island. Izmailov, who had sailed with Beniowsky as far as the Kurile Islands in 1771, was extremely well informed on the geography of the North Pacific. He and Cook exchanged information from which both profited. Cook speaks as though the Russians had a permanent post at Unalaska, but this is somewhat open to doubt. Izmailov returned in 1781. [Berkh, p. 101; Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 183; Cook, II, 496–504.]

Grigorii Shelekhov, in partnership with Luka Alin, sent out another *Sv. Pavel,* from Nizhne-Kamchatsk with Sapozhnikov in command. It returned from the Aleutian Islands in 1780 with a cargo valued at 75,240 rubles. [Berkh, p. 101; Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 183.]

Shelekhov also formed a partnership with Lebedev-Lastochkin for the purpose of hunting and trading on the Kurile Islands. They dispatched at least one vessel to the Kuriles, but no specific records of the voyage are extant. [Berkh, p. 100; Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 182.]

1777

Grigorii and Petr Panov, Shelekhov, and Solov'ev sent out the *Varfolomei i Varnava* from Nizhne-Kamchatsk in the summer of this year. It returned in 1781 with a small cargo. [Berkh, pp. 101–102; Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 183.]

Grigorii Shelekhov and Ivan Golikov built the *Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi* and sent it to the Aleutian Islands. The vessel was wrecked, but its very valuable cargo (133,000 rubles) was saved. This seems to have been the first venture in which Shelekhov and Golikov, who were

afterwards to organize the Russian-American Company, were associated. [Berkh, p. 102.]

Yakov Protasov sent out the *Zosim i Savvatiya,* which returned in four years with a small cargo. [Berkh, pp. 102–103.]

1778

This year occurred the first of the explorations undertaken by the British in the North Pacific. Captain James Cook was placed in command of two vessels, the *Discovery* and the *Resolution,* with the principal objective of locating, if possible, in these regions some passage which would provide a route between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. The quest was stimulated by an account of the voyage alleged to have been made by Admiral de Fonte through the " River of the West," in which he was alleged to have passed through the continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic. [*See* above, Introduction, for discussion of the apocryphal voyages.] Cook's orders were to search for this passage as far north as the latitude in which it was assumed that the River of Fonte entered the Pacific. If he failed to locate it, he was then to proceed north to the 60th parallel, work his way along the coast of Alaska to Bering Sea, and pass northward into the Arctic Ocean.

Cook left England in 1776 and arrived on the Northwest Coast in March, 1778, at Nootka Sound. Turning northward, he examined the various inlets in search of the supposed " River of the West," finally coming to the conclusion that no such passage existed. He then sailed farther north to about the 60th parallel, and entered and explored Prince William Sound and Cook Inlet. From Cook Inlet he passed east of Afognak and Kodiak Islands and continued southwest to Unimak Pass and Unalaska Island, where he found evidence that Russians had been there before him. Sailing north from Unalaska, he entered the estuary of the Kuskokwim River, where shallow water compelled him to set his course southwestward to the open sea. As a result, he missed the mouth of the Yukon River. He finally passed through Bering Strait into the Arctic, heading northwest until he was stopped by ice. Tacking back south to clear the ice, he then turned to the northeast until he was again stopped by ice. Since it was now late in the year, he decided to leave these northern regions. But before doing so he reconnoitred the coast of Northeast Siberia and the northwest coast of the North American Continent, taking care to fix the position of all the prominent landmarks in and about Bering Strait. Coming down through Unimak Pass, he called at Unalaska, where he at last encountered the Russians. It was

his impression, probably erroneous, that the Russians had a permanent settlement there. He managed a series of interviews with Izmailov, with whom, as we have seen, he exchanged information on the geography of these regions. Cook then sailed for the Hawaiian Islands, where, unfortunately, he was killed in 1779. Cook, a competent navigator and very shrewd student of geography, cleared up most of the map difficulties that navigators and geographers had experienced. He sketched in a general way the outline of Alaska, the Aleutian Islands, and the adjacent coast of Siberia in pretty much the form that they exist on modern maps. The first navigator to attempt the Northwest Passage from west to east, he exploded the myth of Fonte's " River of the West."

Cook's work was resumed by his men in 1779 under command of Captain Clerke. They passed northward through Bering Strait into the Arctic in an attempt to force their way through the ice to the east, but they failed. On the return they put in at Petropavlovsk, where Clerke died and was buried. The vessels then began the return voyage to England, where they arrived in 1780. The journals and reports of Cook were sent back overland across Siberia to St. Petersburg, where they were delivered to the British Ambassador. It is quite likely that the Russian scholars had access to them, whether openly or clandestinely, since Pallas, in a map published in 1780, showed the outline of Alaska pretty much as Cook had proved it to be. [Cook, Vols. II and III.]

The Panov brothers, associated with Arsenii Kuznetzof, constructed the *Sv. Nikolai,* which they sent out from Petropavlovsk. It returned after seven years with a rich cargo. [Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 184.]

The same firm also sent out the vessel *Kliment,* commanded by Ocheredin, to the Aleutian Islands. The vessel wintered off Kodiak (where the natives refused to permit a landing) in 1779, when the expedition suffered heavy loss from disease. In the spring they hastened to the Fox Islands. Details of the rest of the voyage are lacking, but the *Kliment* returned to Kamchatka in 1785 with a profitable load of furs. [Berkh, p. 104; Shelekhov, *Stranstvovanie.*]

Shelekhov and the Kamchatka merchant Kozitsyn sent out another ship named *Sv. Nikolai,* which made three successive voyages to the Aleutian Islands. No further information appears for any of the voyages. [Berkh, p. 105.]

1779

Shelekhov and Golikov sent out the *Sv. Ioann Predtechya,* which seems to have proceeded as far as the Near Islands. Over a period of

six years a substantial catch was collected, and the vessel returned to Okhotsk in 1784. [Berkh, p. 105.]

The third Spanish expedition, which had been ordered by the Spanish Government for the year 1776, was delayed until 1779. It consisted of two vessels—the *Princesa,* under command of Ignacio Arteaga, and the *Favorita,* under command of Bodega. They sailed from San Blas on February 11. After reconnoitring part of the Alexander Archipelago, they continued northward, making a landfall off Cape St. Elias. They apparently crossed the entrance to Prince William Sound, called in the accounts the " large *ensenada,*" then sailed south and west past the Kenai Peninsula. On August 7 they began the return voyage, probably passing within sight of Afognak and Marmot Islands. They reached San Blas on November 21. [Wagner, I, pp. 191–196.]

1780

The Panov brothers this year again sent out the *Sv. Evyel* from Kamchatka to the Near Islands, where it spent five years. It was finally wrecked, but its cargo was rescued, brought back, and sold. [Berkh, p. 105.]

Shelekhov dispatched the *Sv. Ioann Ryl'skii,* which proceeded to the Aleutian Islands. She was wrecked on the shore of Kamchatka on her return voyage in 1786. [Berkh, p. 106.]

Two Moscow merchants, Zhuravlev and Krivoroshov, sent out the *Sv. Prokopii* from Okhotsk. It, too, was wrecked on the shores of Kamchatka. [Berkh, p. 107.]

1781

In July, 1781, a Greek, Evstratii Delarov, sailed for the Aleutian Islands, perhaps on the *Aleksandr Nevskii,* owned by the merchants Oryekhov, Lapin, and Shilov. He passed his first winter out at Bering Island, the second at Unalaska, and the third at Prince William Sound, and the winters of 1784 and 1785 at Unga. He returned to Okhotsk in 1786. [Berkh, pp. 108–109; Sauer, p. 197.] Delarov was to become a leading figure in the eastward expansion of the Russian fur trade.

Three other vessels sailed in 1781. The *Sv. Pavel,* dispatched by Alin and Shelekhov, and the *Sv. Alexei,* sent out by the merchant Popov, each returned after five years with a valuable cargo. The *Sv. Georgii,* fitted out by Lebedev-Lastochkin and Shelekhov, was commanded by Gerasim Pribylov, who is credited with the discovery of the islands which bear his name. He discovered the island of St. George in 1786 and left a party

of *promyshlenniki* there to winter. He discovered the near-by islands of Peter and Paul in 1787. Pribylov stayed out for eight years, returning home in 1789. [Berkh, p. 107.]

1782

Yakov Protassov sent out from Nizhne-Kamchatsk the sole vessel whose departure was recorded in this year. It returned in 1786 with a cargo consisting largely of fur-seals. [Berkh, p. 109.]

1783

The commanders of three vessels meeting at the Fox Islands decided that hunting resources there had been exhausted and banded together to go to Prince William Sound. The ships were the following: The *Sv. Alexei,* owned by Kholodilov, Oryekhov, and Panov and commanded by Evstratii Delarov; the *Mikhail,* owned by Kholodilov and commanded by Polutov; and the *Aleksandr Nevskii,* owned by Oryekhov, Lapin, and Shilov and commanded by Potap Zaikov. The latter had seen Cook's map, which showed the existence of the sound.

They made their way to Prince William Sound, but, so far as is known, none of the vessels actually entered the sound proper. Zaikov anchored off Kayak Island, from where he prosecuted his trade with the natives, but without significant success owing to their suspicion and hostility. He did, however, reconnoitre the mouth of the Copper River and learned from his interpreters the names of most of the tribes living along the coast to the south and east. Weighing anchor early in September, he proceeded westward along the coast to the island of Katalla, where he encountered further difficulties with the natives. The other vessels of the expedition met with no greater success; indeed, more than one party of hunters was cut off and annihilated. Despairing of prosecuting a successful trade, the crews concluded to cut their losses and return. They made their way back separately to Okhotsk. We know that Delarov did not return till 1786; the time of the arrival of the others is not known accurately.

Polutov and his crew left behind a record of cruelty in their treatment of the natives which was to bode the Russians no good in their future relations with the Indians. [Berkh, p. 112; Shelekhov, *Stranstvovanie,* pp. 20–21; Tikhmenev, II, *Prilozhenie,* pp. 1–8.]

Lebedev-Lastochkin sent out the *Sv. Pavel,* under the command of Stepan Zaikov. After first going to the XVIII Kurile Island to rescue the

brigantine *Natalia,* which had been cast ashore there by an earthquake, he returned to Okhotsk; then he went on to the Aleutian Islands in the next year. The ship was finally wrecked on the Pribilof Islands in 1789; the cargo was saved, but was not sufficient to pay the expenses of the voyage. [Berkh, p. 109.]

This year Shelekhov and Golikov, who had formed a momentous partnership for establishing a permanent post in the fur-hunting area off the American mainland, made their first venture toward that end. Shelekhov himself took charge of the expedition of three ships—the *Three Saints,* or *Trekh Svyatitelei,* commanded by Izmailov; the *Sv. Mikhail,* under Olesov; and the *St. Simeon and Prophetess Anna,* which was lost the first winter out. The two remaining ships became separated, and Shelekhov, in the *Three Saints,* went on to Bering, where he wintered. Leaving there on July 16, 1784, the *Three Saints* proceeded eastward to Kodiak, where they landed and laid out a permanent fort on Three Saints Bay on the southeastern coast of the island. Shelekhov remained on Kodiak through 1785, sending out parties in all directions to look for furs. In the spring of 1786 the *Sv. Mikhail,* which had been delayed for two years, finally reached Kodiak, where Shelekhov, dissatisfied with its pilot, turned the vessel over to Samoilov, to whom he gave instructions to continue his explorations eastward. In the spring of 1786 Shelekhov sailed homeward, reaching Petropavlovsk in the late autumn. He left at once by land for Okhotsk, then proceeded westward by stage to European Russia, where he met the Empress Catherine, to whom he presented an account of his voyage and a request for exclusive trading privileges. [Shelekhov, *Stranstvovanie,* pp. 19–63.]

1784

No ships were sent out by the Russians in this year.

1785

The Totem merchant Panov sent out the *Sv. Georgii* from Nizhne-Kamchatsk. It returned two years later with a cargo of 1,388 seals and 183 blue foxes. [Berkh, p. 114.]

The return of the Cook expedition in 1780 had apprised English merchants of the valuable furs to be obtained in the North Pacific, and in 1785 a vessel, the *Sea Otter,* sailed from China under command of James Hanna. It crossed the Pacific and reached the coast of America, where Hanna was eventually able to establish friendly relations with the natives and obtained a considerable cargo of furs. Hanna is known to

have been at Nootka and to have named Fitzhugh Sound, which lies just north of Vancouver Island. He located and anchored in Sea Otter's Harbour, of which no positive identification is now possible. The success of Captain Hanna soon tempted other English vessels to make the venture. [Meares, *Voyages,* Introduction, p. li; Howay; Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 242.]

1786

ENGLISH VOYAGES

The *Sea Otter,* under command of Captain William Tipping, and the *Nootka,* under Captain John Meares, left Bombay in March, 1786, and traded in Alaskan waters that summer. Meares visited the Russian establishment at Unalaska, where he was entertained by Delarov. From Unalaska he proceeded east to Prince William Sound, where he spent the winter of 1786–1787, he and his men suffering great hardships from the cold and scurvy. In the spring, Captain Dixon, in the *King George,* encountering him there in great distress, did what he could to relieve him and his crew by lending him supplies, but he reminded Meares that he was engaged in illegal trading since he was violating the monopoly exercised by the East India Company and the South Sea Company in these waters and exacted a promise from him that he would immediately quit the coast. This promise Meares broke, continuing to trade off the coast of Alaska after the departure of Dixon.

The *Sea Otter,* under Captain Tipping, was hailed by Captain William Laurie in Prince William Sound in September, 1786. This was the last seen of Tipping or his vessel, which was either wrecked or taken by the natives. [Howay; Wagner, I, p. 206; Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 260.]

Another *Sea Otter,* under Captain James Hanna, from India arrived at Nootka in August, 1786. Hanna followed the coast as far as Cape Scott, and collected furs, leaving for China on October 1. [Strange; Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 243.]

Two vessels were sent out by the King George's Sound Company—the *King George,* under Captain Nathaniel Portlock, and the *Queen Charlotte,* under Captain George Dixon. They left England in 1785, wintered in the Hawaiian Islands, then proceeded to Prince William Sound, where they hunted for furs during the 1786 season without success. They wintered again in the Hawaiian Islands and were back on the coast in 1787. [Bancroft, *Alaska,* p. 262; Wagner, I, pp. 206–207.]

This year the *Lark,* a vessel of the East India Company commanded by Captain William Peters, reached Petropavlovsk in August on its return

from Kodiak. Shelekhov met Captain Peters and made arrangements to purchase his entire cargo. Peters then set out on his return voyage, but the vessel suffered shipwreck on Copper or Bering Island and all but two of the crew were lost. [Dixon, p. xvii; Howay.]

The *Captain Cook,* commanded by Captain Henry Laurie, and the *Experiment,* under Captain Guise, sailed from Bombay on December 8, 1785, and reached the west coast of Vancouver Island in the early summer of 1786. They then proceeded northward across Queen Charlotte Sound and the Gulf of Alaska to Prince William Sound, which they left in September to return to Bombay. The trained seamen in command of this expedition took accurate observations throughout their voyage. [Wagner, I, p. 206; Howay; Strange, p. 32.]

FRENCH VOYAGES

A French Government expedition consisting of two vessels — the *Astrolabe,* under de Langle, and the *Boussele,* under La Perouse—appeared on the Northwest Coast in 1786. They located and entered Lituya Bay, but their landing parties came to grief in the rip tide at the entrance to the bay. La Perouse then proceeded across the Pacific to Petropavlovsk, whence he dispatched Count de Lesseps with his report across Siberia and Europe to Paris. The expedition then made its way southward and was lost in the South Sea Islands. [La Perouse, pp. 167–169, 202; Wagner, I, pp. 199–200.]

1787

When Portlock and Dixon left the Hawaiian Islands in March, they sailed to Prince William Sound, where they found Captain Meares' ship *Nootka* frozen in and the crew in great distress. Meares was helped with supplies of various kinds and was warned that he had no right to trade, but was encroaching on the monopoly of the South Sea Company and the East India Company, from which Portlock and Dixon held licences. It appears that he promised to leave the coast, but apparently he did not keep his promise at once and continued to purchase furs before his return to China. [*See under* year 1786.] Turning southward, Portlock and Dixon encountered the vessels of Captains Charles Duncan and James Colnett near Nootka. They continued their voyage to England, by way of the Hawaiian Islands, and reached London in 1788. [Portlock, pp. 102–117; Dixon, pp. 60–69.]

The King George's Sound Company sent out from England in 1786 the *Princess Royal,* commanded by Captain Charles Duncan, and the

Prince of Wales, commanded by Captain James Colnett. They arrived in Nootka Sound in July, 1787, then proceeded northward through Hecate Strait and through various passages of the Alexander Archipelago. They gathered furs around the Queen Charlotte Islands, then returned to winter in the Hawaiian Islands. [Howay.]

The Austrian East Indian Company, which consisted of supercargoes in China in the service of the East India Company and several directors of the latter company in England, sent out the *Imperial Eagle* from Ostend under the Austrian flag on November 23, 1786. The vessel arrived in Nootka Sound in June, 1787. Its commander, Captain Charles William Barkley, is generally credited with the discovery of the Strait of Juan de Fuca (July, 1787). He also discovered Clayoquot Sound and Barkley Sound, but he traded largely south of the strait and apparently never reached Alaskan waters. [Howay.]

The *Zosim i Savvatiya,* owned by Jakob Protasov, sailed in 1787 from Kamchatka and returned four years later with a rich cargo. The region in which it traded is not known. [Berkh, p. 115.]

Another Russian vessel, the galyut *Sv. Georgii,* sailed in 1787. But, although it stayed out until 1793, its cargo did not even pay the expenses of the voyage. [Berkh, pp. 114–115.]

1788

The first American vessels — the *Columbia,* under Captain John Kendrick, and the *Lady Washington,* under Captain Robert Gray—were financed by Boston merchants. The ships arrived in Nootka Sound in September, 1788, at the end of the season, and wintered there. In 1789 they traded along the Northwest Coast in the neighbourhood of the Queen Charlotte Islands. They returned to Clayoquot Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, in July. The *Columbia* sailed at once for China under command of Gray. Kendrick remained behind for a time in the *Lady Washington,* but he later sailed for China, where he arrived on January 26, 1790. Their northernmost point was 55 degrees 43 minutes. [Wagner, I, p. 209.]

A fourth Spanish expedition was dispatched northward in 1788—the *Princesa,* under Captain Esteban José Martínez, and the *San Carlos,* under Captain Gonzalo López de Haro. The new expedition was inspired by reports of the English and French voyages and rumours of renewed Russian expansion. The instructions were to proceed northward with a view to discovery and to find out, if possible, how far the Russian settlements extended. They sailed northward to the neighbourhood of the

60th parallel of latitude, where they took possession of the country in the name of the Spanish monarch. Near the entrance to Prince William Sound they encountered natives who handed them two documents—one in Russian dated 1784 and the other in English dated 1787—and informed them that there were Russian establishments on Kodiak. A longboat was sent ashore at Kodiak, and de Haro met the Russian comandant, Delarov, who had arrived there November 12, 1787. Delarov informed de Haro, among other things, that the Russians intended to occupy Nootka Sound in the following year. De Haro then left Three Saints Bay, the scene of the meeting, to rejoin Martínez, who had sailed westward, passing along the southern coast of the Alaska Peninsula. Upon reaching Unalaska, they again took formal possession of the country. Martínez encountered Potap Zaikov, who apparently represented the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company at that point, and was given the same information that de Haro had received: that he had been advised by an Englishman, " Grek," who visited there in 1785 that the Russians purposed to occupy Nootka the following year. From Unalaska, Martínez and de Haro sailed for San Blas, where they arrived in October. [Martínez, *MS.;* Wagner, I, pp. 202–206.]

The only expedition of this kind that is known to have been considered by Catherine was that proposed by Captain Trevenen in 1787, but its execution was prevented by the outbreak of the Swedish War, followed by the Turkish War, the troubles in Poland, and the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars.

As we have seen, Delarov had been commissioned by Shelekhov to take full charge of the affairs of the company. In April, 1788, the *Three Saints,* owned by Shelekhov and Golikov, arrived at Kodiak with Izmailov and Bocharov on board. Acting under Delarov's instructions, Bocharov put to sea to explore the entrance to Prince William Sound, whence he proceeded eastward along the Alaskan coast to Yakutat Bay, which he explored thoroughly and claimed for Russia. The farthermost point reached was Lityua Bay, already discovered by La Perouse. From there the vessel returned to Kodiak. [Shelekhov, *Prodolzhenie,* p. 42.]

In 1788 John Meares arrived off the Northwest Coast with two trading-vessels. After visiting the Alaskan coast in 1786 and 1787, he had returned to Canton and organized a new company, the Merchant Proprietors. The company placed two ships—the *Felice Adventurer* and the *Iphigenia Nubiana*—under command of John Meares and William Douglas respectively. To circumvent the monopolies of the East India Company, the vessels were provided with Portuguese papers, Portuguese

flags, and Portuguese commanders, with the English captains to appear in the capacity of supercargoes. The vessels left China in January, 1788, and arrived at Nootka Sound in May. There, ship carpenters who had been brought along began the building of a small tender. While this boat was under construction, Meares proceeded south to the Strait of Juan de Fuca and penetrated along the coast of what is now the State of Washington as far south as Tillimook Bay. On the return voyage in July, he dispatched a longboat to reconnoitre the strait. Meares returned to Nootka Sound, where he was joined by Douglas, who had just returned from Prince William Sound on September 20. The tender, christened the *Northwest America,* was successfully launched—the first ship built on the Northwest Coast. A few days later Meares departed for China in the *Felice Adventurer,* while the *Iphigenia* and *Northwest America* sailed for the Hawaiian Islands. [Meares, pp. 306–311.]

The *Princess Royal* and *Prince of Wales,* having wintered in Hawaii, spent the 1788 season on the coast trading for furs. Their navigators drew up an important chart of the Strait of Juan de Fuca; although they did not penetrate beyond Claaset, the chart contained the first really definite information about the strait. Meares, not always reliable, claims to have encountered the *Prince of Wales,* under a Captain Hutchins, at Prince William Sound, and that the vessel anchored in Spring Corner Cove in 1788. [Howay; Meares, Introduction.]

An American vessel, the *Eleanora,* under Captain Simon Metcalfe, is said to have arrived off the Northwest Coast from China, but there is no record of its activity. [Howay.]

1789

On Meares's return to China, a new deal was made with the Etches brothers of the London Company, effecting a consolidation of the London Company with the Merchant Proprietors. The *Felice Adventurer* was sold, and a new ship, the *Argonaut,* was purchased. Meares remained in Canton to act as manager of the company, and two vessels were sent out—the *Argonaut,* under Captain James Colnett, and the *Princess Royal,* under Captain Duncan. Their instructions were to establish a post, presumably at Nootka Sound, although there is some doubt of this. [Meares Memorial.]

The *Iphigenia Nubiana,* under Captain Douglas, and the *Northwest America,* under Captain Robert Funter, having wintered in the Hawaiian Islands, returned to the Northwest Coast in the early spring of 1789, arriving at Nootka Sound late in April. [Howay.]

Gray and Kendrick, who had wintered at Nootka Sound, sailed southward on a trading trip. Gray returned to Nootka Sound on April 22 to find Captain Douglas and the *Iphigenia;* the *Northwest America* had left for the north. Captain Gray also departed for northern waters. On the way out of Nootka Sound on May 3, he met the *Princesa,* commanded by Martínez, and, some days later, the *San Carlos,* under de Haro. In Nootka Sound on May 6 Martínez found the *Iphigenia* in considerable distress, which he endeavoured to relieve. On the following day, however, reinforced by the arrival of de Haro in the *San Carlos,* he took possession of the *Iphigenia* as a prize of war and made its crew prisoners. On May 26 he released Captain Douglas and restored the *Iphigenia* to him, on the understanding that he would sail for the Hawaiian Islands. Douglas also agreed that the case should be submitted to the Viceroy to decide whether the *Iphigenia* was a lawful prize, and that in case the decision was in the affirmative, its owner should make payment. He further agreed to instruct the commander of the *Northwest America* to discuss with Martínez the sale of that vessel to him. The *Iphigenia* sailed on June 2, ostensibly homeward bound; but after leaving Nootka Sound, Douglas proceeded northward on a trading voyage.

Meanwhile, on June 9 the *Northwest America* returned and was taken over by Martínez, who renamed it the *Santa Gertrudis.* He placed it under command of R. D. Coolidge, a former first mate of the *Lady Washington,* and dispatched it on a trading voyage, apparently with a Spanish crew, since the British crew was shipped on the *Columbia* to China. On June 14 Captain Hudson arrived in the *Princess Royal* from China, with the information that the owners of the *Iphigenia* were bankrupt and the bills given to Martínez for supplies purchased were worthless. Hudson then sailed on north to trade.

On July 3 the *Argonaut,* under Captain Colnett, reached Nootka Sound, and two days later Martínez took possession of the vessel as a prize and made the captain and crew prisoners. When the *Princess Royal* returned under Captain Hudson on July 14, it, too, became a prize of war and its crew were taken prisoners. Both vessels were sent southward to San Blas with Spanish crews, carrying the English crews as prisoners. Meanwhile, during the season of 1789, Martínez carried out some explorations in the *Princesa,* the *San Carlos,* and a third vessel, the frigate *Aranzazu,* which had arrived from the south.

On the arrival of the *Columbia* in Canton, Meares heard of the events that had been transpiring at Nootka. He therefore left Canton

at once for London, where he arrived early in 1790, and shortly presented to the House of Commons a memorial relating the incidents and asking the British Government to support his interests. The Spanish Government had already been informed of the incident, and so were not taken by surprise when the British Ambassador at Madrid lodged a protest. The result was an international crisis which was not finally settled for some months, and in which the decision was never very clear-cut.[1]

The *Fair American,* under Captain Metcalfe, also visited Nootka and was captured by Martínez, who later released it. The vessel then sailed to Hawaii, where she was again captured and her crew murdered by the natives. [Howay.]

The *Eleanora* seems to have been on the coast again in 1789. She was sighted around the Queen Charlotte Islands in September and off Nootka in October, when she would not come within hailing distance. [Howay.]

The ship *Mercury* sailed from the Baltic under Swedish registry, but with an English captain, Coxe, on a voyage around the world. Since Sweden and Russia were then at war, Coxe carried instructions to raid the Russian settlements in the Aleutian Islands. He called at the Pribilof Islands and at a post on the Aleutian Islands, where, instead of raiding, he succoured the population. [Sauer, p. 212.]

1790

A new Spanish expedition was ordered in 1790 to occupy and fortify Nootka as soon as possible. The leader of the expedition, Francisco Eliza, commanded the *Concepción;* Salvador Fidalgo commanded the *San Carlos;* and Manuel Quimper was in charge of the *Princesa Real.* The three vessels sailed from San Blas on February 3, 1790, and in the following month established the required fortification at Nootka.

It was now deemed necessary to check into Russian activities in Alaska, so Fidalgo was dispatched northward in the *San Carlos,* leaving Nootka on May 4. Fidalgo sailed to Prince William Sound, where he took possession of these closely staked regions in the name of the King of Spain. He then proceeded to Cook Inlet, where he spent some time cleaning and repairing the ship and sending out longboats to contact

(1) There are many accounts of the Nootka Sound incident. Readers are referred to W. R. Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy* (Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1904; this work includes Meares's memorial to the House of Commons).

two posts of the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company in the area. He later called on Delarov at Three Saints Bay on Kodiak, and there learned of the presence of Billings's vessel on the coast. Fidalgo then returned to San Blas, which he reached on November 13, where he reported that bad weather had prevented his reaching Nootka.

The original intention of the Spaniards had been to deliver the *Princesa Real* (the former *Princess Royal,* seized in 1789) to Captain Colnett at Nootka. But Colnett did not arrive at Nootka until January, 1791, so Francisco Eliza seized the opportunity to send the vessel south to make a detailed examination of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Quimper set out from Nootka on May 31. Since his orders allowed him only two months to accomplish the task, his reconnaissance was necessarily hurried, but he paused to take possession of the area for Spain at several points. Quimper left the Strait on August 3, but fearing that the strong west wind would prevent his reaching Nootka, he sailed back to San Blas, where he arrived on November 13. [Wagner, I, pp. 219–222.]

According to the records of the East India Company, the *Princess Royal,* with a cargo and Spanish crew, arrived at Macão from Manila on August 11, 1791. They had with them an " order from the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands to deliver here to Messrs. James Colnett and Thomas Hudson the *Princess Royal* in the same state as she was when she was detained by an officer of the Royal Navy in the port of St. Laurence in Nootka situated in the Septentrional Coast of California." Unfortunately the vessel was driven on shore and lost her mast; and when the proposal was made to the English Select Committee to accept the vessel as she was, they refused to accept delivery. It would seem, therefore, as though the vessel was returned to the Northwest Coast under its Spanish crew, for we find a vessel listed by Menzies called the *Princesa,* under Salvador Fidalgo, present on the coast in 1792. This is the only information that we have on the former English vessel the *Princess Royal.* [Morse, II, pp. 183–186.]

The brig *Argonaut,* seized by Martínez in 1789, was restored to Captain Colnett on June 4, 1790, together with $40,000 of compensation. The latter spent the summer trading on the coast, wintered at Clayoquot Sound, and returned to Nootka in February, 1791, then sailed via the Hawaiian Islands for Canton, where he arrived in the summer of 1791. [Morse, II, p. 183; Howay.]

The American schooner *Grace,* owned and commanded by William Douglas, formerly of the *Iphigenia Nubiana,* is recorded as appearing on the coast in 1790. The *Polly,* another American schooner, is also listed

as appearing there under the command of William Douglas. Howay suggests that either Douglas was the owner and erroneously reported as commander of the *Polly* or that the *Polly* and the *Grace* were actually the same vessel listed under different names. We know at any rate that Douglas died on board the *Grace* while she was returning to China in 1791. [Howay.]

The *Eleanora,* previously on the coast in 1788 and 1789, may also have traded there in 1790, but there is again no record of her activities. [Howay.]

This year Captain Joseph Billings, in command of the *Slava Rossii,* left Petropavlovsk on a voyage of discovery along the Alaskan coast. Billings had been commissioned by the Empress Catherine to complete the exploration of the northeast coast of Siberia and the neighbouring mainland of America. The years 1785 to 1789 had been spent in an unsuccessful attempt to follow the Asiatic coast from the easternmost point reached by previous explorers to Bering Strait. Admitting failure there, he returned south to Petropavlovsk, where he constructed two vessels, the *Slava Rossii* and the *Chernyi Orel,* for his Alaskan venture. Billings's first voyage eastward did little more than go over the ground previously traversed, as far as Cape Saint Elias. On reaching this point, in accordance with his instructions, Billings assumed the title of commodore and turned back. [Sauer.]

It was in 1790 also that the *Trekh Svyatitelei* left Okhotsk, bringing Alexander Baranov to supersede Delarov, who had been established on Kodiak as manager of the Shelekhov-Golikov interests since 1788. The vessel was wrecked at Unalaska, and Baranov had to continue his voyage by *baidarka* with native crews the following spring. After exposure to great perils and after being sick almost to death, he succeeded in reaching Kodiak. [Khlebnikov, pp. 5–8.]

Another Lebedev-Lastochkin vessel, the *Sv. Pavel,* had sailed from Okhotsk in 1786, presumably under command of Petr Kolomin. In 1789 Kolomin had put ashore a party of some thirty-eight men to establish a post on Kasilov River, emptying into Cook Inlet. Then, in 1790, there arrived the *Sv. Georgii Pobyednosnyi* under Grigorii Konovalov. Although it, too, was a Lebedev-Lastochkin ship, Konovalov would not join forces with Kolomin; on the contrary, he committed outrages against the other post which finally caused Kolomin to appeal for aid to Alexander Baranov, the manager of the Shelekhov post at Three Saints Bay, who finally had to intervene in the interests of peace. [Tikhmenev, II, *Pril.,* pp. 49–53.]

1791

One of a series of scientific expeditions sponsored by the Spanish Government after the peace with England in 1783 came to the Northwest Coast in 1791. Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamente y Guerra, both commanders in the royal navy, were placed in command of the *Descubierta* and the *Atrevida* respectively. They left Cadiz in 1789 and departed from Acapulco in 1791 for the Northwest Coast. Malaspina's instructions to explore the coast at 60 degrees north latitude were inspired by Buache's report in the Academy of Sciences in Paris on the alleged discovery of a northwest passage at that latitude by Maldonado. [*V. supra,* pp. 6–7, for a discussion of the apocryphal voyages.] Malaspina examined Yakutat Bay at about 59 degrees, then sailed west to Hinchinbrook Island and south to Middleton Island; he then turned back east and south, returning to San Blas on October 10. [Wagner, I, pp. 225–229.]

Eliza, still in command at Nootka, was ordered to undertake further explorations in 1791. He set out from Nootka on May 4 in the *San Carlos,* accompanied by the *Santa Saturnina* under José María Narváez. Rough weather and the lateness of the season convinced Eliza that he could not begin his explorations at 60 degrees north latitude as ordered, so he proceeded to Clayoquot Sound, where he made extensive explorations. The final result of his efforts was fairly reliable information about the east end of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Rosario and Haro Straits, the Gulf of Georgia up to Texada Island, and the coast of Vancouver Island below Hornby and Denman Islands. [Wagner, I, pp. 223–224.]

There occurred in this year the only commercial voyage undertaken by French nationals. A ship, *La Solide,* owned by the House of Baux and commanded by Captain Etienne Marchand, left Marseilles on December 14, 1790. Its first landfall on the Northwest Coast was within sight of Cape Edgecumbe, a point of Kruzof Island in latitude 57 degrees, but it seems to have traded mostly in the neighbourhood of the Queen Charlotte Islands and as far south as Barkley Sound. *La Solide* left for Macão early in September and finally reached Toulon on August 14, 1792. [Fleurieu, *Voyage Round the World Performed during the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792 by Captain Etienne Marchand,* cited by Wagner, I, p. 212.]

The former British ship *Mercury* appeared on the coast this year as the *Gustavus III,* under Swedish colours. [*See* above, 1789.] Howay lists her owner as John Henry Coxe and her commander as Thomas Barnett.

The British ship *Fairy,* owned by William Douglas and commanded by William Rogers, traded on the coast during the season of 1791, then sailed to Canton. [Howay.]

The *Felice Adventurer* may have been on the coast in 1791, for there is a record that she sailed for the coast from Macão on May 4, 1791. [*See* Jane.]

The British brigantine *Venus,* under Captain Hervey, was also active on the coast this year. [Howay.]

There seems to have been a brig *Nootka* on the coast in this year, owned by John Henry Coxe, associated with Henry Beale, sailing under Prussian registry. This apparently was the *Nootka,* which was originally fitted out by the Bengal Fur Company and sent to the Northwest Coast under Captain John Meares in 1786. After Meares's voyage, she was sold at Macão to a Portuguese merchant, who then sold her to Coxe. The vessel appeared at Canton on July 19, 1791, under English colours. [Morse, II, p. 184.]

The Lebedev-Lastochkin Company sent out the *Sv. Ioann,* under command of Stepan Zaikov, whose own *Sv. Pavel* had been wrecked. Alexei Popov was *peredovchik.* The instructions were to proceed to Cook Inlet to join the *Sv. Pavel* and *Sv. Nikolai,* vessels of the same company which were supposed to have preceded the *Sv. Ioann* there. [Berkh, p. 117.]

The Billings expedition reassembled at Petropavlovsk in the spring of 1791. The new vessel *Chernyi Orel,* under Captain Robert Hall, was to rendezvous, if possible, with Billings at Bering Island. Billings did not encounter Hall there, however, and proceeded to Unalaska in the hope of finding him there. Disappointed again, Billings left provisions there and left for St. Lawrence Bay on the coast of Siberia. From there he proceeded into Bering Strait as far north as latitude 65 degrees 23 minutes 50 seconds, then returned to St. Lawrence Bay. Billings turned the *Slava Rossii* over to Gavrilo Sarychev and set out overland through the Chukchi country to the mouth of the Kolyma River. Sarychev returned to Unalaska, where he found Hall. The two vessels wintered in Iliuliuk Harbour under conditions of severe privation, then returned to Petropavlovsk in 1792. [Sauer; Sarychev, II.]

The *Grace,* having traded on the coast again in 1791, sailed in the autumn for China. Her owner and captain, William Douglas, died en route and was succeeded by R. D. Coolidge. [Howay.]

Crowell and Creighton's brigantine *Hancock* sailed from Boston in November, 1790, and arrived on the coast in July, 1791, after an event-

ful passage via Cape Horn and the Hawaiian Islands. She sailed to China in the fall of 1791 and returned to the coast in 1792 and 1793. [Howay.]

The *Columbia Rediviva,* which had returned to Boston from her northern voyage, was fitted out once more and sailed from Boston on September 28, 1790, again under command of Captain Gray. After reaching Clayoquot on June 5, 1791, Gray plied up and down the coast between the 54th and 56th parallels of latitude, and explored Portland Canal, which he took to be Admiral de Fonte's "River of the West." He left the Queen Charlotte Islands on August 19, going to Clayoquot to winter. [Wagner, I, p. 211.]

The *Lady Washington,* under Captain Kendrick, was back on the coast in 1791, arriving from China on June 13 at the Queen Charlotte Islands, where the natives tried to capture the vessel. Kendrick sailed south to Nootka, where he purchased a considerable area of land, then to Clayoquot, whence he departed for China late in September. [Howay.]

Joseph Ingraham, in command of the *Hope,* left Boston on September 7, 1790. He discovered four islands of the Marquesas group and called at Hawaii before he arrived on the Northwest Coast in June, 1791. There he traded in the neighbourhood of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Thence he sailed to China, where he arrived on December 1, 1791. [Greenhow, pp. 226–227; Howay.]

Other American ships on the coast in 1791 were these: The *Eleanora,* a veteran of the 1788, 1789, and 1790 seasons, and the *Argonaut* [Howay]; the *Jefferson,* commanded by Captain Roberts of Boston, and the *Margaret,* commanded by Captain Magee of New York [Greenhow, p. 226]. We have no record of the movements of these vessels.

1792

This year was memorable for the expedition of the British Admiralty commanded by Captain George Vancouver. Since Vancouver not only visited Nootka Sound, but made a very workmanlike examination of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and of the Strait of Georgia, as well as the passages of the Alexander Archipelago, he had ample opportunity to inform himself on the movements of commercial vessels and to record them for posterity in the published account of his voyage.

Vancouver had two vessels—the sloop *Discovery,* under his own command, and the *Chatham,* under command of Broughton. He proceeded by way of Tahiti and the Hawaiian Islands, and sighted the

American coast in latitude 39 degrees 27 minutes on April 27, 1792. Coming north along the coast of present Oregon, he encountered Captain Robert Gray in the *Columbia* and learned of his alleged discovery of a river (the Columbia) which so far he had been unable to enter. Vancouver entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca and followed its south shore to Admiralty Inlet. From there the *Discovery*'s boats were dispatched for reconnaissance; the result was a thorough exploration of Puget Sound. The vessels then proceeded into the Gulf of Georgia and reconnoitred its east coast. On June 24 Vancouver met and joined forces with Captains Galiano and Valdés in the *Sutil* and *Mexicana.* Passing up the coast, the two companies co-operated in exploring the intricate passages at the north end of the Strait of Georgia. Leaving the Spaniards, Vancouver then found his way into Discovery Passage and Johnstone Strait, finally emerging into Queen Charlotte Sound. He doubled back by Nootka to the Strait of Georgia, where he now resumed examination of the mainland side, following it on north and west of Johnstone Strait as far as Burke Channel. There he encountered Captain Shepherd, of the brig *Venus,* who informed him that Bodega awaited him at Nootka, and that the British ship *Daedalus* was also at Nootka with new instructions for him. Vancouver returned to Nootka, where his negotiations with Bodega failed. Both commanders then turned south. Vancouver, leaving the *Chatham* to examine the estuary of the Columbia River, sailed to Hawaii via San Francisco and Monterey. [Vancouver, I, and pp. 1–51 in II.]

The *Fenis and St. Joseph* was a brig which sailed from Macao under Portuguese colours. Howay lists her commander as either Joseph Andrew Tobar or John de Barros Andreada, and Robert Duffin, formerly of the *Felice* and *Argonaut,* as her supercargo; but Menzies recorded Duffin as captain. This was the vessel on which Lieutenant Mudge sailed on October 1, 1792, to carry Vancouver's dispatches to China. [Howay; Menzies, p. 124.]

The *Felice Adventurer* (Meares's vessel which had sailed under the Portuguese flag in 1788) appeared in distress at Queen Charlotte Islands in July, 1792. She had sailed from Macao, lost much of her crew in Prince William Sound, and eventually put into Nootka to appeal for aid. [Howay; Menzies, p. 124.]

Vancouver recorded the presence of the *Iphigenia,* which he described as a British ship under Portuguese colours, commanded by Captain Viana. This leads Howay to suggest that it may be the same ship which Menzies called the *Felice Adventurer.*

But, since Viana's captaincy was only a legal fiction adopted by Meares and associates, his name might well have been used on the papers of either vessel; so it is quite likely that both the *Iphigenia* and *Felice Adventurer* were on the coast in 1792.

The *Florinda,* a sloop out of Macao under Portuguese colours, appeared on the Northwest Coast under a Master Coles. [Menzies, p. 124; Howay.]

Probably the "Portuguese" vessels listed above were all actually British vessels sailing under Portuguese colours in order to evade the monopolies claimed by the British East India Company and the South Sea Company. There was also much legitimate British commercial activity on the coast in this year. The *Jenny* of Bristol, owned by Sidenham Teast and commanded by Captain James Baker, traded up and down the coast in 1792. She put in at Nootka on October 7 and shortly thereafter set out for Bristol via Cope Horn. She was back on the coast in 1794. [Howay.]

The *Butterworth,* under Captain Brown, and her companion vessels —the *Prince Lee Boo,* of Master Sharp, and the *Jackal,* of Master Alexander Stewart—traded principally in the vicinity of the Queen Charlotte Islands. The three vessels wintered in Hawaii, whence they returned to the coast the following season. [Howay; Menzies, p. 124.]

The *Halcyon,* under her owner, Charles William Barkley, traded in Alaskan waters in 1792. Her consort, the *Venus,* under Henry Shepherd, had also been on the coast in 1791. The *Venus* traded this year in the vicinity of Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte group. [Howay; Menzies, p. 124.]

The *Three Brothers,* under Lieutenant William Alder, and the *Prince William Henry,* of Master Ewen, traded on the coast together without a licence from the South Sea Company. They wintered on the coast, and the crew of the *Three Brothers* built a tender, whose name is not known. [Howay; Menzies, p. 124.]

The British barque *Phoenix,* out of Bengal, under Master Hugh Moore, was on the coast in 1792 and returned in 1794. [Menzies, p. 124; Howay.]

The Spanish Government sent out two experienced navigators—Dionisio Alcalá Galiano, in the *Mexicana,* and Cayetano Valdés, in the *Sutil*—to examine the continental shore at the east end of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, with a view to a settlement. In the Gulf of Georgia they encountered Vancouver, as we have seen, and worked with him in an examination of the mainland coast of the gulf. On July 13 they parted,

and while Vancouver went through Johnstone Strait and Discovery Passage, the Spanish vessels worked their way through the maze of islands and channels closer to the mainland, without entering Queen Charlotte Sound. [Jane; Wagner, I, pp. 231–233.]

Colnett had stated to Eliza that he thought he had discovered the strait of Admiral de Fonte in approximately 53 degrees north latitude. To investigate that possibility, the Viceroy of New Spain sent Jacinto Caamaño north in the frigate *Aranzazu,* under orders to explore the coast in the neighbourhood of latitude 53 degrees. Caamaño sailed to Bucareli Bay, off Prince of Wales Island, and began a meticulous examination of the bays in that neighbourhood. His quest took him across Dixon Entrance several times and led to a reconnaissance of Clarence Strait as well as a number of bays. Caamaño then reconnoitred the mainland coast and adjacent islands pretty thoroughly as far south as latitude 52 degrees. He then broke away from the mainland to sail south, passed the north end of Vancouver Island, and anchored in Nootka on September 7. He then proceeded south to Monterey in October. [Wagner, I, pp. 233–235.]

Other Spanish vessels present on the coast are listed by Menzies as follows: The *Princesa,* under Salvador Fidalgo; the *Santa Gertrudis,* under Alonso de Torres; the *Activa,* under a Captain Menéndez. The latter may possibly have been Salvador Meléndez Valdés, who, according to Wagner, was a prominent Spanish navigator on the Northwest Coast in this period.

La Flavie, flying the new French tricolour and commanded by a Captain Magon, appeared on the coast in 1792. Her actual owner, according to Sauer, was a Russian subject named Torckler, whose purpose was to supply provisions for the distant Russian outposts. *La Flavie* arrived at Kamchatka in September, 1792, with liquor as her principal cargo, and Mr. Torckler as her supercargo; the Russian Government had earlier notified the officials of Russian America of his impending arrival and recommending full co-operation with Torckler. Oddly enough, *La Flavie* passed as just another French vessel when she encountered other vessels, although the Spaniards [*see* Jane] thought she seemed delinquent in pursuing her announced objective of discovering the fate of La Perouse. [Sauer, p. 287; Howay.]

The year 1792 marks an epoch in Russian activities on the Northwest Coast, for in that year sailed the last ship of the independent traders. The *Zosim i Savvatiya,* owned by the merchant Kiselev, of Irkutsk, put to sea in 1792 and returned only in 1797. She went out again, spending

time off Bering and Copper Islands, and then off the " Nearer " Aleutian Islands. The discoveries made on the second voyage are described as " notable," but are not specified. She returned from the latter voyage in 1803. [Berkh, pp. 119–123.]

Baranov, in the ship *Mikhail,* encountered Captain Moore's *Phoenix* in Prince William Sound. [Tikhmenev, II, *Pril.,* p. 36.]

The *Gustavus,* previously on the coast in 1789, 1790, and 1791, seems to have been there again in 1792. [Howay.]

Most important of the American activities on the coast in 1792 was that of Gray's *Columbia.* He had wintered at Clayoquot, where he set up the *Adventure,* which was placed under command of Captain Robert Haswell. Late in March the two vessels sailed to the south. Gray, in the *Columbia,* entered and named the present Grays Harbor, where he remained from May 7 to May 11. On May 12 he crossed the bar at the mouth of the Columbia River, which Gray named in honour of his own vessel. He gave up the ascent of the river when the ship ran on to a shoal; concluding that he had missed the channel, he turned back and left the river on May 20th. Sailing north, he anchored, May 28 to 30, in " Columbia's Cove " near Woody Point. On June 5 he entered Queen Charlotte Sound. He continued along the north shore of Vancouver Island until May 12, when he headed for Columbia's Cove, where he had appointed a rendezvous with the *Adventure.* He encountered the companion vessel near the rendezvous on June 17. Together they sailed for the Queen Charlotte Islands, where, on July 1, they passed Cape St. James, turned north, and passed the entrance to Barrel Sound (Houston-Stewart Channel). The *Columbia* now lost the *Adventure* and turned back south to Nootka, where she remained from July 24 to August 23. She then returned north to Barrel Sound and met the *Adventure* on August 30. The two ships proceeded north to Port Montgomery on Moresby Island in latitude 52 degrees 30 minutes. They then returned to Nootka, then to Neah Bay, where on September 28 Gray sold the *Adventure* to Bodega. Leaving the Northwest Coast, he went to China and then to Boston, where he arrived on July 25, 1793. [Wagner, I, pp. 211–212.]

Three other American vessels, all veterans of previous seasons, sailed together from China in April, 1792—the *Grace,* under Captain Coolidge; the *Hope,* under Captain Ingraham; and the *Hancock,* under Captain Graham. Since the *Grace* had no legal papers, she planned to trade to the north to avoid capture. Her two companions traded in the Queen Charlotte area. [Howay; Menzies, p. 124.]

The *Margaret,* owned by T. H. Perkins, James Magee, J. and T. Lamb, R. Sturgis, and E. Johnson, sailed from Boston in October, 1792, under command of James Magee. She arrived on the coast in April, 1792, collected furs around the Queen Charlotte Islands, then went on to China via Hawaii. She was on the coast again in 1793. [Howay; Menzies, p. 124.]

Menzies lists two other American vessels present on the coast in 1792—the *Jefferson,* out of China, under a Captain Roberts, and the *Lady Washington,* of Captain Kendrick, also arriving from China.

1793

Vancouver, having wintered in the Hawaiian Islands, now made his second exploration of the Northwest Coast. He arrived at Trinidad (41 degrees 31 minutes) on May 2, 1793, then proceeded up the coast, correcting the previous year's observations of latitude as he went. On April 26, at Restoration Bay in Burke Channel, he met the *Chatham,* which had carried charts, etc., back to England. The company together now examined Fisher's Channel and Johnstone's Channel up to Roscoe Inlet. Johnstone, master of the *Chatham,* examined the extremities of Burke Channel, and probably Seaforth Channel; he then proceeded north to examine Tolmie and Finlayson Channels. The two vessels then moved up Principe Channel, across Browning Entrance to Chatham Sound. There they encountered Captain William Brown with the *Butterworth, Prince Lee Boo,* and *Jackal,* and named Brown Passage for him. They now explored Portland Canal and Observatory Inlet, Revillagigedo Channel, and Behm Canal, where they anchored at Port Stewart. The ships next proceeded up Clarence Strait to the north end of Prince of Wales Island, where they anchored at Port Protection. Whidbey took a small boat on to Affleck's Canal on Kuiu Island, the farthest extent of the 1792 voyage. Vancouver now brought his ships down the west side of the Prince of Wales and Queen Charlotte Islands to Nootka, thence south and west to Hawaii, where he again wintered. [Vancouver, II, pp. 240–431.]

News of Gray's rediscovery of the Columbia River inspired a renewal of Spanish exploration. The Viceroy dispatched the *Activa,* under Francisco de Eliza, and the *Mexicana,* under Juan Martínez y Zayas, with orders to explore the coast from Juan de Fuca Strait to San Francisco, and to explore the Columbia River. The river was to be examined to its source, for the Viceroy meant to found a settlement there to maintain

Spanish rights if the source of the river were in or near New Mexico. Eliza, in the *Activa,* turned back after reaching 44 degrees, blaming high winds and lack of water for his failure. Martínez y Zayas went further north, sighting Vancouver Island on July 24 and reaching Neah Bay on the 26th, then proceeded to Puerto de San Juan (Port Discovery) on the north coast. Returning south, he examined Grays Harbor, moved down the coast to Baker Bay, and on August 11 started up the Columbia River. He had gone only 14 miles when he ran aground; unable to find another channel, he turned back on August 12, and by September 17 reached San Francisco. [Wagner, I, pp. 236–238.]

L'Emilie was a French brig of 150 tons which had left France in July, 1792, assuming American colours because of the impending war between France and England. She spent the 1792 season on the Northwest Coast, then sailed for China. Her master, Mr. Owen, died and was succeeded by Mr. Trotter. At Macao the ship was seized by the British. [Howay.]

Several American vessels made their initial appearance on the Northwest Coast in this year. The *Amelia,* of Providence, R.I., commanded by Mr. Trotter, arrived at Nootka in May, 1793, and sailed for the Alaskan coast on June 29 in the company of the *Jefferson.* The *Jefferson,* owned by J. and T. Lamb *et al.,* of Boston, and commanded by Josiah Robert, had been at St. Ambrose Island for the 1792 hunting season. She then wintered in the Marquesas Islands, where her crew built the schooner *Resolution.* The two vessels spent the seasons of 1793 and 1794 on the Northwest Coast, then proceeded to China. The *Jane,* owned by Ebenezer Dorr, of Boston, and commanded by Elias Newbury, traded in the vicinity of the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1793, meeting the *Jefferson* at Cloak Bay on July 20. At the end of the season she sailed to China and thence to Boston, where she arrived on August 10, 1794. [Howay.]

There were also a number of vessels which were veterans of previous seasons on the coast. The *Butterworth, Prince Lee Boo,* and *Jackal* were the vessels of Captain Brown's British expedition which had spent the 1792 season on the coast. The *Butterworth* returned to England at the end of the 1793 season. There was also the *Iphigenia,* the British ship under Portuguese colours, which had been present in 1788, 1789, and 1792. The British schooner *Prince William Henry,* under Captain Ewen, which had been on the coast in 1792, traded along the coast again in 1793, then sailed for China, whence it returned in 1795. With the *Prince William Henry* was a consort, the *Three Brothers,* which had

also been there in 1792, and a tender (name unknown) which the company had built while wintering at Friendly Cove in 1792–1793. [Howay.]

La Flavie, which had wintered at Kamchatka, traded along the coast during the season of 1793, then sailed for Canton. The American brig *Hancock,* a veteran of the 1791 and 1792 seasons, reappeared in 1793. The *Margaret,* of Boston, which during the winter had taken the furs collected in 1792 to China, now returned to trade along the coast during the 1793 season, tended by a small schooner (name unknown) which her crew had built at Friendly Cove during the preceding winter. The *Lady Washington,* active on the coast in 1788, 1789, and 1791, returned to the field in 1793. [Howay.]

The year 1793 was memorable for the arrival on the coast of the intrepid fur-trader Alexander Mackenzie, the first explorer to make the traverse from the great plains to the sea. Mackenzie, who had some years earlier followed the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Ocean, in May, 1793, left his post at the junction of the Smoky and the Peace Rivers and began the arduous journey by canoe across the Cordillera by way of the Peace River pass, Giscome portage, and the Fraser. Finding the descent of the Fraser too perilous, he abandoned his canoes and found his way on foot across country to the Bella Coola River, where, having procured canoes from the Indians, he followed that river to the point on Dean Channel now known as Mackenzie's Rock, where his observations gave him a latitude of 52 degrees 20 minutes 48 seconds; his observation for longitude, admittedly inaccurate owing to the loss of his chronometer, placed him 128 degrees 2 minutes west of Greenwich. Though the relative defencelessness of his party and the hostility of the natives forced him to turn back when he might conceivably have gained contact with Vancouver, then on the coast, Mackenzie rightly claimed that this voyage across the Rocky Mountains, as well as his former descent of the Mackenzie, conclusively proved, if proof were needed, the non-existence of de Fonte's " River of the West " or any passage that could be traversed by ships through the continent from Atlantic to Pacific. [Mackenzie.]

1794

In mid-March, 1794, Vancouver set out from the Hawaiian Islands, purposing to explore Cook's Inlet thoroughly and then move east to connect that survey with the ones of the preceding years. Sailing northeast from Hawaii, on April 3 he passed Chirikof Island, then between Barren Islands and Cape Elizabeth up Cook's Inlet. Upon discovering the end of the inlet, he changed the name from Cook's River, which

Cook had given it, to Cook's Inlet. The northernmost latitude which he reached was 61 degrees 29 minutes. Vancouver found the Russians thickly established in this area. He visited a Lebedev-Lastochkin establishment at North Foreland, and thought the Russians there strove to impress upon him that the American Continent and adjacent islands as far east as Kayak Island belonged exclusively to the Russian Empire. [A petition of Ivan Golikov to the Empress Catherine, giving incidents of Vancouver's visit in 1794, states that Vancouver was told that in two years a naval force of four or five vessels would occupy the coast up to Prince William Sound; Golikov's claim was that the Russian-American Company's rights extended beyond Lituya Bay to Chilkat and Beaver Bays. See *Papers Relating to Russians in Alaska, 1732–1796,* XV, p. 117.]

From Cook's Inlet, Vancouver went east to Prince William Sound, which he examined. He then came past Kayak Island to Yakutat Bay, which he called "Behring's Bay." Puget, in the *Chatham,* made a thorough examination of Yakutat Bay; at Port Mulgrave he encountered George Purtov, leading a party of 9 Russians and some 900 Indians from Kodiak and Cook Inlet. From Yakutat Bay he proceeded southwest along the coast past Mount Fairweather to the entrance of Cross Sound. The latter was entered at the first favourable weather, and Vancouver anchored off the south shore of the sound. From here he dispatched three boats under Captain Whidbey to reconnoitre the continental shore to the east. Whidbey proceeded along the coast, explored Glacier Bay to its farthermost recesses, and issuing from the bay he passed through Icy Strait, keeping to the northern shore and turned up into what is now Lynn Canal, which was penetrated as far as possible. Returning, Whidbey proceeded south along Chatham Strait as far as he felt safe and then rejoined Vancouver. Now coming south with both his vessels along the west side of Chichagof and Baranov Islands and around Cape Ommaney, Vancouver sent boats to explore Chatham Strait and neighbouring waters. He anchored at Port Conclusion, an inlet of Kuiu Island, which had been the farthest extent of his operations in 1793. Two parties were dispatched—one under Whidbey and one under Johnstone—to explore the maze of waterways and islands which had hitherto not been examined. On return of these parties, his mission accomplished, he returned to Nootka on September 2, and remained there until October 15. He entered the mouth of the Shannon in September, 1795. [Vancouver, III, pp. 83–489.]

Purtov reported to Baranov that he had contacted not only the *Chatham* under Puget, but also the *Jackal,* of Captain Brown, when he came to Yakutat Bay on a hunting expedition. The natives there captured a number of his Kodiak hunters, and, at his request, Captain Brown sent along an armed yawl with six sailors to assist in recovering the prisoners. This is only one of several instances of co-operation between the British and Russians in areas of contact. Purtov reported also that the Yakutat Bay people were supplied with firearms and powder, which they had obtained from European trading-vessels along the coast. [Yegor Purtov and Demidov Kulikalov to Baranov, August 9, 1794, Tikhmenev, II, *Pril.,* pp. 60–67.]

There were only two new-comers among the vessels on the Northwest Coast in 1794—the *Arthur,* a British brig out of Bengal under Captain Barber, and the *Nancy,* of New York. [Howay; Vancouver, III.]

The *Eleanora,* previously on the coast in 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791, returned in 1794 and was captured by the Indians while trading in Houston Stewart Channel in the Queen Charlotte Islands. The *Jackal* and *Prince Lee Boo,* having made a winter voyage to China, returned to the coast for the 1794 season. They then sailed for China via Hawaii, where Captain Brown was killed and the two vessels were held by the natives for a short time. The *Jenny,* which had been reported on the coast in 1792 as a three-masted schooner, returned in 1794 as a 78-ton ship, commanded by John William Adamson and owned by Sidenham Teast, of Bristol. She traded up the coast from Cape Disappointment to Kaigahnee, Alaska, then sailed for China at the end of the season. The *Phoenix,* formerly there in 1792, returned to the coast in 1794, trading around Sitka, the Queen Charlotte Islands, and on down to Friendly Cove. Howay believes that she probably wintered in the Columbia River. The *Prince William Henry,* a veteran of the 1792 and 1793 seasons, was on the coast again. [Howay.]

The *Lady Washington,* on the coast in 1788, 1789, 1791, and 1793, traded there again through the 1794 season. Her captain, John Kendrick, was killed accidentally by a shot fired in salute from the *Jackal* in Honolulu Harbor on the way to China at the end of the season. The *Jefferson* and its tender, *Resolution,* having wintered at Clayoquot, traded largely around the eastern and northern shores of the Queen Charlotte Islands during 1794. The *Jefferson* sailed for China and Boston via Hawaii in August, 1794; the *Resolution* sailed in March, 1794, for the Columbia River and disappeared. Howay deduces that the *Fairy,* of Boston, owned by the estate of William Douglas and commanded by

Captain William Rogers, which had been on the coast in 1791, was there again in 1794. [Howay.]

1795

Only four British vessels appeared on the Northwest Coast in 1795. The *Jane,* of Bristol, was at Nootka, Cape Scott, and Cook's Inlet late in the season, then sailed on to Hawaii, China, and on back to England. The *Phoenix,* which had wintered in the Columbia River, resumed her trading voyage in March. She spent the summer in the vicinity of the Queen Charlotte Islands and left in September for China with a large cargo of furs. The *Prince William Henry,* now commanded by William Wake, reappeared on the coast. Kow, the chief at Cloak Bay, complained that he had piloted the vessel into Kaigahnee (Dixon Entrance) and had then been held by Wake for ransom. The *Ruby,* of Bristol, owned by Sidenham Teast and commanded by Charles Bishop, traded in the Queen Charlotte Islands area during 1795. She wintered in the Columbia and was badly damaged in leaving that river when she sailed for the Hawaiian Islands and China, where she was sold in 1796. [Howay.]

American commercial interests were represented by three vessels. The *Dispatch,* of Boston, owned by Dorr and Sons and commanded by Elias Newbury,[2] arrived on the coast in May and traded through the season. She sailed to the Hawaiian Islands in October, and thence to China and Boston. Newbury was killed on July 10 at Kaigahnee by the accidental discharge of a pistol held by Chief Ettarge. The *Mercury,* of Providence, R.I., commanded by Captain Barnett, was a hard-luck vessel which traded on the coast in 1795 with a crew composed in part of captured Hawaiians, seized to replace crewmen who had deserted the ship in Hawaii. The captive sailors were returned to Kauai Island at the end of the season, as the *Mercury* made its way to China. The *Union,* of Newport, R.I., owned by Crowell Hatch and Caleb Gardiner and com-

(2) There is some confusion as to the spelling of the surname of the commander of the *Dispatch.* Many of the commercial papers relating to this expedition are to be found in the *Ebenezer Dorr Papers* acquired some years ago by the Archives of British Columbia. In an insurance policy placed by Dorr on the master's share of the proceeds of the venture after the death of the latter, the name is given as "Norberry." In the ship's contract with the crew, his own signature could be deciphered as either "Nordbery" or "Nordberry," and in the agreement itself it is "Nordbery." Since, in this latter document, the master appears to have corrected the spelling himself by inserting a "d" and making no correction of the single "r," it would appear that his correct name was Nordbery.

manded by John Boit, traded successfully through the season from May to September. The vessel then sailed for Boston by way of the Hawaiian Islands and China. [Howay.]

IV

The year 1795 seems to be a good point at which to conclude this account of the voyages and expeditions which finally cleared up most of the cartography of the Northwest Coast and Alaska. Many details had still to be filled in; toward this, the major countries interested—Russia, Great Britain, and the United States—all made their contributions during the nineteenth century; but the major part of the work of mapping the adjacent parts of the American and Asiatic coast had already been done.

The year 1795 also saw the death of Shelekhov, who had already accumulated a fortune in the fur trade and had been pressing for a grant of monopoly from the Russian Government. This ambitious project was now taken up by his widow, Natalie, and his partner, Ivan Golikov. The Empress Catherine had shown great reluctance to meet the wishes of Shelekhov, but the accession of a new sovereign in the person of the Emperor Paul opened up fresh possibilities. While Paul had an ungovernable temper and seems to have been both hated and distrusted, his extremely emotional nature exposed him to influences that could be brought to bear on him through persons in his confidence. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first success attained by the Shelekhov-Golikov interests was a merger of their interests with those of Mylnikov in 1797. Two years later the further grant of the monopoly to the new company excluded all rivals from the trade in the Aleutian Islands and Alaska and made their monopoly complete. The chief factor of the company in America, Alexander Baranov, had already done much to put their fur trade on a sound basis. But, as a matter of fact, as Sauer tells us, the Shelekhov interests had ever since 1790 exercised a *de facto* monopoly of all the trade to the east of Unalaska. Only two independent trading-vessels are mentioned after that period: one owned by a man named Sukhanin [Sauer, pp. 275–276], of whom nothing else is known, and the other that of Kiselev, the *Zosim i Savvatiya*, which put out from Okhotsk in 1792 and returned in 1798 [Berkh, p. 120].

The period from 1741 (the last voyage of Bering) to 1799 (the grant of the charter of monopoly to the Russian-American Company) is a unique interlude in the history of Russian economic development. From the time of the acquisition of Siberia in the late sixteenth century, the exploitation of the fur trade and to a large extent of the natural

resources had been through government monopoly [Fisher, *Russian Fur Trade, 1550–1700*]. In European Russia similar trends are seen in the means adopted by Peter to promote Russian industry and commerce, either through direct government control or in government-granted monopolies to private individuals and other measures of government intervention. Private enterprise was not highly developed, either because of an absence of the urge among the population themselves, or because the government discouraged it; but after the discovery of the fur resources of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, this long-hidden and discouraged private initiative took an astonishing spurt. It was the Siberian merchants and their hirelings, the *promyshlenniki,* who provided the capital and built the ships to fare forth on these venturesome voyages into relatively unknown and stormy waters of the North Pacific. The vessels they constructed were crude, and their seamanship was of the most amateur kind, but their daring, resourcefulness, and hardihood were astonishing. The control of the government, so absolute within the boundaries of the land portion of the Russian Empire, did not reach across the sea; and while they were nominally subject to the Russian Government, the Russian State had no maritime laws or courts or any government agency such as the British Board of Trade to keep their lawlessness within bounds. They killed and plundered and exploited the natives without pity. Many of them lost their lives or suffered shipwreck, but some accumulated substantial fortunes, and up to almost the end there was no lack of fresh recruits in the fur trade.

It was under Catherine that this private enterprise flourished under official patronage, but after Catherine's death the normal Russian urge to bring everything under governmental control reasserted itself. An extensive monopoly was granted to the Russian-American Company, which exercised almost despotic control for a quarter of a century. By replacing, in the office of the chief factor, merchants like Baranov by naval officers, the company and its operations really became a branch of the government, and its activities a means to further Russian expansion rather than to collect dividends on its shares. But Russia was in no position to assert her control through naval power, and eventually when this fact was brought home to them, the government disposed of its American possessions in order to concentrate on its efforts on the Asiatic mainland.

There are other reasons why the year 1795 marks the end of one era and the beginning of another. The Nootka Sound incident of 1789 and the subsequent treaties with Spain were, in effect, the abdication by

Spain of her pretensions in the North Pacific. This was not realized at first by the Spanish Government, but her inability to rally the support of revolutionary France compelled her to come to terms with Great Britain, and subsequent negotiations disclosed the British Government's interpretation of the agreement of 1790 as giving her a definite foothold in the Northwest Coast. With the appearance of the fur-traders of the North West Company, beginning in 1812, and later of the Hudson's Bay Company, Great Britain made her claims effective, and the Spanish flag disappeared from this part of the Pacific Coast.

It is to be noted that the year 1793 saw the outbreak of war on a world-wide scale between Napoleon and the first coalition; Britain was involved in war with France for over twenty years, and the exigencies of war compelled the British merchant marine to curtail its far-flung activities. The way was thus left open to the vessels of the cities of the United States eastern seaboard, particularly Boston. Indeed, with the Russians the word "Boston man" became synonymous with "American" during the two decades that followed, and there developed a profitable three-cornered commerce between New England, the Northwest Coast, and China, which lasted down to 1835.

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ESQUIMALT: DEFENCE PROBLEM, 1865–1887

Esquimalt, situated on the southern tip of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, is to-day the west coast headquarters of the Royal Canadian Navy. One hundred years ago it was nothing but a good harbour conveniently near the growing town of Victoria in the days when gold was British Columbia's chief attraction. The next year it became a base for the Royal Navy, and by 1865 it had become headquarters for the North Pacific Squadron. Strategically, its location was not fortunate, as British trade with the west coast of North America was slight and the main Pacific trade routes from the Horn to Asia and Australasia passed well to the south of the equator. Its chief merit lay in the fact that, although not the best position, it was the only position from which the Royal Navy could operate in the northwest Pacific, as Great Britain possessed no territory on the western side of the Americas and the Falkland Islands were 7,280 knots away via Cape Horn. The isolation of Esquimalt was bad enough in the days of sailing-vessels that could keep at sea for long periods; the advent of steam, when cruising range depended upon coal, made it even worse. Furthermore, there was no regular contact overland between the new Dominion of Canada and British Columbia, and it was generally agreed that British North America was indefensible against attack from the United States. Nevertheless, the Royal Navy, believing that an unfortunate base was better than none at all, kept Esquimalt as the headquarters for the North Pacific Squadron until the turn of the century.

In 1871 British Columbia entered the Canadian Confederation on terms that included the promised construction of a transcontinental railway. This railway, it was expected, would add greatly to Esquimalt's strategic importance, for it would mean cable connection with England and rail connection with the Imperial post at Halifax.[1] To improve facilities at Esquimalt, it was proposed, shortly after British Columbia joined the federation, that a graving-dock should be established,[2] to be

(1) Even so, the fact that the route finally selected for the railway ran close to the frontier in several localities rendered traffic disruption by hostile American overland action a relatively simple military operation.

(2) G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *Canadian External Relations,* Toronto, 1942, p. 281.

financed jointly by the Dominion, Provincial, and Imperial Governments. The graving-dock was eventually taken over completely by the Canadian Government and was officially opened on July 20, 1887.[3] The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885, and the first through traffic began in 1886. Thus it was not until 1887 that the Admiralty could see any advantage in enlarging the naval base at Esquimalt. In that year the defence of this point was tentatively apportioned between the Imperial and Dominion Governments: the War Office assumed responsibility for the proposed armament, and the Dominion Government for the proposed works.

Students generally have found little between the years 1865 and 1887 to interest them in the history of Esquimalt. For the historian of Imperial defence, however, the events of these years, between the establishment of North Pacific Naval Headquarters and the time when Canadian and Imperial Governments agreed to share responsibility for land defences, are interesting and instructive. In 1865 Esquimalt was a matter of interest to the naval authorities alone; in 1887 it concerned not only the Admiralty, but the War Office, the Colonial Office, the Federal Government in Canada, and, to some extent, the Provincial Government of British Columbia as well. Aside from the obvious fact that Esquimalt became Canadian territory with British Columbia's entry into Confederation in 1871, this was the result of new trends in Imperial defence between 1865 and 1877; trends which were, in many respects, the direct result of the coming of steam to the Navy.

Although there were some who claimed that the advent of steam had "bridged the Channel," others[4] argued that steam did not really make England more accessible to an invading force, owing to the problems of supplying fuel to warships with restricted coal capacity. Nevertheless, it was generally agreed that steam, with its attendant problem of filling empty coal-bunkers, had introduced new problems of commerce protection to a nation extremely dependent upon overseas trade, and that a serious effort should be made to grapple with these problems rather than to accept them, in an unenlightened manner, as insoluble.

(3) F. V. Longstaff, *Esquimalt Naval Base: A History of Its Work and Defences*, Victoria, 1941, p. 39. This pioneer work, though limited in scope, is invaluable as a source book of information about Esquimalt.

(4) Notably Lord Palmerston. For a treatment of these problems, *see* W. C. B. Tunstall, "Imperial Defence," *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. XI, and Howard D'Egville, *Imperial Defence and Closer Union*, London, 1913. Tunstall treats the transition period as a unit and D'Egville pays special attention to the brothers Colomb, naval tractarians.

The serious nature of the coal problem became apparent during the Franco-Prussian War, when the Admiralty[5] realized that many coaling-stations in foreign hands would be virtually useless in war-time. From this it was but a step to the realization that the Royal Navy's traditional role as the protector of British commerce was imperilled by the defenceless condition of those overseas bases in British hands upon which the Navy depended for its coal. Accordingly, at Admiralty instigation, the War Office began to look seriously into the problem of coaling-station defence. In 1875 a memorandum containing recommendations for the defence of British coaling-stations was prepared by the Office of the Inspector-General of Fortifications;[6] these recommendations were apparently given only summary consideration; they were not acted on by the Secretary of State for War.[7] This initial recognition of the great importance of overseas coaling-stations, although it did not stimulate Government action, brought to the fore the intimate connection between coaling-stations and commerce protection; it also made it clear that the Royal Navy did not consider that it should be held responsible for the defence of those stations.[8]

Esquimalt was referred to in the 1875 memorandum, but only incidentally as one of eleven overseas bases.[9] However, mention was made of the fact that Esquimalt was, at this time, wholly undefended both by men or by guns.

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(5) Granville to Admiralty, July 12, 1870, states that ships of the Royal Navy could coal in neutral ports only once in three months. *Milne Papers*, MIN/141/1, National Maritime Museum.

(6) *Memorandum by Colonel Sir W. F. D. Jervois, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E., with reference to the defenceless condition of our Coaling Stations and Naval Establishments abroad*, January 7, 1875, *Carnarvon Papers*, Public Record Office, *30/6-122*.

(7) *Ibid.* This memorandum was passed to Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, January 9, 1875, and to the Cabinet, January 12, 1875. The Jervois memorandum was, however, supported by H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief and was seen by the Secretary of War and First Lord of the Admiralty in December, 1875, according to a memorandum dated December 12, 1875.

(8) *Ibid.* Jervois pointed out the cardinal Admiralty rule regarding fixed defence, viz.: "the fleet is required for cruising, and cannot be kept in harbour to guard its own supplies." This is henceforth herein referred to as the "freedom of action doctrine."

(9) The others included: (1) Port Royal, Jamaica; (2) Antigua; (3) Ascension; (4) Simons Bay, Cape of Good Hope; (5) Port Louis, Mauritius; (6) Trincomalee, Ceylon; (7) Singapore; (8) Hong Kong; (9) King George's Sound, Western Australia; (10) Falkland Islands.

In 1877 the coaling-station question was again revived, this time as a result of the deterioration of Anglo-Russian relations to a point where war seemed to be a distinct possibility. On this occasion the Defence Committee[10] was inclined to give more than cursory consideration to the defence of coaling bases. The protection of the overseas bases was regarded almost as important as that of seaports in the United Kingdom.[11] The several stations were grouped in order of their importance, excluding the four Imperial fortresses of Halifax, Bermuda, Gibraltar, and Malta, which were traditionally placed in the same category for defence purposes as fortified positions in Great Britain itself. Priority was determined by utility of location in relation to the protection of sea-borne commerce and other naval requirements.

Esquimalt posed special problems. It was admittedly remote from the main lines of commerce and yet it was readily defensible in the physical sense and it was the only naval base on the west coast of the American continents. Furthermore, negotiations with regard to the proposed graving-dock were in progress and could not be dropped or ignored. The War Office, preferring to act on the principle that those stations close to the trade routes should receive the greatest attention, would have placed Esquimalt low on the priority list, but owing to the insistence of the Admiralty, Esquimalt was finally placed eighth on the list of priority.[12] Two schemes were put forward for the defence of the north Pacific base. The first, intended only to meet a temporary situation, proposed that one gun-boat be based on Esquimalt, and that six heavy and six light guns and other works, at an estimated cost of £9,000, be provided, along with a garrison of 688 men.[13] The second, more permanent scheme, contemplated the provision of eight heavy and six

(10) A permanent War Office Committee originally set up to put into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Defences of the United Kingdom, 1859–60. The Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief, was Chairman.

(11) *Memorandum by the Defence Committee at their meeting of the 5th of June, 1877, with reference to the Defence of Commercial Harbours at Home, and of Coaling Stations Abroad,* Public Record Office, *30/6-122.*

(12) The priority of importance was, as follows: (1) Simons Bay, (2) Hong Kong, (3) Singapore, (4) Jamaica, (5) King George's Sound, (6) Trincomalee, (7) Mauritius, (8) Esquimalt, (9) St. Lucia, (10) Falkland Islands, (11) Ascension, (12) Fiji.

(13) Public Record Office, *30/6-122. See* table attached to a memorandum drawn up by Inspector-General of Fortifications approved by the Defence Committee in May, 1877. The total estimated expenditure on the twelve stations was £243,000.

light guns and expenditures amounting to £120,000 out of a total sum of £2,297,412 intended for all twelve bases.[14]

No immediate action was taken to implement either of these schemes. By 1878, however, as the Anglo-Russian situation appeared to grow worse, the coaling-station problem again became urgent,[15] and a special interdepartmental Colonial Defence Committee was formed to re-examine the problem in the light of the changing international situation. This committee, called the Milne Committee, after its Chairman, Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, was appointed to deal only with the emergency,[16] but it continued to deal with problems of naval-base defence until the spring of 1879, when it was dissolved. A Royal Commission was then appointed at the instigation of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, "to enquire into the Defence of British Possessions and Commerce Abroad."[17] This Commission, like its predecessor, the Colonial Defence Committee, was interdepartmental in composition, a fact which attests to the importance now attached to the whole question of coaling-stations. Another development of significance was the role of the Colonial Office, not only as a participant in these inquiries, but, in both the Colonial Defence Committee and the Royal Commission, as the originating and controlling body. The purposes of the Colonial Defence Committee or Milne Committee and the Carnarvon Commission differed in that the former was set up to recommend emergency measures in 1878, while the latter was set up to deal with various problems of Imperial defence on a permanent basis; both, however, may be looked upon as joint contributors to the final reports of the Royal Commission.[18]

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(14) *Ibid.* Appendix B attached to Defence Committee memorandum of June 5, 1877.

(15) In 1877, when the Inspector-General of Fortifications was asked to estimate the speed of a possible Russian advance on Turkey, he concluded his memorandum with a strongly worded warning about coaling-station defence. This memorandum is dated April 18, 1877, Public Record Office, *30/6-115.*

(16) Colonial Office to War Office, February 16, 1878, Public Record Office, *30/6-124,* p. 1.

(17) Public Record Office, *C.O. 323/356 General, 1884.* The purpose, progress, and significant dates in the Commission's first year of existence were set out in a memorandum drawn up for Lord Kimberley on June 1, 1880, by Under-Secretary Blake at the Colonial Office. The Commission was appointed September 8, 1879.

(18) The Royal Commission issued three reports, the last one on July 22, 1882. *See* Public Record Office, *30/6-126.*

To its surprise, the Milne Committee found that there was not sufficient ordnance available to arm all the coaling-stations, of whose importance there was now no question.[19] Furthermore, there were no Regular Army troops stationed in, or free for service in, British Columbia. Nevertheless, some defence measures had to be taken. The international situation appeared critical, and the Admiralty was prevailed upon to loan naval guns from their Esquimalt stores for land defence,[20] although it did so with reluctance, accompanied by suggestions that, since the Canadians were concerned over the defence of Victoria, they might possibly be asked to assist in the defence of the naval base.[21] The Milne Committee considered that such a request was not unreasonable; but the Colonial Office, although it agreed to approach the Canadian Government, was pessimistic of the outcome[22] and pointed out to the War Office that Esquimalt was by definition a purely Imperial responsibility.[23] The Canadian reaction was clearly unexpected. Surprisingly enough, Canada not only offered to supply men, but also to construct works at Esquimalt as an emergency measure.[24] Words were followed by action, and in May, 1878, Lieutenant-Colonel de la Chevois T. Irwin, Canadian Assistant Inspector of Artillery, went to Victoria to supervise work on the earthwork and batteries until their completion at the end of August.

As the threat of war gave way to peaceful settlement at the Congress of Berlin in June, 1878, the enthusiasm aroused by the emergency quickly waned on both sides of the Atlantic. No provisions had been made to pay Canada for its assistance[25] or for the naval guns, and by September Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Colonial Secretary, was writing

(19) Milne to Colonial Office, March 14, 1878, Public Record Office, *30/6-124*, No. 9.

(20) Admiralty to Colonial Office, May 15, 1878, *ibid.*, No. 101. These guns were old worn naval guns whose return to England had been delayed on the advice of Major-General Sir Edward Selby Smyth, General Officer Commanding the militia in Canada. *See* F. V. Longstaff, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

(21) Colonial Office to Admiralty, April 10, 1878, Public Record Office, *30/6-124*, No. 36.

(22) Colonial Office to the Governor-General, May 15, 1878, *ibid.*, No. 100.

(23) Colonial Office to War Office, May 18, 1878, *ibid.*, No. 109.

(24) Governor-General to Colonial Office, May 11, 1878, *ibid.*, No. 88A, and same to same, June 19, 1878, *ibid.*, No. 124. For details concerning the military aspects of the situation, see Reginald H. Roy, "The Early Militia and Defence of British Columbia, 1871–1885," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (1954), pp. 1–28.

(25) Colonial Office to War Office, June 13, 1878, Public Record Office, *30/6-124*, No. 171.

to the Governor-General for a detailed report on Canadian efforts and suggesting the suspension of all work until that report could be studied in England.[26] Later in the year an uneasy War Office suggested that Canadian efforts might be checked by an Imperial officer.[27] The Colonial Office warned the War Office that Canada's prompt help in the emergency ought not to be lightly dismissed,[28] and in the end both a Canadian and an Imperial officer were sent jointly to inspect the Esquimalt defences.[29] Meanwhile the Canadian Government had made it quite clear that its assistance at Esquimalt was not to be taken as a precedent, and that the Dominion had no intention of becoming deeply involved in any scheme of Imperial defence on a permanent basis.[30] Hence, when the Carnarvon Commission was appointed in the summer of 1879, the actual armament situation at Esquimalt was really little improved over what it had been in 1865.

The Commission's report on Esquimalt, issued in 1882,[31] was based mainly on the appreciations of Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Lovell, R.E., the Imperial officer sent to investigate Esquimalt in 1879, and that of his Canadian-appointed colleague, Lieutenant-Colonel T. Bland Strange; on a War Office memorandum drawn up to assist the Commission in December, 1880; on the report of Colonel William Crossman, a special War Office investigator; on the evidence given to the Commission in 1882 by Sir Astley Cooper Key, First Sea Lord; and that of Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, given earlier in July, 1880.

There was little of the startling or the original in the final report. The soldiers did not display much grasp of the strategic significance of Esquimalt. They agreed that it was useful and should be fortified, but their reasons were varied and uninspired. Strange thought the base important but argued for strengthening the fortress as necessary for the protection of the graving-dock.[32] Lovell admitted that Esquimalt was poorly

(26) Colonial Office to Governor-General, September 6, 1878, *ibid.*, No. 325.

(27) War Office to Colonial Office, December 10, 1878, *ibid.*, No. 357.

(28) Colonial Office to War Office, December 19, 1878, *ibid.*, No. 359.

(29) This was in the summer of 1879. They were Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Strange, the Canadian appointee, sent from Kingston, and Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Lovell, R.E., the British appointee, sent from Halifax.

(30) Governor-General to Colonial Office, May 19, 1879, Public Record Office, *C.O. 812-14*, No. 33.

(31) *Third and Final Report of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Defence of British Possessions and Commerce Abroad*, 1882. Public Record Office, *30/6-126*.

(32) Strange's report, November 7, 1879, *ibid.*, Appendix 4, No. 124.

located but urged strong fortifications on the basis that it was the only northern Pacific naval station.[33] Lovell thought the Milne Committee's recommendations, based as they were on the possibility of attack by small unarmoured ships, inadequate and indicative of the small importance attached to the base by the Committee. He envisaged that in a future war the North Pacific Squadron would probably join the China Squadron and be continually at sea, thus leaving Esquimalt open to attack by enemy ironclads.[34] Lovell did not eliminate the idea of war between the United States and Great Britain, and therefore emphasized the need for continued Canadian participation in this aspect of Imperial defence. The fact is that Lovell, not putting forward any weighty arguments for the defence of Esquimalt, simply urged that if it were to be fortified at all, it should be fortified strongly. On the basis of the evidence of Strange and Lovell, but not on their conclusions, the War Office issued a preliminary memorandum[35] on the defences of Esquimalt in December, 1880. It declared Esquimalt indefensible against a determinedly hostile United States, and only suggested that we "throw troops and stores into Esquimalt in a comparatively short time" in an emergency.[36] The memorandum went on to say that if the Royal Navy insisted on its land defence, provision should be made, but only against possible attack by Russian cruisers. Unenthusiastically it concluded that as far as the United States was concerned, Esquimalt's security must be gambled on peace between the Americans and the British. It was on this basis that Colonel Crossman recommended that works costing £194,500 be provided, to be manned by a garrison of 1,300 men.[37]

The evidence given by Sir John A. Macdonald before the Carnarvon Commission[38] strongly influenced the Commission's view with regard to

(33) *Ibid.*, Appendix 4, No. 124, Enclosure 2. Lovell's report was received by the Colonial Office, March 18, 1880. *See* Public Record Office, *C.O. 812-16*, No. 177.

(34) If the North Pacific Squadron were to join the China Squadron, it is difficult to understand (*a*) of what importance Esquimalt would be to naval operations, and (*b*) how its destruction could benefit an enemy.

(35) *Third and Final Report of the Royal Commission . . . ,* 1882, Appendix 4.

(36) This, of course, anticipated the early completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

(37) *Third and Final Report of the Royal Commission . . . ,* 1882, Appendix 4, p. 24.

(38) *See* Alice R. Stewart, "Sir John A. Macdonald and the Imperial Defence Commission of 1879," *Canadian Historical Review,* XXXV (1954), pp. 119–139.

Esquimalt, even as it vitally affected the Commission's attitude to Canadian defence generally. Sir John began with the realistic premise that the possibility of war with the United States was so remote that it should not enter into the Commission's considerations. His view was that any attempt to define proportionate colonial and Imperial defence responsibility in peace-time would only lead to colonial opposition to defence commitment, on financial grounds, and that such unfavourable peace-time publicity might well restrict what otherwise might be a generous colonial response to Empire defence requirements in an emergency. Throughout his evidence he refrained from discussing Canadian coast defence, except to indicate that in an emergency the Canadians could be expected to render a good deal of assistance. As far as Esquimalt was concerned, it was, to Macdonald, a base from which Canadian grain-shipping could be protected when the Canadian Pacific Railway should be completed. However, when asked why Esquimalt should be fortified, he gave the stock Admiralty answer: "It is supposed that Esquimalt is the proper place for a rendezvous for the North Pacific Squadron. It is a good harbour, and defensible, and it is in immediate proximity to the coal-fields of the island."[39] When asked whether it would be worth while defending Esquimalt if Canadian produce did not ship from British Columbia in quantity, he properly refused to comment on what was clearly a more general Imperial strategic problem. General Sir Lintorn Simmons, a member of the Commission, attempted to persuade Macdonald to agree with the view that, should another port in British Columbia carry the bulk of Canadian commerce, it would be better to defend that port instead of Esquimalt, but Macdonald was persistently the politician rather than the strategist, and his answers were non-committal. In brief, the Canadian Prime Minister made it clear that, to his mind, Esquimalt was a matter of Imperial and not of Canadian concern. Refusing to discuss strategic details and degrees of responsibilities, he simply confined himself to presenting non-military factual evidence and speculating realistically upon political possibilities, arriving at the general conclusion that Esquimalt was, although useful for ensuring Canadian trade protection, fundamentally a British problem.

In contrast with those of Sir John, the views of Admiral Sir Astley Cooper Key, given to the Commission almost two years after Macdonald

(39) *Third and Final Report of the Royal Commission . . . ,* 1882, Appendix 4, p. 126.

had given evidence, were blunt and simple. [40] Another naval base was badly needed in the north Pacific but Esquimalt, at least, was in existence and was available. It should be strongly defended; strongly enough, that is, to resist attack from any source, including the United States. If Esquimalt was to be a British fortress, it should be heavily armed. What other argument could there be?

The final recommendations of the Royal Commission were not unanimous. In the opinion of the majority of the members,[41] Esquimalt was strategically indefensible and almost valueless. This conclusion was not, at the time, unreasonable; the main British trade routes were well out of reach of Esquimalt; the base itself was extremely vulnerable to attack from the United States; there was little in British Columbia which was likely to invite aggression on the part of the distantly based Russian fleet; and, in the event of war, the ships based upon Esquimalt would be moved away to join the China Squadron. It was difficult, the Commission stated, to justify the expenditure of the £194,500 and 1,300 men required to maintain Esquimalt in a proper state of defence. Despite the cogency of these arguments, the Commission would not go as far as to urge that Esquimalt be wholly abandoned. There were too many political considerations which could not be ignored, such, for instance, as the delicate question of British-Canadian relations and the money and time spent on investigating the base. The members of the Commission fully appreciated Canada's undertakings to British Columbia both to construct the transcontinental railway and to use Federal influence in persuading Great Britain to maintain Esquimalt as a naval base, particularly in view of the Admiralty's promise to construct a graving-dock there. It was because of these frankly non-military features that the majority of the Royal Commissioners recommended that, if the Canadians would construct the works and provide a garrison, the British Government should supply the actual guns and professional assistance.

This compromise, however, was rejected by two of the Commissioners, who submitted a minority report. They were Sir Alexander Milne and Sir Henry Barkly. One of them, Sir Alexander Milne, who had chaired the Committee which had preceded the Royal Commission in 1878, argued that the proposal to remove the squadron from Esquimalt was beyond the scope of the Commission and "an interference with

(40) *Ibid.*, Digest of Evidence, p. 608. Key was then First Sea Lord at the Admiralty.

(41) *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24, and 25.

the Executive Departments of the State." He returned to the views which he had advocated previously, and stated that Esquimalt should be defended to the degree recommended by his Committee in April, 1878. Milne's arguments—and they really reflected the views of the Admiralty—included Esquimalt's value in peace-time as a base from which to show the flag and from which to ferry diplomatic representatives to the Orient. In war he agreed that it would probably be advisable for the Royal Navy ships based on Esquimalt to join the China Squadron; in this respect he accepted the principal contention of the majority report.[42] The determination of the minority Commissioners to defend Esquimalt's usefulness in peace-time may have sprung from some sense of conviction, but a more likely explanation is to be found in the interdepartmental rivalry which existed within the Commission, and the firm resolution of the Admiralty not to let the War Office have it all its own way. This idea emerges from Sir Alexander Milne's remark in a letter to Barkly that, despite his desire not to disrupt the unanimity of the report, " it is Simmons[43] versus the Navy that I won't stand."[44]

What was the true significance of Esquimalt in view of the fact that the efforts of the defence planners between 1875 and 1882 produced so little in the way of concrete defences? For contemporaries, perhaps, the lessons were slight, but for the historian, writing in a defence-conscious era, the subject is not without interest and importance. To begin with, it illustrates some of the basic problems of British-Canadian relations which were to emerge with greater emphasis and clarity a generation later during the Laurier régime in Canada. Both the Canadian Government's statements disclaiming financial responsibility for Esquimalt's permanent defences after the crisis of 1878 had passed and the views of Sir John A. Macdonald underline the deep-lying aversion of colonial governments to any binding permanent responsibility with regard to Empire defence. At the same time, that Government's action during the 1878 crisis and Macdonald's evidence indicated the reserves of Imperial sentiment in Canada that could be tapped in an emergency, providing rigid definition were not attempted beforehand. From the view-point of Imperial de-

(42) Because of the prevailing winds and lack of coal-supplies, Milne thought that this journey would be made by sailing south of the equator and then proceeding to Hong Kong, completely under sail propulsion.

(43) General Sir John Arabin Simmons, G.C.B., R.E., Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Malta, was at this time a member of the Royal Commission.

(44) Milne to Barkly, May 20, 1882, *Milne Papers,* MIN/141/1, National Maritime Museum.

fence considered as a whole, this apparent contradiction between policy and sentiment was a source of strategical weakness, since no British long-term plans could include Canada, except in so far as they might contemplate some vague and undefined assistance in time of crisis. Indeed, in the British Government's handling of the Canadian defence problem, political considerations, of necessity, had to take precedence over military ones, and the emphasis was placed upon the maintenance of political friendliness at the expense of immediate military efficiency. This is clearly apparent in that section of the majority report of the Royal Commission concerning Esquimalt. Such a policy, however satisfactory from the standpoint of the politician, for the moment did nothing to relieve the anxiety of the soldiers responsible for Imperial defence.

However, the discussions which arose out of the coaling-stations problem brought to the forefront the lack of sympathy and co-operation between the departments of government involved in them. It was in frank recognition of this fact that both the Milne Committee and the Royal Commission were organized on an interdepartmental basis. Yet neither the small Committee nor the more imposing Commission succeeded in resolving conflicts that a century of departmental exclusiveness had produced. Recommendations might be worked out in some harmony (although in the case of Equimalt even that hope became barren), but recommendations were useless as long as the power to give them effect was lacking. What appeared to be missing was not technical advice, but rather co-ordination of the kind which would result from the presence of a strong political personality who could guide the work of the technical advisers toward a common purpose without keeping both ears tuned to the rumblings or grumblings within any one department. Most of the obstacles to effective interdepartmental co-operation came from the Admiralty. The sailors had their own standards of what constituted naval necessities, and whatever one may suspect, it is impossible to determine whether those standards were arrived at by inductive or deductive reasoning. The War Office, on the other hand, sprawling and divided as it was, did attempt to deal with the coaling-station problem in a reasonable way. In fact, the work performed in the Fortifications Department between 1875 and 1877, involving, as it did, a whole conception of maritime defence adapted to modern needs, while at the same time recognizing the special role of the Navy, was a tribute to the understanding of the soldiers. The Admiralty, however, was prepared to accept the views of the soldiers just as long as they were in agreement with

those of the sailors, but no further: when a prominent soldier in a Royal Commission should go so far as to recommend the abandonment of Esquimalt as a serious naval base, further co-operation, discussion, or agreement was impossible. But a strong directing political head was absent, and the tide had been running against further expenditures on Imperial defence since Edward Cardwell had withdrawn the Imperial garrisons. Why should any politician be expected to take a firm stand when, to the public in general, the defence of colonial ports meant only further expenditure outlays of British moneys with no corresponding repayment in votes?

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SIR JOSEPH TRUTCH: BRITISH COLUMBIA'S FIRST LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR*

A recent issue of this *Quarterly* honoured Professor Walter N. Sage, the dean of Provincial historians and one of the most ardent advocates of the study of local history. As a young man, Professor Sage took an active interest in the history of British Columbia, and for over a quarter of a century he has maintained his interest. His enthusiasm he has passed on to his many students; he has convinced them that Provincial history is not only fun and full of intrinsic interest, but also that it is an admirable training-ground where young scholars can learn and practise the rudiments of historical method. A good deal of Professor Sage's own work was on the transition period in Provincial history when the people of British Columbia, frustrated by recession and stimulated by Canadian federation, examined possible alternatives to their unhappy political and economic state. In the course of his researches, Dr. Sage discovered that Sir Joseph William Trutch, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province after confederation, played an important part in the transition to responsible government.[1] This article covers much of the same ground; it should be viewed not as a successor to his work, but as a supplement. It is perhaps fitting to record that it was Professor Sage who first suggested to the author a study of the office of the Lieutenant-Governor, a study of which this is but a minor part.

British Columbia was the second Province to enter the Canadian confederation. The Manitoba experiment had not been a happy one, and even while the terms of union were being negotiated with the British Columbians, the Federal Government could not be certain that it had succeeded. British Columbia was in every way better fitted for its new

* This paper was read, in part, before the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Association in May, 1954. It is the first of three short essays on interesting and important periods in the history of the office of the Lieutenant-Governor in British Columbia. The author would like to thank the Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C., the Canadian Social Science Research Council, and the Humanities Research Council for grants that have made possible a study of the office of the Lieutenant-Governor in Canada.

(1) Walter N. Sage, "The Position of the Lieutenant-Governor in British Columbia in the Years Following Confederation," *in* R. Flenley (*ed.*), *Essays in Canadian History Presented to George Mackinnon Wrong for His Eightieth Birthday*, Toronto, 1939, pp. 178–203.

status as a Province of Canada than Manitoba had been. There were no serious racial or religious antagonisms to obstruct the normal functioning of representative and responsible government, although it must be admitted that society was not as stable, mature, or cohesive as was that in the eastern Provinces. Partial representative government had been enjoyed for a number of years in the Crown Colony and, peopled as it was from Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, there was abroad a fair amount of political experience. An administrative machine of sorts, which had extended its control over most of the Province (although spasmodically and perhaps ineffectively in the Interior), was in full operation. The Colonial Governor was, to be sure, the most powerful political figure in the Colony, but the basis was there for responsible self-government within the confederation.

Demands for responsible government had been heard in British Columbia for a long time; in fact, the drive for confederation with Canada was intimately related to it. " The most prominent Agitators for confederation," Governor Musgrave informed the Colonial Secretary, " are a small knot of Canadians who hope that it may be possible to make fuller representative institutions and Responsible Government part of the new arrangements." Musgrave, who had been sent to British Columbia to accelerate confederation, condemned responsible government as ". . . inapplicable to a Community so small and so constituted as this—a sparse population scattered over a vast area. . . ."[2] He realized, however, that government by Governor and Council could not continue for long, and gained the approval of the Colonial Office to a constitutional amendment that gave the elected members of the Legislative Council a majority.

(2) Musgrave to Granville, October 3, 1869, *MS.*, Archives of B.C. A year later he informed Sir John A. Macdonald that " notwithstanding all the boasted eagerness of the Community for Confederation the only men I can depend on are the officials. DeCosmos and the leading Demagogues . . . would throw Confederation to the winds tomorrow if without it they could obtain 'Responsible Govt.', which to them does not mean rational self-government . . . but official plunder and possession of public office." Musgrave to Macdonald, November 24, 1870, *Macdonald Papers*, Vol. 342, Public Archives of Canada. Musgrave was not alone in this opinion; Philip J. Hankin, his Colonial Secretary, wrote in a similar vein to the Duke of Buckingham, under date of March 11, 1870: " What they all try to hold out for here, is Responsible Govern; & that they certainly are not fit for. Some of them hope by that means to get into Office." Willard E. Ireland, "An Official Speaks Out: Letter of the Hon. Phillip J. Hankin, Colonial Secretary, to the Duke of Buckingham, March 11, 1870," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1949), p. 37.

An attempt to have responsible government included in the terms of union was narrowly defeated in the Legislative Council when the terms were being discussed. During the negotiations with the Macdonald Government in Ottawa it was agreed that this constitutional change should be introduced simultaneously with confederation or very soon thereafter. This does not appear to have been the work of the three British Columbia delegates, none of whom were particularly enthusiastic about responsible government, but has generally been attributed to H. E. Seelye, a Victoria newspaper-man. Seelye had been sent to Ottawa by the *British Colonist,* the owner and editor of which were prominent leaders in the struggle for responsible government and confederation, to impress upon the Federal Government the people's desire for the former, as well as to cover the negotiations. He succeeded, so we are told, " in convincing the Dominion Government that his contention that the province was sufficiently advanced to entitle it to representative institutions was correct."[3] J. S. Helmcken, one of the colonial negotiators, wrote in his *diary* that the Federal Government was not " particularly anxious about Responsible Govt." but would put " no objection in its way."[4] In a dispatch from Ottawa on the same day, Seelye reported that " the utterances of every member of the Cabinet are ' the colony must have free and popular government.' . . ."[5] It is a little difficult at this date to imagine confederation without responsible government, at least, in theory if not in fact. If responsible government were not effected, the Lieutenant-Governor would have much more power than his colleagues in the other Provinces; since the Lieutenant-Governor was a Federal officer, this would mean that the Province would be in great part governed from Ottawa. This would mean in turn that it would not be a province, in the sense that the others were, but a pseudo-province or a partially self-governing territory, not unlike the Northwest Territories before 1905. Macdonald and his colleagues doubtless realized this, even if British Columbians, to whom neither responsible government nor the federal system was familiar, did not.

The decision, however, had been formally reached, and Musgrave, the diligent official that he was, began to prepare the way for the constitutional changes that were soon to come. In the spring session of

(3) W. A. Harkin (*ed.*), *Political reminiscences of the Right Honourable Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.*, London, 1914, p. 88.

(4) Willard E. Ireland, " Helmcken's Diary of the Confederation Negotiations, 1870," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1940), p. 125.

(5) Victoria *British Colonist,* July 21, 1870.

the Legislative Council in 1871, he secured the passage of an Act which provided that upon union with Canada a new constitution, with a fully representative Assembly and a responsible Executive Council, would become operative.[6] This did not necessarily mean that responsible government in fact would be introduced at once, for that feature of our governmental system is an unwritten part of the constitution. Indeed, British Columbia gained provincial status on July 20, 1871, but it was some time before fully responsible government was established in practice.

In choosing the first Lieutenant-Governor the Federal Cabinet was seriously hampered by its ignorance of conditions and people on the West Coast. Musgrave was the logical man to initiate the new dispensation, despite his disapproval of responsible government, but he had injured his leg and wished to return to England as soon as possible to receive first-rate surgical treatment.[7] Although a member of the Macdonald Cabinet may have been momentarily considered,[8] the Prime Minister came to the conclusion that only a native could successfully inaugurate the new system, as an intimate knowledge of the Province was considered essential. Macdonald had been much impressed by Joseph Trutch when the latter had been in Ottawa discussing the terms of union, particularly since he had shown himself to be a determined and informed advocate of the transcontinental railway. As a former government surveyor and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Trutch had gained an unsurpassed knowledge of the Province and had shown some capacity as an administrator. After leaving Ottawa in July, 1870, Trutch had corresponded with Macdonald and had become, in a sense, his chief adviser in British Columbia. In March, 1871, Macdonald decided that Trutch would have to be connected with the Federal Government " in some way or other,"[9] and in June concluded that he

(6) "An Act to amend and alter the Constitution of this Colony," cap. 3, *Acts passed by the Legislative Council of British Columbia during the Session from 5th January to 28th March, 1871,* Victoria, 1871. *See also* Musgrave to Kimberley, February 18, 1871, *MS.*, Archives of B.C.

(7) Musgrave to Lisgar, April 17, 1871, *G. 20,* Vol. 137, Public Archives of Canada.

(8) Tilley, for one, wanted the position. Macdonald to Cartier, March 11, 1871, Confidential, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 518, Public Archives of Canada.

(9) Macdonald to Cartier, March 17, 1871, Private, *ibid.* " Trutch is going to England he says at Mr. Musgrave's request to push the matter through the Colonial Office. I told him that he must return via Canada so that I might be at Ottawa and settle his future relations with the Canadian Government. I said that I still felt

would be most useful as Lieutenant-Governor. There were, however, a number of factors that qualified his availability:—

I thought it best to discuss the Trutch matter in Council. Our colleagues seem to have a great deal of doubt as to the policy of appointing him, even for a time, as Lieut. Governor. It could not be announced that the appointment was only a temporary one, and therefore the effect of it must be considered as if it were for five years. They say, and there is much force in the objection, that Trutch is known to have strong opinions as to the Terminus of the Pacific Railway, and that he has property the value of which will be affected by the selection. His speech also as to the Railway has caused great indignation in British Columbia, and his appointment it is feared, might cause the first elections to go against us. This would be most disastrous.

On the whole I think we must not make up our minds to appoint Trutch until you are up here again when we can discuss the matter in all its bearings. But if we do not want Trutch as Lt. Governor, we shall certainly want him as Senator or in some other public capacity. If therefore you think it well to bring him out with that object there can be no harm in sending him a telegram asking him in general terms to come over, without specifying the object.[10]

Macdonald and Cartier, the duumvirate of the Conservative Party, either succeeded in persuading the rest of the Cabinet or overrode their objections, for Trutch was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. He accepted the appointment reluctantly and only on the understanding that it would be temporary, as he wished to play a more grandiose and lucrative role on the railway that was to be built from coast to coast.[11] Macdonald did not see any complications in British Columbia, and there were none. " He will have an easier time than you have had," he informed Archibald, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, " but his task will not be nearly so interesting."[12] Cold comfort this for Archibald, who, when he received that letter, faced a Fenian invasion in Manitoba.

Trutch's appointment was not very well received in British Columbia, although one can hardlly reach a sound conclusion by reading the Victoria newspapers, the editors of which were his political enemies. He was placed in the uncomfortable position of having to initiate a system

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the importance of his being connected with the Dominion Government in some way or other, and for the reasons given to him by you and myself at Ottawa. To this he assented."

(10) Macdonald to Cartier, June 5, 1871, Private and Confidential, *ibid.* Cartier agreed to this suggestion and Trutch was asked to come to Ottawa. *See* Victoria *British Colonist,* June 25, 1871.

(11) Macdonald to R. W. W. Carrall, October 5, 1872, Private, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 521, Public Archives of Canada. *See also* Macdonald to Archibald, July 12, 1871, *ibid.,* Vol. 519.

(12) *Ibid.,* Vol. 519.

of government that, as a member of the Legislative Council and a negotiator of confederation, he had strenuously opposed. Macdonald had attempted to pave the way and had let it be known in British Columbia that the new Lieutenant-Governor was "fully prepared to adminster Public Affairs under the principles of Responsible Government."[13] After his arrival in Victoria from Ottawa, where he had been long closeted with Macdonald and Cartier, Trutch took the first opportunity to outline his policy. He referred to his previous opposition to responsible government but declared that "having now undertaken to carry that system into operation in our Province it is not only a matter of duty but a point of honor for me to strive to the utmost to ensure its successful working."[14] There were, however, many difficulties that made inexpedient any immediate changes:—

> I regret that under the peculiar transition state in which we now are I do not see the practicability of immediately forming a responsible ministry. In the first place because there are no constituted representatives from whom such a ministry can be selected, and also because it would be a presumption in me, as I think, to anticipate the votes of the people of British Columbia by naming any one individual as possessing their confidence beyond others.
>
> I propose, therefore, as I am now advised, and unless a necessity not now foreseen should occur, not to make any such selection until the election which will take place at the earliest practicable date, and in the meantime to take mainly on myself the responsibility of carrying on the necessary current business of the country, trusting that my action whilst so doing will be favorably considered.[15]

Trutch also made it clear that few appointments would be made until a responsible administration was formed. Disappointed politicians, already grasping for the spoils of office, complained a little, but his was a logical course of action. "I quite approve," wrote Macdonald, "it puts our position in a proper light & beyond mistake."[16]

The matter was hardly as simple, however, as Trutch suggested in his statement of policy. He did plan to appoint several ministers to assist him until the elections had been held, and it was inevitable that these men, if they wished to make use of the opportunity, would have secured a head start in the race for more permanent political office. Macdonald at least realized this. He attempted to get Dr. J. S. Helmcken to become Trutch's first minister, despite the former's intimation that he planned to retire from political life.

(13) Macdonald to Helmcken, July 17, 1871, Private, *ibid.*, Vol. 519.

(14) Victoria *British Colonist,* August 16, 1871.

(15) *Ibid.,* August 19, 1871.

(16) Macdonald to Trutch, September 12, 1871, Private, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 519, Public Archives of Canada.

I can, from my own experience, quite understand that political life is not conducive either to domestic comfort or pecuniary advantage; still someone must undertake the task and make the sacrifice. I hope sincerely that you will do so. It will give Trutch very great confidence in the performance of his responsible task, if he has you as his chief adviser. Let me take the liberty of urging you very strongly in the interests of British Columbia, and, I may say of the Dominion, to come to the rescue and aid Trutch in the formation of his first Government.

Your first and principal duty will be to endeavour to get competent men to come forward as representatives of the people, and to use all legitimate influence in getting honest men returned. If the Government succeeds in this respect, they may count upon holding the reins of power for four years, during the existence of your first Parliament.[17]

This letter was obviously written on Trutch's request; he hoped and planned that the minister to be selected would become his Premier after the first election.

Helmcken refused the call:—

Educated under a very different system to that now introduced, I feel that I cannot change to suit the alteration and indeed loathe the very idea of having to become obsequious, if nothing more degrading, to keep a number of supporters together. . . . There are several here more capable than myself of advising the Governor should he require any advice. . . . I do not think that any Ministry will be allowed to do much wrong—whatever the faults of the inhabitants may be, they are sufficiently moral and highminded to stop any grossly wrong legislation. The Governor can at all events kick the Ministry out. Rely upon it the respectable classes will give a hearty support to the Governor whenever it may become necessary and nothing will make him as popular as putting his foot upon any immoral proceedings. You may be sure that I will give Gov. Trutch all the support I can, and may have more influence outside than in the Government.[18]

Following Helmcken's emphatic refusal, Trutch had to look elsewhere. Two members of the old Legislative Council were appointed to temporary positions in his first Executive Council, and he succeeded in persuading John Foster McCreight, a leading Victoria barrister,[19] to fill the essential post of Attorney-General. McCreight was the key man; in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion he commanded "the respect and confi-

(17) Macdonld to Helmcken, July 17, 1871, Private, *ibid.*, Vol. 519.

(18) Helmcken to Macdonald, August 23, 1871, *ibid.*, Vol. 343.

(19) The original Executive Council, appointed August 18th, 1871, included Charles Good, Colonial Secretary; E. Graham Alston, Attorney-General; and B. W. Pearse, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. *Book of the Oaths of Office, M.S.*, Department of the Provincial Secretary. McCreight took his oath of office as Attorney-General on August 24, 1871. For biographical data regarding McCreight *see* Patricia M. Johnson, "John Foster McCreight," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XII (1948), pp. 79–92, and her second article, "McCreight and the Law," *ibid.*, pp. 127–149.

dence of the community to a greater extent than any other members of the profession—although he has hitherto consistently abstained from politics."[20] These appointments, Trutch emphasized, were only "for the time being, and until the Elections, which will be held at the earliest possible period, admit of more permanent arrangements being made."[21]

Premier as well as Lieutenant-Governor, Trutch set his assistants to work preparing for the elections—establishing electoral divisions, appointing Returning Officers, and the like. His hands were full during his first few months in office: a number of Indian tribes were upset and threatened to become troublesome; the San Juan Island dispute had blossomed once again; British authorities decided to remove the last naval vessel from Esquimalt; and the Province was bankrupt. All attention was focused on the elections, however, and Trutch was just a little uneasy as to the result. "I think I can manage to get some decent men to take a hand in the government," he wrote, "although most of our representatives will be a *queer kittle cattle* I fear."[22]

The Lieutenant-Governor does not seem to have taken a hand in the elections themselves. Doubtless he used his influence to secure McCreight's election at the head of the poll in Victoria, thus vindicating his policy and securing added justification for asking McCreight to head the first responsible ministry. Although some candidates labelled themselves "reformers," the election saw a contest of personalities, not of parties. There were no party lines in British Columbia, and there were to be none during the nineteenth century. As a consequence, Trutch was able to choose McCreight as his Premier, and on the latter's recommendation he appointed two other of the elected members of the Legislature to the Executive Council.[23] The Lieutenant-Governor unquestionably had a

(20) Trutch to Macdonald, August 22, 1871, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 278, Public Archives of Canada. Another Councillor had been appointed a day or two before, but he was dismissed as soon as McCreight consented to take office. *Minutes of the Executive Council,* August 24, 1871, Archives of B.C., and McCreight to Trutch, August 22, 1871, *MS.,* Archives of B.C.

(21) Trutch to Charles Good, August 17, 1871, *Lieutenant-Governors' Papers, Miscellaneous Letterbook,* Archives of B.C.; Trutch to the Secretary of State, August 26, 1871, *Despatches to Ottawa,* Archives of B.C.

(22) Trutch to Macdonald, October 9, 1871, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 278, Public Archives of Canada.

(23) On November 14, 1871, A. Rocke Robertson was sworn in as Colonial Secretary and Henry Holbrook as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. Trutch to the Secretary of State, November 14, 1871, *Lieutenant-Governors' Papers, Despatches to Ottawa,* Archives of B.C., and *Minutes of the Executive Council,* November 14, 1871, Archives of B.C.

share in the formation of the Government, but McCreight was recognized as Premier and the choice of Ministers an act for which he was responsible.[24]

Trutch believed that his Executive Council was satisfactory, as honest, capable, and representative as could be expected. His feeling was not too widely shared in the Province, however, particularly in Victoria, where the editors of the two daily newspapers, both members of the newly elected Legislature, desired a place in the sun. These men, Amor deCosmos of the *Standard* and John Robson of the *British Colonist,* were individually the two strongest political figures of the day largely as a result of their instruments of propaganda and influence; both had been instrumental in securing confederation and both had fought for responsible government. The three Cabinet Ministers, on the contrary, had little political experience; all three (and the Lieutenant-Governor) had opposed responsible government, and two of them had even opposed confederation. On the whole, the Cabinet was extremely weak. There was a good deal of truth in Robson's assertion that "the present Ministers will be cob-webs for the next House to sweep away."[25]

The Lieutenant-Governor continued to direct the ship of state until the Assembly met in February, 1872. The *Minutes of the Executive Council* show that he attended every meeting, as indeed in theory the Lieutenant-Governor still does, and that he took a significant part in its work. Informally he shared with McCreight and the Cabinet the work of preparing legislation for the approaching session. Trutch was in doubt as to his own position and sought Macdonald's advice.

> I wish you would also if you please give me a hint as to how far my speech in opening the House is supposed to express my own opinions or to be simply an expression of the policy of my responsible Ministers, as I confess I am somewhat puzzled on this point—of course I know how this would be in the House of Parliament at home—or at Ottawa but are we under the same understanding here?[26]

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(24) H. P. P. Crease to C. W. Frank, November 13, 1871, *Crease Papers,* Letterbook, Archives of B.C.

(25) Victoria *British Colonist,* November 15, 1871. In addition to McCreight, the Cabinet then included only A. Rocke Robertson and Henry Holbrook. The latter was Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, but on January 19, 1872, George A. Walkem was sworn to this office and Holbrook continued in the Cabinet as President of the Council without salary.

(26) Trutch to Macdonald, October 9, 1871, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 278, Public Archives of Canada.

He later apologized for troubling the Prime Minister, but justified his request on the grounds that:—

I am so inexperienced as indeed are all in this Province in the practice of Responsible Govt . . . that I step as carefully and as guardedly as I can—and while teaching others I feel constantly my own extreme need of instruction on this subject. . . .[27]

Macdonald answered that if the Lieutenant-Governor had formed a responsible ministry before the Legislative Assembly convened the Speech from the Throne should be on the advice of his Ministers. "This is the Constitutional doctrine," he rightly observed, but "at the same time from your position you can exercise a legitimate influence in pressing upon them the various topics that should be mentioned or avoided."[28] Macdonald was a little concerned about the stability and permanence of the McCreight Administration and took an early opportunity to deliver another lecture on responsible government, fearing, perhaps, that Trutch might be inclined to play an overzealous role.

I congratulate you on your Administration. Mr. McCreight's reputation stands high, and you were very fortunate in securing him. When your Legislature meets, however, you will ascertain whether they have the confidence of the people or not, and you will gracefully accept any Ministry that may be indicated by a vote of that august body.

In anticipation of a defeat generally considered inevitable, the Prime Minister outlined the procedure to be followed by the Lieutenant-Governor.

If your present Ministry is defeated, you will of course send for the person who acts as leader of the Opposition. If there is no organized Opposition with a leader, but only a number of individuals dissatisfied with the existing Ministry, and each acting on his own hook, I think your course will be to assume that the mover of the Resolution which amounts to a vote of want of Confidence, is the man to be sent for, if his Resolution carries. Give him Carte blanche as to the individuals composing his Council and accept with perfect equanimity his nomination. The responsibility is his and not yours, and it will be for the Legislature to approve or reject the new Government.[29]

The Cabinet, ably and persistently aided by the Lieutenant-Governor, drafted a legislative policy that pleased even the factious opposition. The *British Colonist* described the Throne Speech as "an able State Paper. . . . Bold and liberal . . . loyal and statesmanlike."[30]

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(27) Trutch to Macdonald, November 21, 1871, *ibid.*, Vol. 278.
(28) Macdonald to Trutch, October 27, 1871, Private, *ibid.*, Vol. 519.
(29) Macdonald to Trutch, December 18, 1871, *ibid.*, Vol. 519.
(30) Victoria *British Colonist*, February 17, 1872.

Trutch was not unwilling to take a good measure of the credit: " I have done all I could to place my Ministry fairly before the House and before the country," he boasted, " and unless they make any compromising mistakes there is every reason to expect that they will continue to be supported as they now are by at least two thirds of the Members."[31] Once the session began, Trutch seems to have considered his essential task almost completed. At Council meetings, which he still attended, few political matters were discussed; all the work of government was being done in cabinet.

Although ineffectively led in the Legislative Assembly, the Government struggled through the session. In the absence of anything remotely resembling party lines or party discipline, the Government was dependent upon a constantly fluctuating number of supporters. Generally fortunate enough to secure good majorities, McCreight refused to accept an adverse vote as a sign of lack of confidence—and rightly so. Some Bills, obviously inspired by the Cabinet, were introduced by private members, and in this way was avoided the stigma that would result from a defeat of the Government. Robson and de Cosmos vigorously denounced this system in their editorials, and to call their bluff McCreight finally stated that any interference with the Budget would be treated as a vote of non-confidence. The Budget passed unscathed. The session on the whole was as successful as could be expected. Macdonald congratulated his officer: " . . . the Province of British Columbia may now be considered as fairly launched, with a responsible crew on board; so that hereafter the duties of Lieut. Governor will be rather of a sinecurist character."[32]

Although Judge Crease observed early in May, 1872, that " Trutch still runs the mill . . . it's a one man government still (in disguise),"[33] there is little evidence to suggest that the Lieutenant-Governor interfered at all in political or " party " affairs after the close of the session. No

(31) Trutch to Macdonald, February 20, 1872, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 278, Public Archives of Canada. The policy was as much the Cabinet's as his, in all probability, but the speech appears to have been his own. Just a day before the session began, he laid before Council the speech " which he proposed to read to the Legislative Assembly and the same was approved of by Council." *Minutes of the Executive Council,* February 16, 1872, Archives of B.C.

(32) Macdonald to Trutch, April 16, 1872, Private, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 520, Public Archives of Canada.

(33) H. P. P. Crease to the Honourable Hector Langevin, May 1, 1872, *Crease Papers,* Letterbook, Archives of B.C.

doubt his influence and advice were important and at times invaluable, but he appears to have left his Cabinet to itself. Formal Council meetings were held over which he presided, but only routine matters were discussed, Minutes of Council approved, or subjects peculiarly within his competence as a Federal officer—defence, Indian affairs, relations with Canada—introduced. In the Province, however, as Crease's comment suggests, it was still believed that he continued to exercise the power behind the throne—as well as to occupy the throne itself—that he had assumed during the first nine months of office, and that suspicion has persisted up to the present. Robson attempted to imitate the Upper Canadian Reformers of the 1830's and raised the cry of irresponsible government. The Lieutenant-Governor was accused of using Federal patronage for the benefit of his Government, of influencing and dictating policy, and using his influence to pervert the normal functioning of the political and constitutional system.[34] The Cabinet had no awareness of its proper position: "The Premier has been dancing attendance on his 'Master,' as if he were a mere lacky. There is not a Minister, who, even if he had an opinion of his own (an extremely problematical proposition), would dare to express it. And this is called Responsible Government!"[35]

A year earlier such assertions would have been reasonably accurate. But by October, 1872, Trutch was less inclined to take an active part in political affairs than some of his colleagues in the eastern Provinces. He informed Macdonald of the press attacks being made on him and took time out to point out how inaccurate they were.

> And I may further tell you that although during the initiation of this new system of govt. in this Province and up till the end of the Session of the Assembly I took of necessity a more direct part in the management of public affairs than under ordinary circumstances belongs to a Lt. Governor—during the past six

(34) Victoria *British Colonist*, October-November, 1872. McCreight did not lose sight of the importance of the Lieutenant-Governor and his influence: "I believe that nearly every person who has been obliged by circumstances to watch closely the working of responsible institutions in this Province will be inclined to admit that whilst their success is a problem which is yet unsolved, legitimate means may at times at least be wisely and properly used for the purpose of strengthening the executive. It seems also clear that a Lieutenant Governor of ability and in a position to dispense hospitality especially during the session of the Legislative Assembly might both properly and constitutionally be of great service in promoting harmonious action in that body." McCreight to Trutch, Bay 10, 1872, *Attorney-General's Letterbook*, Archives of B.C.

(35) Victoria *British Colonist*, November 10, 1872.

months I have kept carefully aloof from the discussions and confidence of the Ministry in their political or party matters being well aware that it is not expedient that I should be or supposed to be—a partizan in such matters within the Province.[36]

Trutch was, in fact, becoming bored. The office, he said, " is becoming less interesting as its duties are less responsible and give less occupation. . . . It presents no inducements for the exercise of mental energy." It was " an honorable leise becoming and acceptable " to an old man, but " tedious and irksome to one at my time of life—of naturally active mind, and habituated for years past to such exciting business avocations as are characteristic of all new countries."[37]

The Legislative Assembly was to meet on December 17, 1872, in its second session, and the *British Colonist* of that morning made its final bitter attack on the Government: " The Ministers are the appointees of an appointed Governor. They are not the legetimate [*sic*] offspring of the new constitution. They are the results of accident,—peradventure the offspring of personal prejudice! "[38] Behind this vicious attack was an alliance of Robson and de Cosmos to defeat the McCreight Administration. The Premier was fully aware of this combination of disappointed journalists but made no attempt to evade defeat. In fact, in the Throne Speech was inserted a statement deliberately designed to call forth a vote of confidence. McCreight was defeated by one vote. There was no recognized Leader of the Opposition, nor did the mover of the resolution seem to be a likely prospect for Premier.[39] Trutch at once sent for de Cosmos, editor of the Victoria *Standard* and a member of the Federal Parliament. Although the selection was as wise as any, the Lieutenant-Governor realized that he had not secured a stable government. His acute perception of the political situation was shown in a letter to Macdonald:—

There will be a grand fight throughout the Session I expect as the House is divided into three nearly equal sections, McCreight's, De Cosmos' and Robson's the latter having (to his infinite disappointment) not been included by De Cosmos in his Cabinet. Whether De Cosmos's Ministry will stand depends on McCreight as Robson's friends will oppose bitterly. I fancy McCreight will in general help De Cosmos—although on some questions he must with his friends vote against him—and if the Robson wing of the House join McCreight on any of these points as I think they will try to do De Cosmos will be in a minority.

(36) Trutch to Macdonald, October 24, 1872, *Macdonald Papers*, Vol. 278, Public Archives of Canada.

(37) Trutch to Macdonald, November 25, 1872, *ibid.*, Vol. 278.

(38) Victoria *British Colonist*, December 17, 1872.

(39) Thomas Basil Humphreys, the member for Lillooet.

"My great object," concluded the Lieutenant-Governor, "will be to maintain the strictest impartiality."[40]

This incident may be taken as the final step, the convincing proof, that the transition to responsible government had been made. The Lieutenant-Governor willingly accepted the defeat of the Government he had originally appointed and toward which he had felt very kindly; he accepted as Premier a man for whom, in times past at least, he had had little use, whom he had bitterly opposed politically, and who had recently attacked him vigorously and bitterly in the press. All this occurred at a time, it should be remembered, when it would have been an easy matter indeed to assist McCreight in a Cabinet reconstruction—an easier matter actually than the formation of a new ministry. What is notable in this period of transition is not that the Lieutenant-Governor exercised considerable political and administrative power for eighteen months, but that he ceased to be politically effective so soon. In the absence of organized and disciplined political parties, with the political scene dominated by personal feuds and factional rivalries, in a political society where few men would refuse office under any circumstance, it would have been relatively easy for the Lieutenant-Governor to play a key role for a much longer time. Many Lieutenant-Governors have attempted to do so under much less auspicious circumstances.

Using the records of the Executive Council as his authority, Dr. W. N. Sage suggested that the transition to responsible government was not accomplished for many years after 1872. The Lieutenant-Governor's attendance at Council meetings, however, has very little bearing on the subject. In theory the Lieutenant-Governor still presides at Council meetings; that is why they are seldom, if ever, held. In other Canadian Provinces the Lieutenant-Governors continued to attend meetings long after responsible government had been introduced—we know, for example, that the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia attended such meetings at least until 1873, while the Council records suggest that he remained in Council until 1876. As far as responsible government is concerned, the real significance lies in the distinction between the Executive Council and the Committee of the Council, less formally known as the Cabinet. Until Trutch formed his responsible ministry the two were synonomous; from that time they began to separate; and by the end of the first session they were quite distinct. The Cabinet had become the

(40) Trutch to Macdonald, December 31, 1872, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 278, Public Archives of Canada.

governing instrument, and the Council had been relegated to a purely formal meeting. Very little of a political nature was discussed in Council; the Lieutenant-Governor was presented with the recommendations of the Cabinet in the form of Minutes or Orders in Council; only such matters with which he was specifically concerned as a Federal officer were discussed.

This brings us to the second major feature of Trutch's activities as Lieutenant-Governor. The office is a Federal office, and the Lieutenant-Governor is a Federal officer charged with some specified and many unspecified duties on behalf of the Federal authority. For all his actions, he is responsible to the Central Government, which appoints, pays, and can dismiss him. When an administrative system exists through which the Federal Government can work, the functions of the Lieutenant-Governor, except in time of crisis, are more or less routine and uninteresting. In British Columbia, on the morrow of union, there was no Federal administrative machinery at all; even the Provincial machine was extremely loosely organized. Moreover, the political machinery of the party in power in Ottawa had not yet been extended to British Columbia, and the Conservatives lacked political contacts in the West. The appointment of Trutch indicated that Macdonald and Cartier had a good deal of confidence in him, and he became, in fact, Macdonald's chief political adviser in British Columbia.

There is no point in detailing all the work that Trutch did as a Federal administrative officer; the Macdonald-Trutch correspondence and the latter's communications with the Secretary of State for the Provinces are in Ottawa, available to all who wish to see them. His advice on the mails, customs and excise services, local taxation, Courts and Judges, and the like was all the Federal Government had to go on, and was, as a consequence, carefully considered and generally followed. The administrative burden of the Federal elections in 1872 and 1873 was thrown upon his shoulders, although he was not asked to assure the return of men "good and true," as was Archibald in Manitoba. As he had replaced the Colonial Governor, he was, in one sense, responsible for Imperial matters as well, and corresponded not only with Macdonald, but also with the Governor-General and the Foreign Office on the San Juan dispute, naval and military defence, and the pensioning of Imperial troops.

Trutch paid special attention to Indian affairs and defence. He laboured for two years, with varying success, to get the Federal Govern-

ment to adopt an intelligent and consistent Indian policy. An elaborate memorandum that he prepared on the subject was cited as late as 1920 as the sole authoritative pronouncement on Indian affairs.[41] His concern for Provincial defence began in the winter of 1871–72,[42] when the Province was thrown into an uproar by rumours of a Fenian invasion. The rumours were credible, for it was in October, 1871, that the Fenians had attempted to take Manitoba. Trutch at once consulted the Royal Naval officers at Esquimalt and worked out an elaborate plan for the defence of the capital. He succeeded in preventing the projected withdrawal of all Royal Naval vessels from Esquimalt and convinced the Federal Government that it was high time the militia was organized in the Province.[43]

Trutch's work as a political adviser is naturally of more interest, although it was much less important. Before leaving Ottawa in the summer of 1871, he had been long closeted with Macdonald and Cartier and had been informed, one may imagine, that he was to be minister of patronage in British Columbia. Soon after his arrival he assured one eager aspirant for whatever offices might be going that his opinion would be asked, he felt, on all appointments; and indeed it was. The most important appointments were those to the Senate. Sir Hector Langevin had come to British Columbia to size up the situation, and he and Trutch worked together on this matter. Langevin sent the results of their discussions to Ottawa for Macdonald's consideration in a long letter, which, because of the personalities discussed, deserves quotation in full.

> Since my arrival here, I have had a long conversation with Mr. Trutch about the Senators for British Columbia. He agrees with us that there should be one for the main land and two for the Island. The gentleman he suggests for the main land is Mr. Clement Francis Cornwall, Barrister, who lives on the main land about 80 miles from Yale, is a man of good position, a good confederate and certainly in every way the best man in that quarter. He is an Englishman and conservative. Mr. Carrall, it appears, does not wish to go into politics again. He is under the impression however that the Ottawa Government would be disposed to do something for him, on account of his share in the confederation arrangements. Mr. Trutch says that Mr. Carrall would be content and pleased if we were to do for his friend, Dr. Powell, what we might be disposed to do for him, viz: to appoint him a

(41) Memorandum by Sir Joseph Pope, 1920, attached to Trutch to Macdonald, October 14, 1872, *ibid.*, Vol. 278.

(42) *See* Reginald H. Roy, "The Early Militia and Defence of British Columbia, 1871–1885," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XVII (1954), pp. 1–28.

(43) *Papers of the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence*, File 6278, Public Archives of Canada. The author would like to thank Mr. Reginald H. Roy, of the Provincial Archives of B.C., for drawing his attention to this point.

Senator. The question about Powell is, in so far as I am concerned, whether he would be a supporter of ours. His brother, the Dy. Adjt. Genl, being an old Grit of the Brown crew, we must be careful. I shall however see him to day. He is to meet me on some other business. I shall know better after this his political leanings, and moreover Mr. Carrall will meet me at Cariboo or on my way there, and I shall also ascertain quietly from him how things are.

The third name suggested for a Senatorship is Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, our friend. He expects to be offered the position as I know by Mr. Trutch and by a letter he wrote to me yesterday. I shall have an interview with him today and know better how matters stand. He is very popular here and Mr. Trutch is very anxious to have him as his chief adviser; but the question with Dr. Helmcken just now is money. He is not a wealthy man, and has a large family. He does not see how he can support his family in politics. However I believe that after talking quietly with him to-day, I shall be able to put matters in such a shape that, should we be disposed to give him the Senatorship, he may be sure to accept it. He is the son in law of Sir James Douglas, and his appointment would be a hundred times more popular than that of the Knight Commander who besides is old and would be quite satisfied with Mr. Helmcken's appointment. Sir James comes to see me today also. . . .[44]

On September 18, after consultations with all those involved and with Trutch, Langevin wired Macdonald that Helmcken, Cornwall, and Carrall should be appointed.[45] Macdonald was in full agreement and asked Trutch to offer the position to Helmcken,[46] but the doctor refused and the appointment went to W. J. Macdonald, upon whom Trutch and Langevin had agreed if any one of the three refused.

Although Trutch did not openly campaign or intrigue in the first Federal elections in British Columbia, one may safely assume that he used his considerable influence to secure the return of candidates pledged to support the Macdonald Administration. Before the members-elect left for their first session in Ottawa, Trutch spoke at length to their leader, de Cosmos. The latter "asked Trutch for a programme of what he thought he ought to do or not to do on behalf of B. Columbia in the Commons and he was fully posted with Mr. Trutch's general ideas on the subject and took notes of the various points. He promised very fairly among others, to support the Ministry and if he only keeps his word you will find him as useful as any three members of the B.C. 'Lot.' "[47] In the

(44) Langevin to Macdonald, August 21, 1871, Private, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 226, Public Archives of Canada.

(45) Langevin to Macdonald, September 18, 1871, Private, *ibid.,* Vol. 226.

(46) Trutch to Helmcken, October 9, 1871, *Helmcken Papers,* Archives of B.C.

(47) Crease to Langevin, January 20, 1872, Private, *Crease Papers,* Archives of B.C.

second election, in 1873, he had a good deal more to do. He promised Macdonald that he would do all in his power to secure the re-election of Henry Nathan, since Macdonald seemed to desire it.[48] He also secured a seat for Sir Francis Hincks, one of Macdonald's key colleagues, who had been unable to win a seat in Ontario. When asked by Macdonald to find a seat for Hincks, Trutch asked Arthur Bunster to withdraw, and the latter, although sure of his election, did so "on my assuring him that I would acquaint you and Sir Francis that such was the case so that should you feel so inclined and have an opportunity to acknowledge in a material shape the action taken on this occasion you should be made aware who is the person to whom such obligations are really due."[49] With the elections over, Trutch looked forward to a period of peaceful repose, but Macdonald soon had more for him to do.

After his failure to reconcile the groups competing for the glory and gold in constructing the railway that was promised in 1871, Macdonald decided to create a third group, composed of members of the two other groups with a little new blood added, and grant the charter to it. To give the company legal existence—an existence that was essential before the London money market could be approached—the Government decided to raise 10 per cent of the proposed $10,000,000 by subscription. Of this million dollars, $77,000 was to come from British Columbia. Early in November, 1872, Macdonald informed Trutch of the project and asked him to get two or three people to raise the required deposit. "The Shareholders must be good friends of the Government," he wrote, "and must look forward to profitable contracts in the construction of the Railway."[50] Trutch had little difficulty in accomplishing this task. The mere mention of the railway, however, fired his enthusiasm and stimulated his ambition.

What about Joseph Trutch, asked the Lieutenant-Governor? He reminded Macdonald that he had only accepted the office of Lieutenant-Governor on the understanding that it was to be temporary, that it would be held only until the inaugural period was over, and that his services would be rewarded by high office on the transcontinental railway. The time, so it seemed, had come, and Trutch laid his position before the Prime Minister.

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(48) Trutch to Macdonald, July 16, 1872, *Macdonald Papers*, Vol. 278, Public Archives of Canada.

(49) Trutch to Macdonald, August 28, 1872, *ibid.*, Vol. 278.

(50) Macdonald to Trutch, November 9, 1872, Confidential, *ibid.*, Vol. 522.

As I understand that you are now engaged in arranging definitely for the construction of our Railway this appears a proper occasion for me to revert to the desire I expressed when I last saw you in Ottawa to be actively connected with that great undertaking in some fitting position and to recall the expectations which I was led by assurances from yourself and Sir George to entertain that I would take charge of this Government during its initiation last year and this, my wishes in this respect should be realised when the plans for carrying out the enterprise were matured.[51]

Moreover, now that responsible government was working satisfactorily, the position of Lieutenant-Governor bored Trutch. It also cost him money.

The Prime Minister was sympathetic and assured Trutch that there would be no difficulty in meeting his wishes. However, the Lieutenant-Governor took no chances and had the Federal members of Parliament working actively for him.[52] By the middle of February all seemed settled; Nathan informed Helmcken that Trutch was to become an engineer, and urged him to take the office of Lieutenant-Governor.[53] Macdonald wrote, as follows, to Trutch:—

I have gathered from you that your ambition is to be charged with the very interesting work of constructing the Railway through British Columbia and the Rocky Mountains. I have not a doubt of being able, from my influence with the Board, to secure you this appointment and I have as little doubt that the remuneration will be fixed at a satisfactory rate.[54]

Trutch was extremely pleased, as one may imagine, and planned to visit Ottawa as soon as Sir Hugh Allan returned from London. He was not exactly certain what "supervision" meant, however, and suggested that he might best "seek for an extensive Contract on the Railway for the economical working out of which any past experience would give me special facilities."[55] Trutch also inquired whether he could not continue as Lieutenant-Governor as well!

All this should not be taken at face value. Macdonald was a canny Scot, at his best in politics rather than finance. "Old Man Tomorrow" he was called, and for good reason. Who knew what the future held? What harm was there in keeping Trutch happy? What position Trutch

(51) Trutch to Macdonald, November 25, 1872, Private, *ibid.*, Vol. 278.

(52) Nathan to Helmcken, February 1, 1873, *Helmcken Papers*, Archives of B.C.

(53) Nathan to Helmcken, February 24, 1873, *ibid.*

(54) Macdonald to Trutch, February 13, 1873, Private, *Macdonald Papers*, Vol. 522, Public Archives of Canada.

(55) Trutch to Macdonald, March 12, 1873, *ibid.*, Vol. 278.

might have obtained had not the Pacific scandal broken the Government, it is impossible to say. It should not be forgotten that before appointing him Macdonald and Cartier had given careful consideration to his position as regards the railway, for it was well known that he possessed property, the value of which would be affected by the selection of the western terminus. While Nathan was at Ottawa it was unlikely that the Conservative chieftains would forget this. A letter to Helmcken suggests that Trutch was very closely involved, too closely perhaps for Macdonald's liking.

> Whom do I represent—the interests of Victoria or Trutch? That is easily answered. . . . Did I come here to spend 4 months to destroy what chance Victoria might [have] of becoming the Terminus? Our first duty is to our constituents. . . . I did not come here at Trutch's expense to advocate his wishes alone. You are one of thirteen to carry on a work for the benefit of the whole Dominion. Therefore be friendly but be *very very* cautious.[56]

The whole scheme collapsed when the Conservatives left office later in the year. Even had Mackenzie followed in his predecessor's footsteps, Trutch had nothing to hope for from him.

Mackenzie no sooner took office in Ottawa than he publicly and officially repeated his previous statements made while in opposition, that Macdonald's pledge was absurd and impossible. British Columbia was outraged, and talk of secession was in the air. As soon as he learned of Macdonald's fall, Trutch's first thought was to resign, but from this course he was dissuaded, and in fact he spent the last two years of his term as Lieutenant-Governor attempting, as a Federal officer and as an individual sincerely desiring the fulfilment of the terms of union, to secure some reconciliation between Ottawa and Victoria. While the Federal Government laboured to find some settlement of the dispute, some acceptable means of escaping from a promise that it had neither the courage nor the vision to uphold, Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General, asked Trutch "to keep the pretensions of his people within reasonable bounds."[57]

> It is needless for me to add that the Imperial Government would regard with extreme uneasiness and regret anything approaching to a disturbance of the har-

(56) Nathan to Helmcken, February 24, 1873, *Helmcken Papers,* Archives of B.C.

(57) Dufferin to Carnarvon, February 26, 1874, Private, *B 119, PRO 30/6/26,* Public Archives of Canada.

monious relations which have been so happily established between Canada and the noble province over which you preside.[58]

Macdonald, too, whose statesmanship often overrode petty political feuds and personal rivalries, urged Trutch to stay on "in the interests of B.C. and the Dominion generally."[59] Although he failed to see how he could influence the course of events in any way, Trutch did agree to serve out his term: "I shall make it my aim to bring about something approaching to a harmonious understanding in order to secure the commencement as soon as possible of the construction of the Railroad."[60]

To this task he turned his attention. Although in reality in complete agreement with the claims of the Province (and with the Conservative opposition in Ottawa), the Lieutenant-Governor did what he could to keep discussion on a sane and rational level. Mackenzie later stated that the Liberal Government received no assistance from Trutch, but J. D. Edgar, who went to British Columbia in the summer of 1874 to try to arrange a settlement, reported that Trutch:—

. . . throughout the whole of my visit, was always most obliging in giving me upon all public questions very full information, which his large experience in the Province rendered of the highest value. He also manifested an earnest wish to see a definite and amicable settlement of the railway question speedily arrived at between the General and Provincial Governments.[61]

No such settlement was really possible as long as Mackenzie reigned in Ottawa; and when Macdonald returned in 1878, Trutch had long since been replaced by A. N. Richards, an appointee of the Liberal Administration, who, within a few months of his appointment, had destroyed his usefulness by making several public statements in which he dogmatically, almost belligerently, supported the policy of the Mackenzie Administration.

Trutch was an extremely able Lieutenant-Governor. Knowing very little about responsible government, he successfully introduced that system in British Columbia, in a society where political experience was at a premium. Charged with integrating the new Province into the Federal

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(58) Dufferin to Trutch, February 21, 1874, Private and Confidential, *Mackenzie Papers,* Vol. 2, Public Archives of Canada.

(59) Trutch to Macdonald, March 10, 1874, Private, *Macdonald Papers,* Vol. 278, Public Archives of Canada.

(60) Trutch to Macdonald, May 25, 1874, Private, *ibid.*, Vol. 278.

(61) Edgar to the Secretary of State, June 17, 1874, *cited in* William Leggo, *The History of the Administration of the . . . Earl of Dufferin . . . ,* Montreal, 1878, p. 337.

system, he did as he was bid, quietly and efficiently, and flooded Ottawa with extremely sound advice. Asked to keep Dominion-Provincial relations reasonably free from hostility and bitterness, he did all in his power to do so, while his own views, if given free rein, would have led him to take a much different attitude. During his five years of office he committed no major political, administrative, or constitutional blunder. When his term expired in 1876, Trutch could look back with pride to a series of outstanding accomplishments.

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CONVICT COLONIES FOR THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Plans for the settlement of convicts as colonists in North America are of very early origin, dating back to the time before Jacques Cartier sailed for New France. When the court favourite, François de la Rocque, Seigneur de Roberval, was given the task of founding a French colony in Canada, he was not only authorized to recruit volunteer settlers, but also to send over convicts should voluntary emigrants be difficult to find. Eventually in April, 1542, he sailed from France with three ships, bringing a mixed group of freemen and convicts. After vain attempts to find a passage to the Orient, he abandoned the enterprise since no supplies nor reinforcements arrived from France and, in consequence, he sailed home, defeated.[1]

A second attempt to found a lasting colony in New France met with similar failure. In 1578 Troilus de Mesgouez, Marquis de la Roche, was commissioned to occupy the Canadian territories. His first expedition in 1584 ended in shipwreck, but he tried again in 1598. Since the French peasantry and yeomanry did not flock to the recruiting agents, he was forced to carry prisoners as colonists. Sixty of these unfortunate wretches were landed on Sable Island as the nucleus of what was expected to be a great settlement. Five years later they were rescued, and this effort at permanent settlement came to an end.[2]

Across the continent both American and British traders early hoped to make settlements on the Pacific Northwest coast. John Meares in 1789 had some seventy Chinese artisans on the *Argonaut* who were to form the kernel of a colony at Nootka Sound, but Spanish interference brought his plans to nought. In 1809 the American ship *Albatross,* commanded by Captain Nathan Winship, left Boston on a voyage to the Columbia River on an expedition interested not only in the fur trade, but also in the establishment of a settlement. She carried all the necessaries for such an enterprise, for in addition to her crew of twenty-two an additional twenty-five Kanakas and domestic animals were taken aboard in the Sandwich Islands. Had not the Indians been so hostile,

(1) H. P. Biggar (*ed.*), *A Collection of Documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval,* Ottawa, 1930, *passim;* George M. Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France,* Toronto, 1928, I. pp. 68–74.

(2) *Ibid.*, I, pp. 134–136.

there is little doubt that the *Albatross* would have planted the first white settlement on the north Pacific Coast two years before the Astoria venture, but as it was she remained up the Columbia River only a few days in June, 1810.[3]

As early as 1788 the idea of colonizing nascent British Columbia with felons and debtors occurred to certain gentlemen in England. Richard Cadman Etches, who, with his brother John, had fitted out the *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal* for trading on the sea-otter coast, was one of the first to make such a suggestion.[4] On July 17, 1788, he wrote to Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society and prime mover in many of Britain's eighteenth-century voyages and expeditions, humbly submitting a plan which he hoped Sir Joseph would endorse and bring to the attention of the Government. Etches proposed the settlement of the British Columbian coast with convicts as was being done in New Holland, as Australia was then called. He strongly believed that the Government should extend the New South Wales programme to the Pacfic Northwest, sending out a certain number of convicts—perhaps 100—with a few soldiers to keep an eye on them. The convict-settlers would have their way paid and all regulations laid down, for the colonization of New Holland would be adopted in North America. Etches candidly admitted that his interest arose from a commercial point of view and carefully added that his organization should be "given such power over the Commercial part, for a limited time as they should approve." From this it would appear that Etches was concerned, if not jealous, of the hold of the Hudson's Bay Company on British North American trade. He further urged Banks to support his programme, stating that his plan "would not only secure the complete discovery of that extensive and unexplored part of the World, but would open and secure a source of commerce of the most extensive magnitude to this Country."

(3) Anna Jerzyk, "The Winship Settlement in 1810 was Oregon's Jamestown," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLI (1940), pp. 175–181; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, San Francisco, 1886, II, pp. 130–135; Harold W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: The Pioneers, 1789–1843*, Stanford University Press, 1944, p. 29; S. E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860*, Boston and New York, 1923, pp. 58–59; "The Voyage of the *Albatross* reprinted from the *Weekly Message* of Port Townsend, Washington, January 9, 1868," in *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 8 (Honolulu, 1909), pp. 20–23.

(4) Letters outlining the proposal of Richard Cadman Etches were reproduced *in* F. W. Howay, "Four Letters from Richard Cadman Etches to Sir Joseph Banks, 1788–92," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VI (1942), pp. 125–139.

Banks listened to the Etches plan but thought that convict colonies for the carrying-on of the fur trade could not be established because of the great expense to the Government. Etches came back to the argument in a second letter dated July 20, 1788, to point out that the expenses would not be large and, in any case, a given number of convicts could be transported and maintained for as little expense in this manner as by any other means of disposal. Moreover, such establishments as he envisioned on the coast would be impossible without the protection and support of the Government. Once set up permanently, they would secure the commerce of the area and the convicts' labours would be of great service to a national objective. Elaborating on his plan, Etches suggested that the passage of a certain number of convicts be paid, with provisions, stores, arms and ammunition, and implements of husbandry sufficient to form one or two small factories. A small vessel should be appointed with a lieutenant to command, who would be granted full and ample powers to keep his convict-pioneers in subjection. This would not be expensive, and the ship could survey the whole coast and the islands from King George's Sound to Cook's River. Hogs could be brought from the Sandwich Islands, and fish were known to abound in the region to be occupied by the new colony, and timber was abundant. He felt that the two small factories with the armed cruising ship would be ample security for the whole area from 45° to 60° north latitude and would lay a firm foundation for opening communications with the Indians in the back settlements. The addition of four large armed shallops would make possible the survey of all outlets for trade from this area. Having heard that a British ship had landed in "Nyphon" and had been received in a friendly manner, Etches also suggested that these "Japanese Islands" might be tried as a market, once the fur trade was secured under his plan. In this second letter he suggested that the Government might prefer to do all the settlement entirely by contract—contracting for the passage, victualling, or even "taking the whole Establishment upon ourselves, provided we were protected, either by powers gave us, or an Arm'd Cruiser, which I presume wou'd be the most complete and ample security."

Other individuals became interested in this proposal and entered into correspondence on the subject. Two letters have come to light in the Banks Papers in the Sutro Branch of the California State Library and are here printed for the first time.[5]

(5) Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Sutro Branch, California State Library, San Francisco, Calif., for permission to reproduce these documents from the manuscript material relating to Sir Joseph Banks in their collection.

Patrick Wilson, Professor of Astronomy in the University of Glasgow, supported the plan. In a letter dated September 12, 1789, directed to Dr. James Lind, physician of Windsor, he wrote of a friend, whom he did not name, who had plans that showed "with much seeming plausibility, the advantages that might arise in regard to disposing of *Convicts* in some settlement to be made about *Nootka*—or to forward them by the way of Hudson's Bay across the Continent; and about Nootka to embark them for New South Wales." Presumably this letter was brought to the attention of Sir Joseph Banks by Dr. Lind.

Another native of Glasgow, Henry Robertson, M.D., wrote a letter to an unnamed friend, dated November 28, 1789, which eventually reached the attention of Banks, in which it was suggested that all proposals for the establishment of convict colonies in Canada should wait upon a thorough survey of that quarter of the globe to get a picture of conditions there. He pleaded imperfect knowledge of present "occurrencies," including his ignorance of the arrangements of the Government toward the troops destined for the Botany Bay service. It was reported that the marines stationed there were to be ordered home, and Robertson hoped that the Government might be persuaded to order them to Nootka, as the readiest and least expensive way of beginning exploration on the Pacific side of the mountains, while another party might work westward from Hudson Bay and Nelson River. As for convicts as settlers, Robertson mentioned the importance of the chain of great lakes occupying vast distances of the inland country beyond Hudson Bay and felt that "by them Convicts would be separated & shut in from all Intercourse on the South Side & from the Nature of the Seasons & Climate there can be no communication on the North Side not by our permission." Should the strictest custody over the convicts be necessary, he suggested that they be taken to the islands in the lakes where useful employment in agriculture could be found for them.

Robertson's high hopes for convict settlement of the western portion of British North America, unsupported as they were by any true idea of the physical characteristics of the country, were matched by his pessimism toward the New South Wales venture. He felt that Australia's wide open shores, together with its immense inland area to range over, would make the keeping together of any considerable number of convicts impossible and would prevent their being consolidated into any regular form of society. His abysmal ignorance of the North American Continent is evident by his suggestion that, should it prove necessary, the fur-traders could drive live stock from the eastern settled portions of

British North America to the West, even as far as Nootka. Moreover, with grain and live stock in abundance there would be ample provisions for both convicts and troops as well as ordinary settlers. Once a strong colony had been established, the convicts might either be kept in North America or passed on to New Holland. The prospect of trade with the Russian settlements in Alaska and Kamchatka also appealed to him. He sketched a grand design in which convict colonies in what was later to become British Columbia would play a great part so that "the several Members of our Empire might link & connect together & form a solid & compact whole, comprehending every thing from St. James' & even to Botany Bay."

While none of the plans for convict settlements ever came to pass, largely because of their complete impracticability, none the less they are of interest as reflecting the state of knowledge concerning the northwestern portions of the American Continent and the imagination with which the potential development of this newly discovered region was projected.

RICHARD H. DILLON.

SUTRO BRANCH,
CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY,
SAN FRANCISCO. CALIF.

I

Glasgow 12 Sep 1789
College

Dear Sir

The author of the enclosed printed Sheet,[6] of which very few copies have been circulated, is my particular friend, a Gentleman of the best character, and of a truly liberal and patriotick mind.

Upon his seeing lately anounced in the publick Prints a new Attempt after the *North West Passage* under the Auspices of *Sir Joseph Banks*, he has begd of me to procure him, if I could do so with propriety, some information as to the Reality of such an Expedition. His curiosity proceeds entirely from being strongly impressed with the infinite Consequence of some practicable communication with the Pacifick, in that direction, either by *Land* or by *Water*. Then his impressions will more fully appear by the views insisted upon in his printed Sheet.

As the Author is a Person of a very modest temper, and by no means wedded to his own Notions, so he is extremely desirous of having the opinions of *competent judges* in relation to any thing to be found in his printed Prospectus.

Were his views, in the main, confirmed by any respectable authorities about London, in regard to the probable Utility of exploring the Tract between *Hudson's House* and the *Pacifick* I have some Reasons for thinking that an Expedition of Discovery would soon be set on foot by a Society of Gentlemen connected wt. the Author.

Whether his views are well founded in regard to the *Hudson's Bay Company* I will not pretend to determine; but, without impinging upon them at all, much probable advantage seems to depend upon an *inland Expedition* towards the Pacifick, in the way of co-operating with those who shall explore the same Object from the Ocean—

Captain Dixon found the Continent of America lying 150 miles to the Eastward of the Islands in Queen Charlottes Sound. Captain Cook by skirting said Islands to the westward saw nothing of the "true Continent," in their Extent, and the whole American Coast from Nootka, [itself an Island] to Cook's River, to say 10° Latitude, abounding so much with Islands, may it not be doubted how far the *Main Land* of America has been made known by Captain Cooks Attempts?

At any Rate the Land Passage between *Hudson's House,* and the Pacifick is shortened 150 miles according to Dixon, and possibly might be found *much further shortened,* if explored by a Party Marching across the Continent westward.

For the sake of my friend I have taken the Liberty of insisting so much upon his Ideas; begging as a particular favour that you will take the Subject under your consideration, and as soon as convenient write me yr. opinion, and concerning Capt Portlock's voyage.

If you thought the previous topick worthy to be mentioned, or brought under the view of your friends *Sir Joseph Banks,* and *Doctor Blagden,* their

(6) This item does not appear to have survived.

opinion, and your own, of the Authors views would, I know, be felt by him as a very high gratification—and if favourable I believe might soon give Rise to some *Expedition.* But I must refer the taking of so great a Liberty entirely to Yourself—I beg you will accept of my best compliments and that you will make the same acceptation to Mrs. Lind

I ever am My Dear Sir

Yours most faithfully

Pat Wilson

(turn over)

Dr. Lind—See P.S.

P.S.

My friend has several other Papers in M.S.S. by him upon similar topicks—in one of which he shows, with much seeming Plausibility, the Advantages that might arise in regard to disposing of *Convicts* in some settlement to be made about *Nootka*—or to forward them by way of Hudson's Bay across the Continent; and about Nootka to embark them for New South Wales &c &c—

Endorsed: Doctor James Lind
Physician
Windsor

II

Glasgow 28th Novemr 1789

Dear Sir

I hope you recd. mine 25th Current as well as the parcel containing the papers for Sir J. B. both addressed for you to Care of I & A. A.—The parcel was accompanied by a letter to Sir J B from Mr. Wilson

We are apprehensive that Sir J. B. may be looking for a scheme respecting the Convicts more in Detail; but on Reflection it will no doubt occur that much Detail might be premature in any Scheme relating to a Country unexplored—It seem'd more reasonable to abide by what is touch'd upon towards the conclusion of the Canada *Mss;* that all proposals may be made with better Effect by a previous Survey of that Quarter of the World "with a view to gain a full & accurate Information of the Actual State of circumstances there." I presume it will be allowed that on the general Principles of exploring every Motive & Reason will apply to such a survey equally as to the many Enterprizes which have now for a course of years been prosecuted towards various Parts of the Earth, known & unknown, & that it would be unaccountable if after seeming to take the utmost Extent of the Globe for the Range of our Discoveries, we should be found at last to come to a Stop at those Limits which ought to constitute a Part of our Dominions, & where there would fall to us immediately & of Course every Advantage of Power & Dominion for promoting Commerce or enlarging the Sphere of general Intercourse & Improvement.—Till the proper Search is made under

the Direction of *proper persons* the utmost that can be expected are general Probabilities. Of these, I have taken it upon me to Cite same, & hope not without some Reasonable ground of Authority; & hope further that it will Do me no Prejudice with Men of Judgment, that I wish'd for the present to rest in these, & to wait for more Light & Information before venturing to offer any Specifick Plan in Detail.

Besides being baulked in Regard to what remains to be begun, my Distance from the general Centre of Intelligence has hitherto precluded me from a perfect Knowledge of present & actual Occurrencies. You will recollect different Instances of this Nature. One is our Ignorance of the Arrangements of Government respecting the Troops destined for the Botany Bay Service. It has been Reported that the Marines now there are to be ordered home. Were this true there might be a Hope that Government might be persuaded to order them towards Nootka as the readiest & least expensive Mode of beginning a Search on that Side, while Measures were taking to set on Foot another to meet it from this Side. A Party from this Side thro' Nelson River might be at Hudson's House before Autumn next, & then the Distance between the Two must be so moderate as to render their Junction practicable & certain. We are to remember that the Hudson's Bay Co. have never had above 30 Men in any one Station, & that according to Dr Smith & others they have not had at any Time 150 Persons in all over an Extent larger than the half of Europe. This is one Proof that the natives cannot be formidable. Another is that Capt. Cook found such as he met with without the Use or Knowlege of Fire Arms.

In Regard to Convicts besides the Favour of Sail & Climate (as mentioned elsewhere) let it be observed that a Continuation of great Lakes, some of them larger than those of Canada, occupy a vast Extent of Inland Country beyond Hudson's Bay. These lye to the Southward, & by them Convicts would be separated & shut in from all Intercourse on the South Side & from the Nature of the Seasons & Climate there can be no communication on the North Side but by our permission. Should even the strictest Custody of Convicts be required, it might be found in the Islands of those Lakes, which might at the same time afford means of useful Employment for them in Agriculture or otherwise. Circumstances seem far different in New Holland the Shores of which are open on all sides & in all Seasons & with an immense inland Range it does not appear how any considerable Numbers can ever be kept together or consolidated into any regular Form of Society. It would seem no less hopeless than difficult & expensive to effect every thing by Troops alone. To create a Society from Soldiers & Convicts must be looked upon as a questionable Experiment because without a Precedent. Is is not as in America where Convicts were kept & reclaimed without any Interference of Troops. This happened by those parts attracting a Stock of all the *civil* Ranks & Orders of Society, an Advantage which from the Distance of New Holld. can hardly be expected there. Thus have we to Desiderate a proper Ground of Success in that Quarter.

Within Hudsons Bay Circumstances may prove more favourable. There the Vicinity of Canada may turn to good Account. In upper Canada two

Classes of People, the Fur-Traders & Farmers may be expected to concur cordially in forwarding a direct Search towards Nootka thro' Nelson's River; & both with good Effect. The Fur-traders knowing the interior Regions to an immense Extent, understanding the language & familiar to the Habits of the Natives as well as to the labours & Means necessary for traversing unpeopled Countries would be able & compleat Guides, & the more might be expected from them, since in acting this Part instead of their being diverted from their usual Traffick & Occupations, they would acquire new Advantages for both, by a nearer & more direct Approach to China, the chief Mart of the World for Furs.

The Class of Farmers in upper Canada would likewise give and receive Benefit by becoming Furnishers of Supplies for Subsistence Stores for which might be erected by them in the Bottom of the Bay accessible to shipping. Live Stock in particular might easily be drove by them to that Quarter, to be from thence conveyed at once by Water, thro' Nelson's River to Hudsons House.

Should it be thought necessary, the Fur-Traders might Drive Live Stock thro' the interior Country to any Point desired, even to Nootka: & with regard to Live Stock let it be remembered that whatever may be the Trouble in the first Instance it need never recur again, since by providing a sufficient Number for *breeding,* each Station might in all future Times have a Sufficiency for its own Demands. A sufficiency of *Grain* might in *due time* be had in like Manner, in a Country said to be fertile & kindly. Thus there might soon be ample Provision not only for Troops & Convicts but for general Settlers, or a Colony properly constituted & thro' the strength of a Colony, Convicts might be either passed on to New Holland, or retained in North America, with much Advantage both in respect to Expence & Management.

A Resort of general Settlers for the Establishment of a regular Colony may be reckon d on as the natural Consequence of the Trade which would immediately take place on opening a Communication between the Waters of the Atlantic & Pacific.—Here seems to be the most inviting Point of Connection—the Nexus utruisq Mundi—where in Process of Time a Trade may centre proportioned to the Extent & Magnitude of both Oceans Furs offer a certain & immediate Beginning for Trade & in those we have the best medium for introducing the commodities of the East, those of China & Japan more especially for which we may have the Demand or Consumpt of the whole continent of North America.

In the Consideration of secondary or lesser Circumstances there seems to be a prospect of an Accession of Trade by a Communication with the *Russian* Settlements on the Pacific which beginning at Kamtschatka are continued all along to the American Coast in the Neighbourhood of Cooks River. We learn from Cooks Journal & Coxes History how necessitous & feeble these Establishments are & a Glance of the Map may satisfy us that the best Conveyance for their Supplies must be thro' Hudsons Bay & that of Course their Dependence on us may be what we please to make it.—Indeed a solid permanent Establishment on the Pacific towards Nootka duly

connected with the Atlantic by a Land Passage seems to be the only thing wanting to render our Authority & Sway supreme thro' the whole of the Pacific. In such a Station we shall be possessed of a fixed Point, a *Fulcrum,* on which we may be able to poize & weigh up a World. By *beginning* in the South-Pacific we are on the wrong Side & must labour unsuccessfully, because working against Nature. Our Province is the North. It is the native & proper Seat of our Strength, whence it may spread far & wide, & be every where effectual.

All this is independent of certain local Advantages peculiar to Canada to be look d for in a different Quarter, as to which the *Mss;* particularly wrote on that Subject must be left to speak for itself: only let it be observed here, that if this Part of the design should be brought to bear, the several Members of our Empire might link & connect together & form a solid & compact whole, comprehending every thing from St. James' even to Botany Bay—A Consummation surely most devoutly to be wished for, but must be wished for in Vain, if confining ourselves to such Means as are common to, & may be assumed by, every Maritime Power, we neglect those which are peculiar to us, & which may be improved so as to preclude all scope for Competition against us

Thus do we dream in obscure Corners, & while we give you who are present with the great World, an Opportunity of laughing at us, let us beg with the antient Poet

Si quid noville in rectius istis,
Candidus imperit.

Yours in haste [signed] H R

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter from Henry Robertson Esqr. of Glasgow to a friend at London to whom were forwarded the Papers lately delivered to Sir Joseph Banks.

MS. 1789
Nov. 28
HB 1:4
SUTRO

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the British Columbia Historical Association was held in the private dining-room of the Grosvenor Hotel, Vancouver, B.C., on Friday evening, January 21. The President, Captain C. W. Cates, was in the chair and some sixty members were present, including representatives from Victoria, Vancouver, Nanaimo, West Kootenay, and Boundary Sections, who were all welcomed by the President. Reports from the various sections were presented as follows: Victoria, by Mr. Russell E. Potter, Chairman-elect; Vancouver, by Mr. Bruce Ramsey, Secretary; West Kootenay, by Mrs. A. D. Turnbull, Secretary; Nanaimo, by Miss Patricia Johnson, Secretary; Boundary, by Mrs. Rupert Haggen, Secretary; East Kootenay and Fort St. James, by Mr. Willard E. Ireland. In addition, greetings were brought from the Kamloops Museum Association and the Cariboo Historical Society.

The outstanding feature of the President's report was the continued extension of the Association with the admission of the Boundary Section, which Section was visited by the President during the year, and the admission also of the East Kootenay Section.

The Treasurer's report indicated that after all accounts had been paid there remained a bank balance of $461.65. Membership rose appreciably during the year from 435 to 461, as follows: Victoria Section, 121; Vancouver Section, 108; West Kootenay Section, 17; Nanaimo Section, 19; Fort St. James Section, 40; Boundary Section, 83; East Kootenay Section, 9; and members-at-large, 64. While the latter group had declined, it was pointed out that once the *Quarterly* became available it was anticipated that delinquent members would renew. The Editor greatly regretted the delay in publication, but every effort was being made to bring the *Quarterly* back on schedule. The thirty-second report of the Marine Committee was presented by Major F. V. Longstaff.

A number of items of new business were discussed, including a resolution to continue efforts to secure the appointment of a Provincial Historic Sites Board and the endorsation of plans to commemorate suitably the centenary of the founding of the Mainland Colony of British Columbia in 1858.

The 1st Vice-President, Mrs. A. D. Turnbull, took the chair while the President delivered the annual address on *Reminiscences of Sailing Day Experiences of the Cates Family*. Captain James Warren Cates, father of the speaker, came of an old sea-faring family, who first arrived in North America in 1623 and settled on the coast of Maine. In 1862 the family moved to Nova Scotia. During the clapsed period of 239 years every male member of the family was a sailor. In consequence, Captain Cates was well qualified to discuss sailing. The sea is the oldest of all routes of travel. In the ancient pyramids of Egypt are to be found models of ships in use in pre-Biblical times. The Mediterranean was one of the first waterways. Later larger and better ships of the western and northern European regions replaced the vessels of the Egyptian and Phœnician traders. The

speaker pointed out how man's ingenuity had served in the development of better ships—reacting to the stimulus of war as in the case of the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* in the American Civil War and to the stimulus of mass migrations of peoples in times of peace. Another stimulus was the development of the first steamship: in 1800 the *Charlotte Dundas* plied the waters of the Firth of Forth. Sailing-men despised the first dirty, unreliable, strange steamers and set out to prove that sail was in every way superior to steam. As a result, the ocean packets emerged, and for eighty years were successful in meeting the competition of steam. Some of these packets achieved enviable records for speed, the *Champion of the Seas* logging 21 knots for twenty-four consecutive hours. The McKay brothers, of Shelbourne, Nova Scotia, began building their famous clipper ships in Boston, which soon proved themselves the swiftest ocean-going vessels in the world and held their own against steam until the late 1840's.

The clipper ships were aided by the California gold-rush of 1849, which provided passengers and cargoes in abundance. When that rush was over, the Fraser River gold-rush began, and once again ships were in demand. By 1866 the main gold-rushes were over, but the development of the fisheries, forests, and coal mines took up the slack in shipping and kept vessels coming to British Columbia. A new type of ship appeared, however—a type of schooner which was better adapted to British Columbia's irregular coast-line with its many channels and inlets. The clipper ship remained the queen of the seas, but the schooner was the queen of the inner waterways. Tugs were developed to aid the ocean-going vessels to navigate the inland waterways and harbours. Tugs such as the *Alexander, Mogul,* and *Lorne* went out to meet the sailing-ships and assist them into harbours. The Cates family was active in this field, developing their own tug-boat company and thus contributing to the commercial development of the Province.

One of the interesting features of this address was the sea chanties which Captain Cates sang in a strong, nautical baritone. He explained that the chanties usually had their origin in a shipboard task or event, such, for example, as that used when turning the capstan or unloading cargoes. The " Stately Southerner " described the encounter of Captain John Paul Jones' ship of that name with a British man-of-war. In addition, Captain Cates illustrated his lecture with excerpts from books, journals, and newspapers to reveal the hardships, perils, and unusual experiences endured by sailing-ships and the men who manned them. He also explained the derivations of some nautical terms. A vote of thanks was moved by Mr. William Barraclough and seconded by Mr. Russell Potter.

The report of the scrutineers was then read; a total of 179 valid ballots were returned. The new Council met immediately following the adjournment of the annual meeting, when considerable business was transacted and the following officers for 1955 were elected:—

Honorary President	Hon. Ray G. Williston.
President	Mrs. A. D. Turnbull.
1st Vice-President	Dr. W. N. Sage.
2nd Vice-President	Mrs. J. H. Hamilton.
Honorary Secretary	Mr. Russell E. Potter.
Honorary Treasurer	Miss Patricia Johnson.

Members of the Council—
Mr. H. C. Gilliland.
Dr. J. C. Goodfellow.
Dr. M. A. Ormsby.
Mr. Norman Hacking.
Mr. J. K. Nesbitt.
Mrs. R. B. White.

Councillors *ex officio*—
Captain C. W. Cates, Past President.
Mr. Russell E. Potter, Chairman, Victoria Section.
Mr. W. Erskine Blackburn, Chairman, Vancouver Section.
Mr. James Armstrong, Chairman, West Kootenay Section.
Mr. William Barraclough, Chairman, Nanaimo Section.
Mrs. David Hoy, Chairman, Fort St. James Section.
Mrs. Jessie Woodward, Chairman, Boundary Section.
Mr. W. A. Burton, Chairman, East Kootenay Section.
Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Editor, *Quarterly*.

VICTORIA SECTION

The regular meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Friday evening, November 28, with Miss Madge Wolfenden in the chair. The speaker on this occasion was Mr. C. P. Lyons, of the British Columbia Parks Service, who presented an illustrated lecture on *The Alaska Highway*. The history of the building of the road was traced. Completed twelve years ago, it was originally opened for military use, but five years ago it was opened to the public. Behind it lies a story of discovery, exploration, hardship, and peril. The coloured illustrations were much enjoyed, providing ample evidence of the great scenic beauties along the route. Mrs. J. E. Godman proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Friday evening, December 17, with Miss Madge Wolfenden presiding. In the absence of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. F. Flucke, the financial statement was read by Mr. W. W. Bilsland, and indicated a paid-up membership of 133. Other reports on the year's activities were submitted and approved. The chairman's address, *The Adventures of Captain W. H. McNeill,* was an excellent outline of the career of one of the worthies of the fur trade. At the beginning the maritime fur trade was exclusively British, but gradually it was absorbed by American traders, and by 1800 became practically a monopoly of the City of Boston. It was there that William Henry McNeill was born in 1801, and at an early age he went to sea. His first voyage of which a record survives was to the Sandwich and Marquesas Islands in the *Paragon* in 1819. By 1823 he had become a master mariner and was given command of the ship *Convoy* in the autumn of 1824. Since no *log-books* have survived for the period 1820–24, it is not possible to trace his movements, and it is conceivable that he may have visited the Northwest Coast before 1825. During 1825–27 McNeill, in the *Convoy,* cruised and traded between the Sandwich Islands and the Northwest Coast, visiting the Queen Charlotte Islands,

the coastal region near present-day Port Simpson, and Sitka and other Alaskan ports. He thus became thoroughly conversant with these northern waters and familiar with the lives and habits of the native peoples. By midsummer of 1832 the Hudson's Bay Company was in desperate straits in so far as suitable ships for the coastal trade was concerned. Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson was sent from Fort Vancouver to Honolulu to try to secure a ship and crew. There he found McNeill and his brig *Lama,* which he bought for the company for £1250 and engaged McNeill and his two mates. Soon after reaching Fort Vancouver the *Lama* and Captain McNeill were busily engaged in the business of the company. In 1838 he was given command of the steamer *Beaver.* Although he never became a British subject, he sailed the seas, made extensive examinations of the east and southern shores of Vancouver Island, and in 1849 was placed in charge of Fort Rupert, the new post then being built at the north end of Vancouver Island because of the coal discoveries in the vicinity. McNeill received his chief factorship in 1856, and five years later he was appointed to Fort Simpson, where he remained until his retirement in 1863. His remaining years were spent quietly in Victoria, where he died in 1875. Miss Kathleen Agnew expressed the appreciation of the meeting to Miss Wolfenden. The report of the scrutineers was read, and at the conclusion of the meeting the newly elected Council met, when the following officers were elected for 1955:—

Chairman	Mr. Russell E. Potter.
Past Chairman	Miss Madge Wolfenden.
Vice-Chairman	Mr. J. K. Nesbitt.
Honorary Secretary	Mr. W. W. Bilsland.
Honorary Treasurer	Mr. A. F. Flucke.

Members of the Council—

Miss Kathleen Agnew.	Mr. H. C. Gilliland.
Mrs. K. C. Drury.	Mrs. J. E. Godman.
Mr. Wilson Duff.	Mr. G. H. Stevens.
Miss W. A. Copeland (*co-opt.*).	Mr. E. G. Hart (*co-opt.*).
Miss K. Graham (*co-opt.*).	Major H. C. Holmes (*co-opt.*).
Mrs. G. M. Welsh (*co-opt.*).	Mr. R. P. Wilmot (*co-opt.*).

The first regular meeting in the new year was held on Friday evening, January 28, in the Provincial Library, with Mr. R. E. Potter in the chair. A resolution passed by the Council outlining a new procedure for the election of the Council was presented to the effect that the Council should consist of fifteen members who may serve a maximum of three consecutive terms; that the retiring chairman shall be the chairman of a nominating committee of three (the other two members being named by the Council) to present a slate of fifteen names to the annual meeting of the Section, with the right of nominations from the floor preserved. This procedure was endorsed by the meeting and ordered to be followed in the election of Councillors for 1956. It had been arranged that the Past President, Captain C. W. Cates, would be in attendance to read his presidential address as presented at the annual meeting in Vancouver, but due to the inclement weather it had not been possible for him to reach Victoria, and in his stead Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, read a paper entitled *Rumours of Confederate Privateers Operating in Victoria, Vancouver Island,* prepared by Pro-

fessor Benjamin Gilbert, of the Social Science Division of San Jose State College, California, for publication in this *Quarterly*. The threat of privateering by Confederate vessels in the Pacific during the American Civil War was a major problem for the United States Government. One such threat arose from the appearance of the Confederate warship *Shenandoah* in the Pacific. Her activities gave rise to rumours that other Confederate vessels were being outfitted at Victoria for depredations against American ports and shipping. Professor Gilbert traced the origin of these rumours, outlined the manner in which Confederate activities in Victoria, real or imaginary, caused alarm, giving rise to friction between the United States, British, and colonial governments, as well as some harsh words between British and American subjects. Fortunately, no Confederate privateer appeared or was outfitted in British Columbia waters. The only real damage inflicted Confederate plots along the entire Pacific Coast was the delay of gold shipments and additional expense to the American Government in guarding her commercial route to the Isthmus of Panama. Dr. T. B. Williams moved a vote of thanks to the reader and the author of this interesting paper.

A meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Friday evening, February 25, with Mrs. J. H. Hamilton in the chair in the absence of Mr. Russell E. Potter. The speaker was Mr. Wilson Duff, Provincial Anthropologist, who spoke on *Historic Backgrounds of British Columbia's Indians*. In covering the history of the native Indians, Mr. Duff took his audience back into pre-history. To assist him he drew from a wide range of sources—the geologist, the archæologist, the physical anthropologist, the atomic physicist, and the linguist. During the Ice Age, approximately 11,000 years ago, this Province was covered by the main glacier accumulation, and as the area was more heavily glaciated the ice took longer to recede in British Columbia than in any other area of North America. When the ice had disappeared and the climate had become warmer, large areas were at last fit for human habitation. Migratory tribes moving on foot across the Bering Strait came into the valleys of Alaska and down the ice-free corridors as they opened up. The story of the evolution of the culture of these people of Mongoloid origin who were living in British Columbia when the white man arrived was outlined. It is a story which could be as old as 10,000 years. A vote of thanks was moved by Mrs. K. C. Drury.

Mr. J. K. Nesbitt presided at a meeting of the Section held in the Provincial Library on Thursday, March 31, when Mr. A. F. Flucke, of the staff of the Provincial Archives, spoke on *The Progress of Mining in British Columbia*. The history of mining was outlined from the first discovery of coal in 1836 at Beaver Harbour, Vancouver Island, to the present day. The social effects of mining were stressed, particularly in the way in which the various mineral discoveries contributed to the development of the Province in the increase in population, the growth of towns, the expansion of government services, and the wealth derived from profits, wages, and taxes. After his address a number of interesting slides were shown depicting a wide variety of mining activity in different regions of the Province. Mr. J. H. Hamilton moved a vote of thanks to the speaker.

A regular meeting of the Section was held in the Provincial Library on Thursday evening, April 28, with Mr. Russell E. Potter in the chair. The speaker on that occasion, Mrs. John Hope, a granddaughter of the Honourable Robert and

Mrs. Dunsmuir, was introduced by Mrs. J. E. Godman. Mrs. Hope, in an informal manner, gave some interesting and amusing reminiscences of the Dunsmuir family. In thanking the speaker, Mr. J. K. Nesbitt read a number of newspaper accounts dealing with the social activities of the family.

VANCOUVER SECTION

The regular meeting of the Section was held in the private dining-room of the Grosvenor Hotel on Friday evening, November 26, with Dr. M. A. Ormsby in the chair. The speaker on that occasion was Mr. Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist and editor of this *Quarterly,* who had chosen as his subject *Your Archives.* Despite general interest in the history of British Columbia, many people were relatively uninformed as to the objects of the Provincial Archives and the richness of the collections that it has acquired. In an informal address, Mr. Ireland outlined the work of the department, illustrating it with many amusing anecdotes on the means whereby material is acquired. He outlined the function of the various divisions of the institution: the Northwest Library, which attempts to acquire everything in print written by a British Columbian, about British Columbia, or published in British Columbia; the Photograph Division, containing now over 35,000 identified photographs of people, places, and events; the Map Division, now being reorganized; the Manuscript Division, containing, as it does, private as well as official records of historical events from the era of discovery onwards. In addition to its collecting activities, Mr. Ireland also outlined the services it offers to the public—searches in response to inquiries, reproducing photographs for illustration, and publications, including, in addition to the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly,* the *Memoir* series and the *B.C. Heritage Series* of brochures undertaken for the Division of Curriculum of the Department of Education.

The annual meeting of the Section was held in the Grosvenor Hotel on Tuesday evening, December 14. Reports of the year's activity were received and indicated that the affairs of the Section were in a satisfactory condition. The speaker at the meeting was Mr. Norman Hacking, marine editor of the Vancouver *Daily Province* and one of the leading authorities on marine history in British Columbia, who had chosen as his topic *Bodega y Quadra: Spanish Explorer.* Earlier in the year Mr. Hacking had been visiting in Mexico, and in Acapulco had his interest in Spanish maritime activity on this coast renewed, for it was from this port that in 1792 the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* sailed for the Northwest Coast on the expedition that was to bring them into close contact with Captain George Vancouver. The commander of the port of Acapulco for many years was Don Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra, and later he became the last Spanish governor at Nootka Sound. He was a descendant of a famous beauty and heiress named Dona Juana de la Quadra, who married Don Pedro de Ulloa, a ranking officer in the army of Cortes, who had conquered Mexico. Quadra was born in Lima, Peru, and educated at the Royal Naval Academy at Cadiz in Spain. He was a sailor at heart and spent much of his time on the sea. In 1775 he sailed into North Pacific waters in command of the 27-foot schooner *Sonora,* reaching the shores of Alaska. Later he became the naval commander of Acapulco, which he fortified against English pirates. In 1792 he was sent by the King of Spain to Nootka Sound as governor

to arrange the evacuation of the Spanish fort under the terms of the Nootka Sound Convention, and there he met Captain Vancouver. They became good friends, an indication of which was Vancouver's decision to name the great island he had just circumnavigated Quadra and Vancouver's Island. After the evacuation of Nootka Sound, Quadra returned to Acapulco, where he died about two years later at the age of 50. He has been described as "brave, courteous, honourable, noble in appearance and charming in manner." His estate at Taxco remained in the possession of the family until 1835, when most of the noble Spanish families in Mexico returned to their homeland.

The report of the scrutineers was received, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—

Honorary Chairman	Mr. E. G. Baynes.
Honorary Life Member	Dr. W. N. Sage.
Chairman	Mr. W. Erskine Blackburn.
Past Chairman	Dr. Margaret A. Ormsby.
Vice-Chairman	Mr. Norman Hacking.
Honorary Secretary	Mr. Bruce Ramsey.
Honorary Treasurer	Mr. J. E. Gibbard.

Members of the Council—

Mr. J. A. Byron. Mr. G. S. Hugh-Jones.
Captain C. A. Cates. Mr. D. A. McGregor.
Mr. T. H. S. Goodlake. Dr. D. L. McLaurin.
Rev. F. G. St. Denis.

NANAIMO SECTION

The regular meeting of the Section held on November 9 was attended by representatives of the Pioneer Society, the Native Sons of British Columbia, Native Daughters of British Columbia, St. John Ambulance Brigade, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Sea Cadets, and Ladies' Guild of St. Paul's Anglican Church to consider final plans for the celebration on November 27 of the centenary of the landing of the passengers from the *Princess Royal*. Reports on the progress to date was outlined by Mr. George Molecy and included a pageant re-enacting the landing at Pioneer Rock in the morning, the dedication of the time capsule in the afternoon, and a dinner at the Plaza Hotel in the evening.

The meeting of the Section held on December 7 was principally for the purpose of clearing up details in connection with the very successful *Princess Royal* celebration.

The annual meeting of the Section was held on Tuesday, January 11, when the following were elected for the ensuing year:—

Chairman	Mr. William Barraclough.
Vice-Chairman	Mr. R. J. Walley.
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. A. Yates.
Corresponding Secretary	Mrs. William Barraclough.
Treasurer	Ven. Archdeacon A. E. Hendy.

At a regular meeting held on Tuesday evening, March 8, the speaker was Captain C. W. Cates, Past President of the British Columbia Historical Association,

who repeated for the benefit of the members of the Section his presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Association held in Vancouver.

EAST KOOTENAY SECTION

Although one of the smaller sections of the Association, interest has been keen in the East Kootenay Section, and through the efforts of the Recording Secretary, Mr. John F. Huchcroft, a great deal of pertinent historical data for the region has been drawn together, particularly in relation to the explorations of David Thompson and early placer gold-rush days. Officers of the Section for 1955 are:—

Honorary Chairman	Mrs. F. W. Green.
Honorary Vice-Chairmen	Mr. J. A. Byrne, M.P.
	Mr. Leo Nimsick, M.L.A.
	Mr. R. O. Newton, M.L.A.
Chairman	Mr. William Burton, Cranbrook.
Recording Secretary	Mr. John F. Huchcroft.
Corresponding Secretary	Mrs. Viola Wilson.
Treasurer	Mr. J. W. Awmack.
Directors—	
Mrs. W. A. Burton.	Mr. Donald A. MacDonald.
Mrs. M. E. Jorden.	Mr. Alfred B. Smith.

KAMLOOPS MUSEUM ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Kamloops Museum Association was held in the City Hall Committee Room on Friday evening, January 21, to hear reports on the year's activity. During the past year the museum had undergone its first redecorating since its conversion to this purpose, and much of the credit for this accomplishment was given to Mr. R. B. A. Cragg, former House Committee convenor. During the tourist season the museum was open six afternoons and evenings a week, and during the off-season it was open Wednesday afternoon and evening and Saturday afternoon. A total of 2,719 persons registered, coming from nine States of the American Union and ten other countries. Plans are under consideration to make it possible to secure the services of a paid curator during the summer months. Many additions to the collection were reported by the Photography and Natural History Committees, and it is becoming increasingly apparent that the present quarters are inadequate. During the year the civic grant of $600 was renewed, and the Treasurer reported a bank balance of $596.15, even after the renovation costs had been met. The President, Mr. J. J. Morse, in his report, paid tribute to the late George Brown, who, with Burt R. Campbell, David Power, and T. S. Keyes, had been the first to take active steps to preserve the historical material connected with the area.

Officers for the year 1955 were elected, as follows:—

Honorary President	Mr. Burt R. Campbell.
President	Mr. J. J. Morse.
Vice-President	Mrs. Earle Lehman.
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. David Arnott.
City Representative	Alderman T. J. O'Neill.

Committees were appointed, as follows: The executive officers to constitute the House Committee; Mr. J. J. Morse to chair the Indian Artifacts Committee; Mr. Burt R. Campbell and Mr. R. G. Pinchbeck jointly to chair the Photographic Committee, and David Arnott to chair the Natural History Committee.

ROSSLAND HISTORICAL MUSEUM ASSOCIATION

The first annual meeting of the Rossland Historical Museum Association was held in the banquet-room of the Bowling Alleys, Rossland, on Thursday evening, March 31. Mr. F. Etheridge, President of the Rossland Rotary Club, was present and handed the key to the museum to Mr. Gordon German along with a cheque for $100 as a gift from the club toward the operating expenses of the Association. He took the occasion to thank the many individuals who had assisted in bringing into existence the organization which will fill an important need in the life of the community. Mrs. A. D. Turnbull, President of the British Columbia Historical Association, spoke briefly in complimenting Rossland for the establishment of the first historical museum in the district. The Chairman, Mr. Gordon German, outlined a number of projects that could be undertaken. The speaker on this occasion was Mrs. A. F. Coombes, whose subject, *Things I Remember,* was a most interesting series of reminiscences of one of Rossland's native daughters. She recounted vividly such events as the powder-house explosion, the building of the water reservoir and installation of the water system, the coming of electricity to the city. She told of the mines and the life of the miners; the winter carnivals with the skating and toboggan races, hockey games, and ski jumping; the Miners' Union Day celebrations with the drilling contests. In closing she recalled the pioneers, both men and women, all of whom contributed to make Rossland a bigger and better community.

The following six Directors were elected by acclamation: Mrs. A. F. Coombes, Mrs. L. Couture, Mr. G. T. German, Mr. R. F. Mitchell, Mr. J. D. McDonald, and Mr. D. D. Martin. Immediately following the annual meeting the Directors met, when the following officers were elected:—

Chairman - - - - - - - -	Mr. Gordon German.
Vice-Chairman - - - - - -	Mr. J. D. McDonald.
Secretary-Treasurer - - - - -	Mrs. A. F. Coombes.

NEW WESTMINSTER HISTORIC CENTRE

The year 1954 witnessed considerable improvement in the administration and physical resources of the Irving House. New resident caretakers were appointed and living accommodation was redecorated. The museum room was rearranged, with the addition of a display cupboard. A special collection of Indian baskets and of birds and animals has become a focal point of interest. The exterior of the house was redecorated, retaining the original colours, and a site set aside for a proposed coach-house to accommodate the historic Dufferin coach. On June 15, in commemoration of the ninety-fifth anniversary of New Westminster becoming a port of entry, a new flag was presented and raised. During the year 1,825 visitors signed the register and an increasing number of groups have made arrange-

ments to visit the centre. Many gifts were received during the year, including financial contributions to the trust fund set up for extension work. The dining-room facilities have been well patronized, and many pleasant social gatherings have been held in the House. On November 20, in connection with the Douglas Day celebrations, Dr. W. N. Sage, retired head of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, was the guest speaker. At the annual meeting the following officers were elected for 1955:—

President	Mr. H. Norman Lidster.
1st Vice-President	Mr. William Murray.
2nd Vice-President	Miss Janet Gilley.
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. Stephen Young.

ROYAL CANADIAN NAVY MARITIME MUSEUM, ESQUIMALT

One of the last official acts of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor was to officiate at the formal opening of the Royal Canadian Navy Maritime Museum on Signal Hill, Esquimalt, on Monday afternoon, April 18. A royal guard was paraded for the occasion, with the band of H.M.C.S. *Naden* in attendance. His Honour was welcomed by Admiral J. C. Hibbard. Provincial and civic dignitaries were invited for the function and were given the opportunity of examining the material already acquired. The Museum building is itself a museum-piece, for the ten-room red brick structure was originally built toward the end of the last century to house a corps of the Royal Engineers then stationed at Esquimalt. The bricks were brought round Cape Horn from England in a sailing-ship, as were the fittings for the fireplaces. The Museum is open to the public from 10 a.m. to noon and from 1 to 4 p.m. daily except Monday and Tuesday.

Authority to establish the Museum was received from Ottawa late in 1953, and a Naval Maritime Museum Committee was struck under the chairmanship of Commander W. F. T. McCully. This action had been stimulated by the presentation of a number of historic items by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, which had been informed of interest in the area by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, who had visited H.M.C. Dockyard in 1951. A wide range of materials has been acquired, much through the generosity of private donors, and is very effectively displayed. This includes relics of such early naval officers as Captains Cook and Vancouver, photographs of early days on the Pacific station, and many items of interest from World Wars I and II. There are eighteen ship models on display and many examples of early firearms and cannon. Recently Commander McCully turned over the chairmanship of the committee to Commander C. H. Little. Volunteer curator is Mr. H. L. Cadieux, a master mariner employed in H.M.C. Dockyard as a harbour-craft operator and a reserve officer.

PLAQUE TO COMMEMORATE DAVID THOMPSON ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

On Sunday, November 7, 1954, more than 250 persons assembled near the Castlegar ferry-slip to participate in the dedication of an 8-foot cut-stone monument with attached bronze plaque commemorating the work of David Thompson

in the discovery and exploration of the Columbia River. The monument, constructed by Mike Guercio and Gino Nutini, of Trail, was erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. The ceremony was sponsored by the Castlegar and District Chamber of Commerce, whose president, Mr. N. T. Oglow, was chairman on this occasion. Rt. Rev. F. P. Clark, Bishop of the Diocese of Kootenay of the Church of England, performed the dedication. Mr. H. W. Herridge, member of Parliament for Kootenay West, performed the ceremony of unveiling and spoke on the career of David Thompson, whom he described as "a great Canadian whose life should be an inspiration to all, particularly to the younger people who are growing up in the Columbia River valley." Mr. Herridge reviewed the events in Thompson's life leading up to his historic descent of the river from its source to its mouth in 1811, during which undertaking he passed the site marked by this cairn on September 5, 1811. Dr. C. H. Wright, of Trail, then introduced Dr. W. N. Sage, British Columbia and Yukon representative on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, who spoke briefly on the achievements of David Thompson, whom he noted was not only one of the greatest land geographers of North America, but also "one of the finest Christian gentlemen who ever lived and a courageous explorer and fur-trader." During the course of the ceremony a framed photograph of the monument was presented to Dr. Sage, and a copy of Thompson's map of the Columbia River compiled on the basis of his explorations was on display. The inscription on the plaque reads, as follows:—

DAVID THOMPSON ON THE COLUMBIA

The Columbia was the mystery river of the Pacific Northwest. Captain Robert Gray, American fur trader, discovered its mouth, 1792. Lewis and Clark explored its lower waters, 1804–06. David Thompson of the North West Company discovered the headwaters in 1807, and in 1811 by circuitous routes traversed the whole main stream of the river. On his way back from the Pacific he explored from Kettle Falls to the Big Bend by way of the Arrow Lakes. He passed this spot, Castlegar, 5th September, 1811. The riddle of the Columbia was solved.

PEACE RIVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This Society was organized in March, 1952, and holds its meetings in the Dawson Creek district, usually meeting on the first Sunday afternoon in each month. It has as one of its objects the collection of stories from old-timers of the district and has been successful in securing the publication of many of them in the local newspaper. In addition, it co-operates with the Women's Institutes of the Peace River Block in the writing of local histories. It has also secured tape recordings of interviews with a few old-timers, and four of these interviews were released over radio station CJDC. In August last, at the exhibition in Dawson Creek, the Society set up a display reminiscent of pioneer days in one of

the rooms in the high school. Efforts are also being made to secure space from the Village Commission for a museum in the proposed civic centre.

Officers for the current years are:—

President	Mr. A. Davie.
Vice-President	Mrs. M. C. Simmons.
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. Alice Carlson.

Directors—

Mrs. A. Knoblauch.
Mr. D. McFee.
Mr. J. A. McKenzie.
Mr. M. C. Simmons.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Stuart R. Tompkins, Ph.D., of the University of Oklahoma, has been a frequent contributor to this *Quarterly*, particularly in the field of Russian activity in the Pacific Northwest.

D. M. Schurman is a Nova Scotian by birth and attended Acadia University, graduating in 1950 with his Master of Arts degree. In 1950 he proceeded to England for further study as a research student at Cambridge University, and from 1952 to 1955 was a Research Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, receiving his Ph.D. degree in 1955. The subject of his particular investigation was "Imperial Defence, 1868–1887."

John T. Saywell is on the staff of the Department of History at the University of Toronto and currently is at work on a doctoral dissertation on the role of the office of Lieutenant-Governor in Canadian constitutional practice.

Richard H. Dillon is in charge of the Sutro Branch of the California State Library situated in San Francisco.

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF

Rae's Arctic Correspondence, 1844–55. Edited by E. E. Rich, assisted by A. M. Johnson, with an introduction by J. M. Wordie and R. J. Cyriax. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1953. Pp. cvi, 401, xiv. Ill. and maps.

Dr. John Rae's correspondence is the first volume from The Hudson's Bay Record Society to deal with the company's long and honourable association with the course of Arctic exploration. Judging by the great value to scholarship and the reader interest of this volume, it is to be hoped that this venture will merit an encore and in due course other volumes on this general theme will flow from the archival treasure-house of the Hudson's Bay Company. From the physical point of view, the volume is well up to the high standards of printing, binding, and illustration set by other volumes of the Society. Mention should be made in particular of the two fine folding maps locating places mentioned in the text.

As the title suggests, the volume is primarily a collection of letters, but of almost equal importance is the lengthy, erudite introduction by J. M. Wordie and R. J. Cyriax, eminent British authorities on Arctic exploration. The bulk of this section, intended as a background for the letters that follow, is an extensive biography of Dr. John Rae. From this account it appears that Rae came to America, the fur trade, and to exploration almost by accident (or was it fate?). The son of a well-to-do Orkney businessman who was the Hudson's Bay Company's agent in Stromness, Rae studied medicine at Edinburgh and gained his Royal College of Surgeons licence at the tender age of 19. He accepted the position of surgeon on the Hudson's Bay supply ship for the summer of 1833, only to be stranded at Moose Factory by the freezing-in of the vessel, and by the following summer he had joined the company's service. Ten years later saw him still at Moose Factory, when Governor (later Sir) George Simpson appointed him leader of a company expedition to explore the remainder of the Arctic coast of America, a sector lying between Castor and Pollux Rivers (reached by Dease and Simpson in 1839) and a point south of Hecla and Fury Straits on the west coast of Melville Peninsula. Thus an exploring career was launched which a decade later brought Rae fame and fortune.

In four great expeditions Rae explored virtually the entire remaining Arctic coast-line and the southwest and south coasts of Wollaston and Victoria Lands, and, again by accident, learned the fate of the long-overdue Franklin expedition which had sailed in 1845 in an attempt to discover the Northwest Passage. Rae's greatest feats on these expeditions were his speedy " dashes " over snow and ice on snowshoes; from his bases at Repulse Bay in 1846–47 and 1853–54 and Fort Confidence in 1849–50 and 1850–51 he executed four such movements, often traversing better than 20 miles a day. As far as possible, the expeditions lived off the country, collecting supplies of food and fuel at the bases. They travelled lightly, even sheltering in snow houses to reduce the weight of bedding carried. Small boats were also Rae's *forte;* he used these in his explorations of 1848 and 1851 as well as in travelling to and from his bases.

After his first voyage Rae spent the winter of 1847–48 in England, and again in 1851–52 he spent approximately a year on leave. During these intervals he arranged the publication of a book, received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and obtained company approval for his fourth expedition to map the west coast of Boothia and complete the exploration of the Arctic coast. This expedition met with many delays, but during its course Rae encountered Eskimos who reported that some years earlier a large band of white men had travelled south from King William Land toward the mouth of Back's River leaving members of the party dead of starvation all along the way. At the end of the season, his exploring task uncompleted, Rae returned to England with the tragic news, substantiated by personal articles purchased from the Eskimos. His was the first report of the fate of the Franklin expedition, and after some delay Rae and his men received the Admiralty's £10,000 reward. Rae, who had been promoted to chief trader in 1847 and chief factor in 1850, had already given notice of retiring from the company's service on his return, and now he was able to carry out his desire in comparative affluence. Later he travelled to Red River (1859), Greenland (1860), and British Columbia (1864), married, published scientific papers, was elected to the Royal Society in 1880, and died in London, aged 79, in 1883.

The introduction is rounded out by a section on Rae's exploring techniques and achievements, a fine summary of the course of Arctic coast explorations from 1818 to 1839, and a history of the Franklin expedition and the search. These are useful both for the purposes of the volume and for students of Arctic exploration, while the biography of Rae, so far as this writer is aware, is the most detailed hitherto published. This reviewer, however, cannot help but wish that the authors, who display such skill in tracing obscure men and obscure ships, had devoted a little of their erudition to an evaluation of the character of their main subject, his attitude toward exploration and the fur trade and to his place within the company and his relations with the company's hierarchy, questions raised but left unanswered in the correspondence. At the very least, such loose ends as the outcome of Rae's demands for a gratuity for his fourth expedition or his relations with the company and its personnel subsequent to his retirement ought to have been discussed.

The intended purpose of the volume, however, is to present part of the correspondence of Dr. John Rae rather than his biography. Rae's letters, eighty-eight items, constitute the text, while some twenty letters to or about Rae are included in Appendix A. A second appendix contains lists and biographical notices on Rae's expedition companions. The correspondence is almost entirely with George Simpson or Archibald Barclay, secretary of the committee in London. The letters vary from brief notes to five- to twenty-page reports of his travels, these latter being the most important items of the collection. While the contents of many of them were published in contemporary journals, this volume makes them readily available to modern readers in their original form. Repetition is unavoidable in view of Rae's having to report the same news in separate letters to Simpson and to the committee, but both accounts have their value since those to the committee are detailed and precise while those to Simpson contain more personal anecdotes and comments. Most of the other letters deal with preparations for, or interim reports on, the four expeditions. Other letters, notably two from

Portage la Loche in 1850, discuss fur-trade matters—Rae was in charge of the Mackenzie River district in 1850–51—and throw much light on the organization and operation of the trade in the remote Mackenzie, Yukon, and Liard posts of a century ago. Finally, a few letters deal with the Admiralty reward and the gratuity for the final expedition.

For the most part, the correspondence deals with concrete practical matters, with few scenic descriptions, pen portraits, or even few comments on the hardships of exploration. Many of Rae's letters to Simpson, with whom he was on intimate terms, contain extremely frank opinions of rival explorers, métis employees, many of the men of his expeditions, his fellow-traders, and "their Honours in Fenchurch Street," the committee. Rae, "a pushing energetic character," was certainly not an easy man to please, and Simpson usually replied by adroitly flattering Rae on his ability to surmount such human frailties as well as natural obstacles.

Simpson's seventeen letters, many of them brief notes, show a knowledge of the intricacies of exploration which accounted to a degree for Rae's success, and they illustrate his concept of the company's role, which led him to encourage and support Rae's exploratory journeys. He was Rae's patron and strongest supporter, selecting him for his first expedition, arranging for his promotions, advising him on dealings with his publisher, looking after every request for supplies and equipment, and in 1854 even campaigning for a knighthood for his protégé. He had only few criticisms of Rae's conduct—once at the apparent failure to be credited sufficiently by Rae for his role in the first expedition's success and again on some unguarded remarks by Rae in a letter to Richardson which found its way into print. Rae's decision to retire from the company appears to have been a genuine disappointment to the ageing chief, and in later letters he offered Rae the management at York Factory or Red River if he would reconsider his decision.

The main questions, unresolved by the correspondence or the introduction, are the circumstances surrounding Rae's retirement. Monetary considerations undoubtedly played a part in Rae's timing of his retirement. Under the deed poll a chief factor of four years' standing was entitled to receive the equivalent of four years' returns from the senior employees' pool of company profits, and Rae's retirement was planned to take place on his return from the fourth expedition for, as he said, "next spring I shall have been four years a C.F. which I suppose will entitle me to the retired allowance and I suppose their *honors* will give me something extra" (p. 249).

By this time—whether a cause or an effect of Rae's impending retirement—the tone of correspondence was deteriorating visibly on both sides. Rae's letters lose something of their courtesy and display an irritability, if not quarrelsomeness, over such incidentals as the quality of wine provided for the expedition or the placing of company supplies for York Factory in his boat, while Simpson's reply gives vent to sarcasm: "I hope your Esquimaux friends may furnish you with better drink." When Rae returned to England in triumph, he embarked on an impatient exchange of letters with the Admiralty and an angry one with the committee over its coupling consideration of a gratuity for the exploration, with the results of Rae's claim for the Admiralty award. Undoubtedly there lay behind this disagreement in 1854 a long history of resentments and misunderstandings

between Rae and the committee (hinted at in numerous deprecatory comments by Rae on the committee), presumably over his devotion to exploration. One has an uneasy feeling that the correspondence might have offered something further on this aspect of Rae's career as Arctic explorer—for example, on the committee's reception of Rae's proposal for the fourth expedition, on the reason why Rae in May, 1853, already anticipated difficulty in collecting a gratuity for the expedition, or the letter to Rae of December 15, 1854, which elicited so angry a reply (pp. 290–291).

This small gap should certainly not diminish the sincere appreciation which students of Canadian exploration must express to the company, the society, the editors, and the authors in making available in a convenient and readable form such a wealth of archival material and of academic research. *Rae's Arctic Correspondence, 1844–55*, is a real contribution on an interesting but often overlooked aspect of Hudson's Bay Company history and on one of its most famous servants.

MORRIS ZASLOW.

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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

Solomon Mussalem. By Herbert Baxter King. Mission City: The Fraser Valley Record, 1955. Pp. ix, 143. Map and ills.

From One to Seventy. By D. H. Grigg. Vancouver: Mitchell Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1953. Port. $1.65.

The True Life Story of a Pioneer. By Fred McIntyre. Syracuse, Indiana: Nonpareil Press, 1955. $5.50.

In the recording of local history, as in historical writing generally, biography and autobiography may well be considered as significant ancillary fields. In so far as British Columbia is concerned, in recent years relatively little material of this sort has appeared in print, and for that reason alone the three books under review, though differing widely in interest and in competence of production, are none the less of some considerable interest.

Dr. H. B. King has rendered a real service in writing the biography of Solomon Mussalem, who for twenty-two years served as Reeve of the Municipality of Maple Ridge and took an active part in the development not only of that district, but of the Lower Fraser Valley generally. It is more than just a biography, for Dr. King had a secondary object in mind, of sociological interest, in recording something of the making of a Canadian in the first half of this century. For that purpose Solomon Mussalem was a perfect subject, for here is the life story of a Canadian born in Syria of an ancient Lebanese family, richly endowed with the traditions of his race, who emigrated to this continent under the impetus of three great forces—the lure of great wealth reputed to be characteristic of life in America, the love of adventure, and the search for freedom from the oppression and tyranny in his native land under Turkish domination. His first Canadian home was Carleton Place, Ontario, where he soon became a pedlar working out of Arnprior. Then he moved westward to Winnipeg and ultimately in 1909 to Prince Rupert, then in the throes of the boom consequent upon the construction

of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. At the end of the First World War, after a temporary sojourn in Vancouver, Mussalem settled in Haney. There he put his roots down, and the process of Canadianization began to bear fruits in terms of public service to his adopted land. This book is written in a delightful manner, is well illustrated, and creditably produced.

From One to Seventy is the autobiography of D. H. Grigg, now a resident of White Rock, who came to British Columbia in 1892 and has lived almost his entire life in the Lower Mainland area. It is naturally a highly personal narrative but has some significance in representing the activity and thinking of what for want of a better term we call "the common man." There are portions of the book that are of particular value, for Mr. Grigg was long associated with the logging industry on the Lower Mainland, and some of his descriptions of logging techniques and life in the logging camps are extremely informative.

Fred McIntyre has been for the last fifteen years a resident of Cranbrook. There is much more adventure in his autobiography, *The True Life Story of a Pioneer,* than in that of Mr. Grigg, and in many ways it is a better-written narrative. Born in Michigan, at an early age he moved with his family to South Dakota, where he grew up and eventually became a school-teacher. The lure of the sea drew him, and there is an interesting chapter covering his life on a sailing-ship from Tacoma to Great Britain by way of Cape Horn. He served in the Caribbean with the American Navy during the Spanish-American War, and upon demobilization returned to school-teaching in South Dakota. However, again the call to adventure led him to the Klondike for two years, which is related in a chapter full of interesting details of the rugged life in that gold-crazy region. Upon his return from the North, McIntyre married and homesteaded in northern Michigan, but in 1910 pulled up stakes and joined the trek of homesteaders to Saskatchewan, settling not far from Moose Jaw. There he remained until his removal to Cranbrook in 1941, and his account of homesteading experiences is told with great honesty and provides a wealth of detailed information. This book is well worth the effort it takes to read it, for, unfortunately, it is printed in cramped type, two columns to a page. Like the biography of Solomon Mussalem, it is a study in the process of Canadianization—a field so frequently ignored.

WILLARD E. IRELAND.

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES,
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Mountains, Men and Rivers. By J. H. Stewart Reid. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954. Pp. x, 229. $4.

Mountains, Men and Rivers is another book on British Columbia history. It is not a terribly exciting book, but it is filled with interestng anecdotes, some of them brought to light for the first time, which is welcome, for one of the curses of most of our books on British Columbia history is that old stuff is always hashed up and warmed over. Dr. Reid is professor of history and chairman of the Department of History at United College, Winnipeg. He is Scottish born, educated at New Westminster and the University of British Columbia, and has taught in the schools of this Province. He won the Native Daughters of British Columbia

prize for research in British Columbia history and in 1947–48 a Rockefeller travelling scholarship. With Edgar McInnis he co-authored *The English-speaking Peoples.*

In his foreword Dr. Reid gives some of the reasons why he wrote his book. One of these was the " sincere hope that it may bring to the attention of some more skilled craftsman than I am the rich mine of material for historian, novelist, dramatist, or just plain journalist, which exists in the story of British Columbia." This, it must be admitted, is a most generous reason for doing all the hard work Reid obviously did for his book. It is evident, too, that he is one of those who believes that what is needed is a first-class fictionalized history of Britsh Columbia —a story that will excitingly portray all the glamour in which our history abounds. So far most of our books have been too thesis-like; in other words, while interesting enough to the serious student and those who make a hobby of history, far too dull to appeal very much to the average reader.

Dr. Reid most certainly loves British Columbia, is fascinated by its background. His research is magnificent and quite splendid in his desire to share his research with others. In this way he is doing a very great service to the Province. He tells of the importance of men and women in the evolution of British Columbia. " The real story of the founding of British Columbia is, of course, not the one which tells of its discovery or of its exploration, or even of the establishment of government and law, and the complex machinery of modern living. The real story is that of the pioneers themselves. About the men and women who first came to British Columbia not nearly enough has been said. For example, pages and pages have been written describing the establishment of law in the new colony, but the whole story could probably better be told by a few words about the chief law enforcer, Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, and a few more about one of the best-known law-breakers, the notorious Ned McGowan." This is quite true, for no history book can be made truly exciting, made to come to life, unless it is filled with flesh and blood, with the goings and the comings and the daily doings of human beings, what they were like, how they lived—all this painted in words before a massive backdrop of the times in which they lived. Readers of books are human beings, and they are first and foremost interested in other human beings. Men and women who lived a century ago must live again through the skill of the writer's words.

Dr. Reid does a very good job of bringing to the fore, if not to life, the pioneers of British Columbia, and he tells of them simply and sympathetically, if not thrillingly. His is a quite pedestrian way of presenting these pioneers, proving once more that pioneers to live for everyone must be cleverly fictionalized. One of his chapters is " The Founding Fathers—and a Mother or Two," and here are mentioned many of those who helped put British Columbia on its feet.

The author, who has studied much of this Province's past, is unbounded in his appreciation of those who laboured here and have gone: " The pages of pioneer history in British Columbia are filled with the names of thousands of others, of men and women who travelled the road to the gold fields, met varying fortune there, and lived to establish a new Canadian province. They had to face the mountains which dominate the whole of its area; they had to run the rivers which provided the only convenient passes through these mountains. In scaling those

mountains, and taming those rivers, the pioneers had written a story so full of romance, so rich in human interest that it should be told again and again, and yet again."

Dr. Reid pays a tribute to the staff of the Provincial Archives, and all those who have been helped there will whole-heartedly agree: "In my experience, I have found no better organized, better administered, and more generally helpful provincial archives department than that of British Columbia." *Mountains, Men and Rivers,* while by no means in the best-seller class, which does not necessarily mean that a best seller is always a good book, certainly deserves a place on the shelves of those who have a British Columbia section in their libraries.

VICTORIA, B.C. JAMES K. NESBITT.

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