THE BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 1938

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Published by the Archives of British Columbia
in co-operation with the
British Columbia Historical Association.

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.

Subscriptions should be sent to the Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C. Price, 50c. the copy, or $2 the year. Members of the British Columbia Historical Association in good standing receive the *Quarterly* without further charge.

The
BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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

VOL. II. VICTORIA, B.C., OCTOBER, 1938. No. 4

CONTENTS.

CAPTAIN EVANS OF CARIBOO.*

No one of British Columbia's forgotten men is more worthy of remembrance than Captain John Evans, who led a band of adventurers from Wales to Cariboo in the early days of our history. His title of " Captain " was one of courtesy, for he was never in the army and never did he command a ship. " Captain " he was to the men he led to the Pacific, because he was their chief, and " Captain " he was thereafter to the good people of Cariboo, who had a great affection for him, and gave him the highest position in their power to bestow, electing him and re-electing him as their representative in the Legislature of the Province.

His early life and experiences in no way fitted him to be a pioneer in a rough Western mining camp. He was born in the village of Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, in North Wales, on January 15, 1816,[1] and grew up to manhood there. In his early life he was in the employ of a firm of cotton manufacturers in Manchester. His close associate in the business, and particular friend, was Henry Beecroft Jackson. When the original partners in the business wished to retire they offered it to the two young men at a comparatively low price and on easy terms of payment. Evans could not see his way to take the chance. He had some considerable savings and feared their loss. Jackson was bolder than his friend and accepted the offer alone. In a few years he became wealthy, but the friendly relations between the two remained as strong as ever.

On the retirement of the original partners, Evans left the business and, with his family of growing children, removed to Tremadoc in Carnarvonshire. He was a patriotic Welshman and was afraid that if he remained in Manchester his children would not be able to speak good Welsh, and he wished them to have all the advantages of a purely Welsh background. In his new home he became interested in some small quarries, and this seems to have been all the acquaintance he had at any time with

* The presidential address to the Vancouver Section of the British Columbia Historical Association, October 3, 1938.

(1) *Canadian Parliamentary Companion*, 1879, p. 397.

mines and mining before coming to Cariboo. He was a deeply religious man, and members of his family tell us that his greatest ambition was to find at least one good mine, in order that he might give all the profit accruing therefrom for the support of Booth Street Welsh Congregational Chapel, in Manchester, an organization which he had been instrumental in founding while a resident of that city.

In 1858 and succeeding years word went abroad throughout the world that in an unknown country, under the British flag, on the North Pacific Coast of North America, there had been great discoveries of gold, and that people from all countries were flocking there to make their fortune. Some of the lucky people had come from Wales. Why should not others fare as well? Evans would not have been true to his Welsh blood if he had not longed for an adventure in the search for gold.

He talked the whole matter over with his old friend Jackson, who lent a friendly ear. No doubt his friend was attracted by the idea of having some interest in such a scheme, and he also wished to aid his old friend Evans. Whatever his motive, he offered to finance the project for two years. Evans was to select the men—respectable, God-fearing Welsh miners—to go with him to Cariboo. All profits were to be divided; half to the men in equal shares, the other half to be equally divided between Evans and Jackson.

Evans was delighted to accept Jackson's offer, and set to work without delay to select his men. Some he chose from the residents of Carnarvonshire, the balance were taken from Flintshire. Among the former was Taliesin Evans, the Captain's son. All the men selected were of good standing in the communities in which they lived.

Arrangements for the voyage were soon made. The men were to go by sailing ship, around Cape Horn. On December 22, 1862, they left Liverpool on the *Rising Sun*. Evans himself went by the shorter route via Panama and San Francisco, and did not leave Liverpool until February 17, 1863.

In San Francisco he met Mr. Nind, one of the Gold Commissioners in the Cariboo District, who was there on vacation. On his advice Evans spent ten days visiting some of the placer mines of California. In his first letter to Jackson, with whom

he kept a continuous correspondence, all of which he carefully copied into a letter-book which is now preserved in the Provincial Archives, Evans naively tells how he "started off to Sonora where the whole country is being worked by hydraulic and what is called *Plaza* mining, viz., river washing"—an entry which shows that it is no exaggeration to say that he knew nothing about gold-mining.

Evans arrived at Esquimalt on April 15, 1863. Immediately after his arrival he called on Messrs. Janion, Green & Rhodes, Mr. Jackson's agents in Victoria. As the head of a mining expedition and presumably backed by English capital, he found many willing and anxious to deal with him. One offered him an interest in a silver-mine at Hope; another suggested a copper-mine on the Queen Charlotte Islands; and a third a copper prospect at Cowichan. None of these appealed to him. He was after gold, although he was somewhat attracted by the silver-mine, and later, when convenient, visited it. Gold was the only mineral which had any great fascination for him. He met Governor Douglas, "a very fine shrewd old gentleman," he says, and many other Government officials. Mr. Nind, who had returned to the Colony, called his attention to a placer property near Quesnellemouth (now Quesnel) which was more to his liking.

On the advice of Mr. Rhodes, he took a trip into the Interior while waiting for his men to arrive. He bought a saddle-horse for the journey. The usual route to Cariboo at that time was via Harrison River and Lake, and across to the Fraser River at Lillooet. The road through the Fraser Canyon was at that time under construction, however, and the work was so far advanced that a man on horseback or a pack-train, by using Indian trails between the parts already built, could get through. Evans took this route on this, his first trip to Cariboo.

He crossed to New Westminster and took passage on a stern-wheel river steamer, the *Reliance*, for Yale. His horse went through to Yale, but he himself stopped at Hope to investigate the silver-mine which had been called to his attention while in Victoria. Here he remained over Sunday. There being no other religious services, he attended the Episcopal Church. Newly arrived from the Old Country, with its sharp division between

religious sects, he was astonished to learn that the greater proportion of its supporters were non-Anglicans, or as he says, "outside the pale." He visited the silver-mine, but as he does not mention it again, he evidently thought little of it. He then went on by canoe to Yale.

He left Yale on April 27, by the new road up the Canyon. It was passable for 7 miles, and then he was compelled to follow an Indian trail for some distance. He reached Lytton on the 29th. From that point he followed the Thompson River for 29 miles, and then turned north over the "Old Trail" passing through what is yet called "Venables Valley," in which one Captain Venables lived. The Captain could give him no food, but hospitably allowed him to spread his blankets and sleep on the shanty floor. Luckily for him, he had a few biscuits in his pocket, which did something to assuage the pangs of hunger.

He got to Clinton by May 3, and left on the 4th. Of the night of that day he says:—

Stopped at a tavern in a wild forest of about 50 miles in length. Scarcely ever trod by a white man until the waggon road was made & slept in our blankets on some sticks; nothing for the horses to eat but barley which was 45 cents per pound.

On the 6th he reached Lac la Hache, where there were several settlers. On the 7th he came to Williams Lake. Of this place, now a thriving town, he says:—

Reached Williams's Lake, the upper end of which is intended as the site of a future town. Pretty place, good land but very limited. This is the last resting place for the miners before leaving for the Mountains of Cariboo. This morning I had to pay 2 dollars for re-setting 2 horse shoes—no grub to be got under $1.50 per meal.

On the 8th he reached Alexandria. Let him tell the sad story of that day in his own words:—

Left for a journey of 36 miles through forest almost impassible from fallen trees, bog and marshes nearly the whole distance—reached Alexandria opposite Fort Alexander one of the Hudson's Bay Coy's posts, a most miserable looking place.

He sent his horse back from this point to be kept at Soda Creek while he went north on the little steamer *Enterprise*. He reached Quesnel on the 10th. He was in a wretched condition from drinking alkali water, and after the long trip from Hope

under conditions to which he was unaccustomed. He found the surroundings at Quesnel unbearable. He says:—

Reached our destination evening of the 10th on which I was taken very ill; having had the third attack of Diarhea caused by the water—and having to listen to the vilest language a man could utter. O! how I longed for home today to go to the house of prayer.

While there he investigated the "Rich Bar" in the Fraser to which his attention had been called by Mr. Nind. It was thought to contain a large amount of gold, but to work it properly would require the construction of a ditch 7 miles in length, or, by tunneling through a mountain, 3 miles. The expense of this would be about $30,000 and this, together with the fact that 900 feet of the best part of the bar had already been granted to others, determined him to let it alone. He did not go to Barkerville on this trip, but returned to Victoria via the Harrison Lake route, arriving on May 27.

The *Rising Sun* had not arrived, so he inspected the copper prospect at Cowichan, but did not find it attractive. On June 11 the ship arrived with all on board well and happy after a pleasant voyage.

Before he left Victoria with his men, Evans had a long conference with Governor Douglas and his advisers as to mining matters. The discussion was mainly directed to the mining laws of the Mainland Colony. Under the law as it then stood, no one could mine on Crown lands unless he were the holder of a Free Miner's certificate issued by a Gold Commissioner. Any one holding such a certificate could stake a claim on unoccupied Crown lands and mine thereon, but by law no person could hold more than two claims at the same time. As two claims would give insufficient scope for the operations Evans had in mind, he would be compelled to record the additional claims required in the names of other members of his party—that is to say, in the names of his employees. If a claim were taken up in the name of an employee, however, such employee appeared on the record as its holder and could dispose of it at will, even though the fees for the certificate and for recording the same on the books of the Gold Commissioner had been paid by the employer. This he pointed out to the Governor, and suggested that, if this remained the law, it would be difficult to obtain English capital for mining development, for under these conditions, the investor would be

at the mercy of his workmen, as they could sell what really belonged to the employer, no matter what agreements had been made. He showed the Governor the contracts with his men so that it could be seen that no advantage was being taken of them. The Governor was surprised at the liberality with which they were being treated. Evans evidently put his suggestions very forcibly, for he says:—

In the face of all this, I asked him if he thought it either wise or prudent in us allowing the men to have control, further I remarked, if we were not protected, I felt myself in duty bound to acquaint the public at home of the state of affairs which would put a stop to any influx of capital from there, I dealt most unmercifully on the laws as they are & their shortcomings, which I found after the interview was over has Gauled the Attorney General [George Hunter Cary] very much as he was the framer of them.

The Governor requested Evans to write him an official letter, and assured him that his suggestions would receive his careful attention. In collaboration with Mr. Rhodes, Evans "concocted," as he says, a letter setting out his views, and delivered it to the Governor before leaving Victoria. Notwithstanding his aggressive attack on the mining laws no amending legislation followed. On the other hand, it was pointed out to him that the Governor had unlimited power, under section XI. of the "Gold Fields Act, 1859," to grant *leases* of Crown lands for mining purposes, and that an application for a lease of any available property would be favourably considered.

What Evans did when he reached Cariboo, therefore, was to look about for ground in a favourable location not already taken. He had a warm welcome from those operating on Lightning Creek. They were anxious for him and his party to remain there, and by readjusting the abandoned claims and those being worked, they were able to secure for him 2,500 feet on the creek, clear of any claims. Evans thereupon applied for a lease for five years of this territory, including the water rights thereon and the hillsides, and this was granted.

On June 16 Evans and his party left Victoria for the mines. As he knew from his experiences on his first trip to Quesnel that the Canyon route was not yet practicable for a large body of men, with their supplies, they followed the usual route of that time, by Harrison Lake, to Lillooet.

The trip to Cariboo was long and tiresome, the roads bad, and the mosquitoes abominable; but as this story deals only with Captain Evans, rather than with the men as a body, we will not go into particulars except as to Evans himself. Another party travelled with them as far as Lillooet. It was headed by another Evans, Rev. Dr. Ephraim Evans, first Superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodists in British Columbia. It was a delight to Evans' party, all religious men, to have their company. On three successive Sundays the good Doctor held services, at Tenas Lake, in the bush, and at Lillooet. At the first two places, Dr. Evans' party and the Welshmen made up the whole congregation. At Lillooet the men, of their own volition, after the evening service, went to an Indian camp in the vicinity and held a prayer-meeting there. Neither Captain Evans nor the Reverend Doctor knew anything about the matter until they heard the men singing in the distance.

Rev. Dr. Evans deserves a word in passing. He was one of the first four pioneer Methodist missionaries who were sent out to the Pacific Coast. He arrived at Victoria in February, 1859, and worked in Victoria. Later he was appointed Superintendent of Missions in the Far West. He returned to Ontario about 1868 and lived there until his death in 1892.

In 1869 he was the pastor of a church in Hamilton. In that year a Methodist Minister, Rev. W. G. Campbell, of Dublin, Ireland, was making a tour of the United States and Canada. On March 28 of that year he was in Hamilton and occupied Dr. Evans' pulpit. Evidently the good Doctor looked back at his sojourn in the West as his great adventure, and took delight in recalling his experiences there. Mr. Campbell heard them with much interest. He says in his book, written on his return to Ireland:—

I was much delighted with Dr. Evans' apostolical labours in British Columbia for many years. . . . Of him and his colleagues it may truly be said, they endured hardness among wilds, and wastes, and solitary places, natural and moral.[2]

To relate the experiences of the Welsh miners on their trip north, or their experiences in mining on Lightning Creek, would make this article entirely too long. That is another story. Suf-

(2) Rev. W. G. Campbell, *The New World*, London, 1870, p. 133.

fice it to say that they reached their destination on July 21, after a laborious journey of five weeks. Here they remained mining for two years, at the end of which they had recovered gold to the value of $450 at an expense of over $26,000. The expedition then disbanded. Some of its members went back to Wales, some remained in British Columbia.

Hardly had the adventurers got settled in Van Winkle, when Captain Evans was requested to run as a candidate for the British Columbia Legislature. The first election in the Crown Colony of British Columbia (the Mainland was then a separate colony from Vancouver Island), was held during the winter of 1863. The Legislative Council, as it was then called, consisted of fifteen members: five Government officials, five magistrates, and five members elected by the residents of five electoral districts. Cariboo was allowed two representatives, one for Cariboo East, and the other for Cariboo West, in which were situated Stanley and Van Winkle, where the Welsh adventurers were living.

The old letter-book gives an interesting and amusing account of the election. On November 28, 1863, W. G. Cox, Gold Commissioner for the area, notified Captain Evans that a member was to be elected for Cariboo West on December 12, polling to be at Quesnel and Van Winkle. On December 6, a public meeting was held at the latter point to nominate a candidate for the riding. In his absence, Captain Evans was the unanimous choice of the meeting. The next day delegates from the meeting came to his camp, reported the action which had been taken by the voters, and pressed him to accept the nomination.

After taking a day to think it over, Evans accepted. Writing to Mr. Jackson about the matter, he set out at length the reasons which had decided him to do so. He said:—

> After considering that I had to go to Victoria during the winter, and the session would be a short one & no extra travelling expenses having to be incurred & the vast importance to ourselves would be a change in the Mining Laws, which, if returned I intend to propose, & their promises to carry on the election without troubling myself, I consented. . . . The same evening, they, unknown to me raised a subscription among themselves to defray the expenses of two electors to go down to Quesnellemouth to canvass for me.

He immediately wrote an address to the electors, and two men left Van Winkle with it for Quesnel. The other candidates were

Dr. A. W. S. Black, of Barkerville, and a Mr. Nelson, a French-Canadian.

The voting was by open voting and apparently every one who asked leave to vote was allowed to do so, including Chinamen. Voters' lists were conspicuous by their absence.

At Van Winkle, where Evans was known, the vote was overwhelmingly in his favour: Black 3, Evans 50, Nelson 0.

But what happened at Quesnel? Let Evans himself tell the sad story:—

> When the news came up from the Mouth [Quesnellemouth] we found that the two men who were nominated my agents there got on a spree in going down and only reached there the evening previous to the election, so that they had not the opportunity of doing anything if they tried, much less had the electors, as it was found afterward they [the canvassers] were bought over by Dr. Black with drink. Only 4 voted for me there, who only came to know of my being a candidate in the afternoon. Dr. Black polled 127, but Mr. Cox, who is the returning Officer, struck out all the votes of Chinamen.

As the official record shows Dr. Black's majority was 69, and Captain Evans' figures show a majority of 76, the Chinese votes struck out must have numbered 7. So ended Captain Evans' first appearance in the political world.[3]

After the failure of this venture Evans remained in Cariboo, seeking riches in the mines. Like so many others he felt that he would sometime strike it rich in one of his claims.

In 1872 he was working on a group of claims on Antler Creek, east of Barkerville. By 1873 he was beginning to fear that they were not going to turn out as he had anticipated, and that he would lose the $1,600 he had expended on them. However, he had other claims on Davis Creek, a tributary of Lightning Creek, and he was sure that they would be all right, " some day."[4] The last we hear of his mining claims is in November, 1875, when he

---

(3) Judge Howay states (*British Columbia*, II., p. 170) that the election in Cariboo West was not held until after the proclamation dated December 28, 1863—which constituted the first Legislative Council and named its members, with the exception of the member for Cariboo West—was issued by Governor Douglas; but the Evans letter-book shows that the election was held *before* the proclamation was issued, though the results had not reached the Governor.

(4) Captain Evans to his children in Wales, October 9, 1873 (Archives of B.C.).

says that he has several claims, but he does not know whether they will turn out to be anything or not.[5] Evidently his fears were well founded.

But mines were but a small part of his life. He was more interested in other things. He found himself living in a community in which religion and morality were, with many, almost forgotten. At Barkerville, on Sunday, gambling, swearing, and other vices reigned unchecked.[6] Of course there were others who deplored the condition of things, but they were too few to force a change. This state of affairs is not to be wondered at when we consider conditions in other mining camps in the West at the time. Of all these camps, Barkerville was the most isolated from civilization. In it a heterogeneous mass of humanity had come together from all parts of the world. Even in such surroundings Evans never faltered. In Cariboo as in Wales he was still the same old stalwart Puritan. By precept and example he preached the religion and morality of his faith. He did all in his power to better the conditions of his new home. Especially he watched over his fellow Welshmen in Cariboo. As early as 1866 he had induced a few of them to gather together a few dollars and build a small hall in Barkerville, to be used for religious and literary purposes, on a lot granted for that purpose by Gold Commissioner Cox. This was called "Cambrian Hall," and religious services were held therein until it was destroyed in the fire of 1868.[7] The neighbours of the hall before the fire cannot have been pleasant to Evans, for it appears from the *Cariboo Sentinel* for September 22, 1868, that its next-door neighbour was Nathan's saloon, while Fasenaro's saloon faced it across the narrow street.

The promoters of the building had failed to obtain the title to the land on which it had been built, and there were those who coveted its location, both before and after the fire, and, through every new appointee of the Government, endeavoured to obtain possession of it. Now that the fire had destroyed the Welsh hall it seemed an opportune time to secure the site for a saloon. The

(5) Captain Evans to his daughter, November 6, 1875 (Archives of B.C.).

(6) R. C. Lundin Brown, *Klatsassan, and other reminiscences of missionary life in British Columbia*, London, 1873, p. 186.

(7) *Cariboo Sentinel*, June 11, 1868 (letter signed "J. F.").

Welsh people were determined to keep it and to rebuild their building. They started at once to collect money for that purpose. In spite of this, some one else actually started construction on the lot. Evans went on the war-path at once. He wrote a letter to Chartres Brew, the resident magistrate at Barkerville, on March 2, 1869, in which he recounted the granting of the lot to the Welsh people of Cariboo by Mr. Cox. He pointed out that although no legal title was given, a solemn promise was made that they should not be molested or disturbed; that notwithstanding this, several attempts had been made during the residence of each succeeding magistrate to dispossess them of a large portion of it. He continues:—

> Some have gone so far as to commence building in such a manner as to completely block up the entrance to the Hall, thereby rendering it nothing less than back premises to a saloon and something worse.
>
> Owing to these disturbances, several applications have been made to obtain a title to the site and the only answer received to either of them was one from Hon. Mr. Trutch stating they were going to write to Mr. Cox to Kootenay for explanation.
>
> The building referred to was the only Protestant place open for religious purposes throughout Cariboo during a period of two to three years, it was also entirely unsectarian.[8]

His request for title was duly granted, the intruders ejected, and a new Cambrian Hall erected on the old site.[9] But due to the gradual failure of the mines and the consequent decrease of the population, it failed to be of permanent value. Notwithstanding this, Evans did all that was possible. In 1872 we find him writing to his family in Wales about his work. He longs to be back in his old home. He says:—

> I am longing to meet again in the house of God. There is English Preaching in one chapel, but is so dry and formal that I feel very little edified when I get an opportunity to attend. The Welsh have ceased to hold their meetings for some time, we are so scattered. Previous to that I used to attend monthly from Davis Creek, a distance of fifteen miles to deliver a lecture on various subjects having a moral and religious tendency.[10]

A failure he may have been as a miner, but the "gray-headed old man," as he called himself, kept the affection and esteem of

---

(8) Captain Evans to Chartres Brew, March 2, 1869 (Archives of B.C.).

(9) J. W. Trutch to Chartres Brew, November 1, 1869 (Archives of B.C.).

(10) Captain Evans to his children in Wales, May 2, 1872 (Archives of B.C.).

the people of Cariboo. In 1875, at the first election in British Columbia where the voting was by ballot, he was again nominated as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly of the Province, in company with the Premier, George Anthony Walkem, and A. E. B. Davie, later also Premier. This time there were no accidents as in 1863, and he was elected. In his address to the electors he stated that he was not an opponent of the " present " Government (the Walkem Government), and that

> So long as they strive to serve the country faithfully and impartially, they will receive my warmest support. At the same time, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I am nó party man, but claim, if elected, the privilege of judging of every measure or motion that may be submitted to the House on its merits, rendering no servile support, nor offering any factious opposition.

In his address he pointed out further that he was in favour of the effort being made by the Walkem Government to get the Dominion Government to carry out its engagement to build a transcontinental railway. He was opposed to any monopolies, and was of the opinion that the best way to promote the prosperity of the farmers was to foster the mining industry.[11]

He was very proud of his success, both for the compliment which the people of Cariboo had paid him by electing him as their member, and also for the monetary reward which accompanied it, which, no doubt, he needed very much at that time. He writes to his daughter and tells her that he feels he would not lose by it, for

> As I am entitled to one shilling a mile travelling expenses, it is nearly 600 miles including land and water which will be about $300.00 going and coming and $400.00 for the session.[12]

He attended the three sessions of the Assembly in 1875, 1876, and 1877, and took an active part in the proceedings. The votes show that he supported the Walkem Government until its fall in April, 1876. Mr. A. C. Elliott then became Premier. Although Walkem was after that time in opposition, Evans remained loyal to him and continued to vote with him until the dissolution of the House in 1878.

---

(11) *Cariboo Sentinel*, October 16, 1875.

(12) Captain Evans to his daughter, November 6, 1875 (Archives of B.C.)

He made one speech in 1876 which was a source of pride to him. In a letter written to his family in January of that year he tells the story:—

I have been down here [in Victoria] since 8th December [1875] attending the Provincial Parliament and I have spoken already several times, and the last time created a furore. It was a very important debate of two days duration on the policy of the Government—although not the most eloquent by any means but it was the most telling speech of the debate and I received an ovation both from the Gallery and the House and received the warmest thanks of the Ministry and when I made my appearance in the House yesterday I was cheered.[13]

From the *Journals* of the House it appears that the debate referred to was that of January 24 and 25, 1876, in which the Walkem Government was defeated.[14]

The Legislative Assembly was dissolved on April 12, 1878, and a general election held in May. Evans was again a candidate with Mr. Walkem and Mr. George Cowan, a miner of Conklin Gulch, as his associates. All were elected. The Elliott Government was defeated and Mr. Walkem was again Premier. In the first and only session held thereafter in his lifetime, Evans continued to be Mr. Walkem's faithful supporter.

He was married three times. His first wife, whom he married in 1840, was Martha, daughter of John Evans, of Denbighshire. She died young. In 1842 he married Ann, daughter of Edward Thomas, of Denbighshire, who was living when he came to British Columbia, but died in 1866. On April 24, 1877, at Victoria, he married his third wife Catherine Jones (possibly, from the name, a Welsh woman, though she came to British Columbia from California) who survived him.[15]

His married life with his third spouse was a source of happiness to him. In 1878 he wrote to his daughter in Wales that he had not been able to bring his wife with him to Victoria as travel was so difficult. In this letter he says of her:—

We have had good health and I am happy to be able to say that I have been again blessed with a good wife, pious, industrious and extremely kind.

(13) Captain Evans to his family, January 29, 1876 (Archives of B.C.).

(14) *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1876, p. 15.

(15) Victoria *Colonist*, April 26, 1877.

He was still staking and recording mining claims, and was hopeful of the future. In the letter above referred to he says:—

We have had a milder winter than any ever experienced since white men came to Cariboo; there is great excitement here now on account of finding Quartz containing gold, and it is likely a new era will dawn on the Country. I have taken up several claims and hope some of them may turn out good at any rate they would fetch a good price in the market now.[16]

He should have sold them at that time, for it was nearly sixty years before the quartz era dawned on Cariboo.

But the Captain was growing old. He was not feeling well and began to complain of the state of his health. In June, 1879, he writes to his children that he is feeling very well except for rheumatism, which had been troubling him for some time. He says that "It is in the nerves and called Sciatica."[17]

On August 25, 1879, he died at Stanley of inflammation of the bowels and kidneys, after an illness of only two days. The Victoria *Colonist* of August 28, says of him:—

Capt. Evans was a man of great activity and his energetic and eccentric manner when urging his views on the House will long be remembered. During the past year the honourable gentleman's health rapidly failed. He was a martyr to rheumatism towards the last, but bore his sufferings with Christian fortitude.

And so on August 27, 1879, his sorrowing friends laid him away in the little cemetery at Stanley where so many of the pioneers of the Cariboo sleep their last sleep; and in memory of the many good deeds of their friend they wrote on the wooden head-board which marks his grave that text of Scripture which commences, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

ROBIE L. REID.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

(16) Captain Evans to his daughter, February 14, 1878.

(17) Captain Evans to his son and daughter, June 28, 1879 (Archives of B.C.).

EDUCATION BEFORE THE GOLD RUSH.

No reference to the existence of schools in what is now British Columbia earlier in date than 1849 has yet come to light. In that year the headquarters of the Columbia Department of the Hudson's Bay Company was moved from Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, to Fort Victoria. There had been a school of one sort or another at Fort Vancouver ever since January, 1833, and Chief Factor James Douglas, and the other officers of the Company, were naturally anxious that similar provision for the instruction of their children should be made at Victoria.

The Governor and Committee in London shared this view, and in 1849 the Rev. Robert J. Staines, an Anglican clergyman, arrived at Fort Victoria in the barque *Columbia* to act as chaplain and schoolmaster there. He was to receive £200 per annum as chaplain and £340 as schoolmaster, a fact which would indicate that some importance was attached to the latter position. Staines was accompanied by his wife, and together they opened a school, attendance at which was evidently restricted to the children of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The pupils included two children of Chief Trader A. C. Anderson, who was then stationed at Fort Colville, and a letter from Douglas to Anderson written in October, 1850, contains the following passage:—

> The school is doing as well as can be expected in the circumstances. More assistance in the way of servants of respectable character is required than we have at our command; so many children give a great deal of trouble and I often wonder how Mrs. Staines can stand the fag of looking after them. She is invaluable and receives less assistance than she ought from her husband, who is rather lazy at times.
>
> The children have greatly improved in their personal appearance and one thing I particularly love in Staines is the attention he bestows on their religious training. Had I a selection to make he is not exactly the man I would choose; but it must be admitted we might find a man worse qualified for the charge of the school.[1]

Douglas adds that the Anderson children were "decided favourites with the Staines," and it is clear that they boarded at the

(1) James Douglas to A. C. Anderson, October 28, 1850 (Archives of B.C.).

school. Beyond this no details of the establishment are known, except that Captain W. C. Grant, Vancouver Island's first independent settler, described it as being "exceedingly well managed" and "calculated to have a most civilizing influence on the future prospects of the island."[2]

Staines was a picturesque and belligerent character, and Bancroft has given an amusing account of his efforts to provide the Colony with a better breed of pigs. It was not long before he was at loggerheads with the local authorities. Settlers were beginning to arrive, and Staines soon espoused their cause against the Company. Finally, in 1854, he determined to proceed to London and protest to the Colonial Office against what he considered to be the tyrannical rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was a decision which cost him his life, as the lumber vessel in which he sailed from Sooke foundered off Cape Flattery, and Staines was drowned.[3]

In the meantime the population of Vancouver Island had been increased considerably by the arrival of several parties of labourers brought from Great Britain by the Hudson's Bay Company, and a certain number of independent settlers. The first of these arrived in the *Harpooner* in June, 1849, and much larger parties came in the *Norman Morison* in 1850, and in the ship *Tory*, in June of 1851. That James Douglas had plans for common schools for these settlers appears in a letter of his to Archibald Barclay, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated May 16, 1850, from which these lines are taken: —

> The site I proposed for the town was immediately around Fort Victoria, which would at once serve as a nucleus and a protection. It was however no part of my plan that the company should be put to the charge of providing churches and school-houses. I would recommend leaving such matters to the inhabitants themselves, the company merely furnishing the sites and such pecuniary assistance as they may deem necessary, but by no means to act as principals.[4]

When this letter was written Douglas was still only Chief Factor for the Hudson's Bay Company. In October, 1851, about

---

(2) W. Colquhoun Grant, "Description of Vancouver Island," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XXVII. (1857), p. 281.

(3) On Staines *see* H. H. Bancroft, *History of British Columbia*, San Francisco, 1887, pp. 238–243.

(4) James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, May 16, 1850.

a month after he had succeeded Richard Blanshard as Governor of Vancouver Island, he dealt with the school question in more detail in another letter to Archibald Barclay:—

I will also take the liberty of calling the attention of the Governor and Committee to the subject of education by recommending the establishment of one or two elementary schools in the Colony to give a proper moral and religious training to the children of settlers who are at present growing up in ignorance, and the utter neglect of all their duties to God and to Society. That remark applies with peculiar force to the children of Protestant Parents; the Roman Catholic families in this country having had until lately a very able and zealous teacher in the Rev'd. Mr. Lampfrit, a French Priest of the Society des Oblats, who is now living with the Indians in the Cowitchen Valley. One school at Victoria, and one at Esquimalt will provide for the present wants of the settlements, and a fixed salary of £50 a year to be paid by the Colony with an annual payment by the Parents of a certain sum not to exceed thirty shillings for each child with a free house and garden is the plan and amount of remuneration I would propose to the Committee. In regard to the character of the Teachers I would venture to recommend a middle aged married couple for each school of strictly religious principles and unblemished character capable of giving a good sound English education and nothing more, these schools being intended for the children of the labouring and poorer classes, and children of promising talents, or whom their parents may wish to educate further, may pursue their studies and acquire the other branches of knowledge at the Companys School conducted by the Rev'd. Mr. Staines.

I would also recommend that a good supply of School Books from the Alphabet upwards, with slates and pencils be sent out with the Teachers, as there are very few in this country.[5]

Two items stand out in this letter. The schools were to give "moral and religious training" and they were not to be free, although they were to have Government support. The provision of separate schools "for the children of the labouring and poorer classes" will also strike the reader of to-day.

It is interesting to note at this point that there is at least an element of uncertainty as to whether the school established by the Rev. Robert Staines, or possibly one established by the French priest, Father Lamfrit, was the first school on Vancouver Island. Lamfrit was sent to Victoria in March, 1849, and may have commenced the instruction of the Roman Catholic children there before Staines arrived, or at any rate before he and Mrs. Staines

(5) Douglas to Barclay, October 8, 1851.

opened their school.[6] Rear-Admiral Moresby, who visited the Colony in the early summer of 1851, describes Father Lamfrit as being "a very intelligent and earnest Missionary," and adds that he has "erected a house in Victoria, a part of which is appropriated for a Chapel . . ."[7] Unfortunately, he makes no mention of the school. Soon after this Father Lamfrit departed to live amongst the Cowichan Indians, "without a single white assistant," as Douglas informed the Colonial Secretary, "and without any pecuniary means to defray the expense of an establishment, as he trusted entirely to his Indian converts for support, a plan which could hardly be expected to succeed with ignorant savages."[8] Relations between the priest and the Indians presently became strained; and after reports that his life was in danger had reached Douglas, an officer and a small force were sent to Cowichan in May of 1852 to ascertain if he were safe, and to insist upon the abandonment of his hazardous mission.

Some time before this, Douglas had put his plans to open a common school into effect. In March, 1852, he wrote to Archibald Barclay:—

Mr. Charles Bailey the young man who acted as schoolmaster for the Emigrants during the outward voyage of the *Tory* having conducted himself with great propriety since his arrival here and not being particularly useful as a mere labourer I have opened a day school for boys, the children of the Company's labouring servants at this place, who are growing up in ignorance of their duties as men and Christians. It is now attended by 18 boys, who are making fair progress in learning. The Parents furnish Books and stationery and pay £1 annually, for each child which goes into a fund for the

(6) This point is raised by Donald Alexander MacLean in his *Catholic Schools in Western Canada*, Toronto, 1923, p. 43, and is well taken; but the evidence MacLean presents to prove that Lamfrit opened his school at least as early as 1850 is obviously faulty. He accepts a statement by Father Morice to the effect that Lamfrit left the Cowichan Indians, after a residence of nine months among them, before Bishop Demers arrived on September 5, 1851, yet he himself has just quoted from the letter from Douglas to Barclay dated October 8, 1851, which shows that Lamfrit was still living with the Indians at that time. Furthermore, we know positively that he remained there until May of 1852.

(7) Moresby to the Secretary of the Admiralty, July 7, 1851 (Hudson's Bay Papers, Colonial Office, Vol. 725, p. 208; transcript in Provincial Archives).

'8) Douglas to Grey, May 28, 1852.

support of the schoolmaster and he also receives his wages and provisions from the Company, who are put to no other expense for the institution.[9]

According to a despatch to the Colonial Secretary this school and that conducted by Staines provided "secular and religious instruction for all the children in the settlement."[10]

In the same letter to Barclay, Douglas enters a plea on behalf of still another school on Vancouver Island:—

I beg also to inform the Governor and Committee that Mr. Langford is desirous of opening a young lady's school at his establishment with a view of bettering his circumstances, and has written to a young lady of his acquaintance a Miss Scott; who has had much experience as a teacher to join him in this country, provided she can obtain a free passage in any of the Company's ships. May I take the liberty of asking the aid of the Governor and Committee, in promoting that important object so far as to allow that lady a free passage in the *Norman Morison* to this country should she feel disposed to undertake the voyage. This would be a great boon to the country, and another proof of the deep interest felt by their Honors in the progress of education.[11]

These plans met with approval, as is shown by the following paragraph from a letter written by Douglas in December, 1852:—

I am happy to observe that the Governor and Committee approve the plan of the day school opened for the instruction of the labourers children and of the appointment of Mr. Baillie as Teacher, and I sincerely thank their Honors for the liberal encouragement they have so kindly promised to the young ladies school, at Mr. Langford's Farm. The day School is very well conducted and the children are making satisfactory progress.[12]

Having secured a teacher and opened the common school, Douglas next arranged for the construction of a special school building. Hitherto he had been acting primarily in his capacity as Chief Factor for the Hudson's Bay Company; but the building of a school was a Colony rather than a Company matter, and Douglas therefore dealt with it as Governor of Vancouver Island. Under the date March 29, 1853, we find the following entry in the Minutes of the Council of the Colony:—

The subject of public instruction was next brought under the consideration of the Council. Applications having been made from various districts of the country for schools, it was resolved that two schools should be opened without delay, one to be placed on the peninsula, near the Puget Sound Company's establishment, at Maple Point, and another at Victoria, there

(9) Douglas to Barclay, March 18, 1852.
(10) Douglas to Grey, April 15, 1852.
(11) Douglas to Barclay, March 18, 1852.
(12) Douglas to Barclay, December 8, 1852.

being about thirty children and youths of both sexes, respectively, at each of those places.

It was therefore resolved, that the sum of £500 be appropriated for the erection of a school-house at Victoria, to contain a dwelling for the teacher, and school-rooms, and several bedrooms and that provision should be made hereafter for the erection of a house at Maple Point.

Two days later the Council considered the matter further, " fixed upon a site near Minies Plain " for the school in Victoria, and decided " that the size of the building should be 40 feet long by 40 feet broad." The Minutes continue:—

A Commission of two persons, The Honble. John Tod, Senior Member of the Council, Robert Barr, Schoolmaster—were then appointed to carry this measure into effect, and to report from time to time their proceedings to the Governor and Council.

It may be explained that the site chosen was on the School Reserve, the present location of the Boys' Central School, Victoria, but then about one mile distant from Fort Victoria. Maple Point was the name then given to the location where the old Craigflower School now stands. Craigflower was the name of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's farm just across Portage Inlet from Maple Point. Robert Barr, as will appear later, had come out from Great Britain specially to be schoolmaster at Craigflower, but Douglas decided to make use of his services at Victoria instead. The reason for this appears in a letter from Douglas to Archibald Barclay, written early in September, 1853, after Douglas had visited the new town of Nanaimo and inspected the coal-mining developments which were taking place there:—

While at Nanaimo I had much conversation with the Miners, and other married servants of the Company, on the subject of opening an elementary school, for their children, who have been much neglected, and are growing up in ignorance of their duties as Christians and as men.

Seeing that they all expressed an ardent wish to have the means of educating their children, I transferred Mr. Baillie, who has for some time been employed as Teacher of the Victoria Day School, but who is not now required here, to the Establishment of Nanaimo where he has since opened school.

His emoluments are the same as formerly, say £40 a year with board from the Company, and one pound sterling per annum, for each child under his tuition to be paid by the Parents, who are also to provide books and stationery at their own expense.[13]

---

(13) Douglas to Barclay, September 3, 1853.

According to Captain Grant, whose remarks would apply to the early part of 1854, " about 24 children " attended this school, and he described Nanaimo at that time as being " a flourishing little settlement, with about 125 inhabitants, of whom 37 are working men, the remainder women and children . . ."[14]

In May, 1853, Douglas informed Barclay that the school for Mr. Barr was under construction, and that it was expected to be ready for occupation about the end of the summer.[15] In October he described the settlement the school would serve as follows:—

The Town of Victoria contains 87 dwellings and Store Houses and many other buildings are in progress. A public school house has been erected this season, and we are now building a Church capable of containing a congregation of 300 persons.[16]

Ten days later he gave Barclay some particulars of the school itself:—

The disbursements on account of the Victoria District School came to £469.11.2, and the internal arrangements are not yet completed, though sufficiently advanced to be habitable, and Mr. Barr now resides on the Premises, and has 33 Pupils, who are making satisfactory progress.[17]

It was not until nine months later that the last accounts due for the construction of the building were settled, as is shown by the Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island for July 12, 1854:—

The Governor laid before the Council an account received from Mr. Robert Barr, Master of the Colonial School, amounting to £36.5.11, being the sum expended by him in completing the school-house, papering the bedrooms, enclosing and bringing into cultivation a small kitchen garden, and various other fixtures and improvements, as stated in said account. That account ordered to be paid and charged to Vancouver's Island Trust Fund.

The trust fund referred to consisted originally of £2,000, and had been established by the Hudson's Bay Company to furnish the funds required for such " colonial purposes " as roads and schoolhouses. It amounted, in actual fact, to a loan to the Colony, and the Company expected to be repaid out of the proceeds of the sale of colonial lands.

The story of the founding of the famous old Craigflower School is told in a letter written in 1903 by Thomas Russell to

(14) Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
(15) Douglas to Barclay, May 27, 1853.
(16) Douglas to Barclay, October 10, 1853.
(17) Douglas to Barclay, October 21, 1853.

Dr. S. D. Pope, a former Superintendent of Education in British Columbia. As this letter indicates, Mr. Russell was the brother-in-law of Kenneth McKenzie, who was in charge of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's farm at Craigflower; and it may be well to add that the Puget Sound Company, though nominally a separate corporation, was for all practical purposes a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company. Referring to the school, Mr. Russell says:—

It is only fair to the memory of my brother-in-law, the late Kenneth McKenzie, to state that when leaving Scotland for Vancouver Island in charge of a number of families, young men and women, he was not unmindful of the great responsibility and trust placed in his hands, namely the education of not only the bairns that were going with him, who had gathered hips and haws on Scotland's bonny braes, but the other bairnies that might be expected after our arrival, hence he made it a condition that a school-master should be engaged at the expense of the company before leaving.

Mr. [Robert] Barr was engaged to fill the position, himself and his wife arriving with us in the ship *Norman Morrison*, on the 16th January 1853. At the time of our arrival at Fort Victoria the late Sir James Douglas was Governor of the Colony, and head of the Hudson's Bay Company, and having full control over all matters and no school-master being at the Fort, Mr. Douglas retained Mr. Barr for that section—hence we had to locate at Craigflower without a teacher. An afternoon class was established for the benefit of the children who had been at school before leaving, until a master could arrive . . .

In the fall of 1854 the ship *Princess Royal* arrived bringing with her our much-wished-for schoolmaster, Mr. Charles Clarke and wife. Shortly after their arrival the school was opened with due form and ceremony, the enrollment consisting of eight boys and six girls from our own little party.[18]

It will be recalled that Robert Barr was kept at Victoria not because there was no teacher there, but because Douglas wished to send Charles Bailey to Nanaimo, and that the Council of Vancouver Island decided that a school should be opened at Craigflower (Maple Point) as early as March, 1853. Nothing further seems to have been done for more than a year, but in July, 1854, this paragraph is found in a letter from Douglas to Archibald Barclay:—

The Governor and Committee's instructions in reference to Mr. Clarke the Schoolmaster expected by the *Princess Royal* shall be duly attended to

(18) Thomas Russell to S. D. Pope, dated Victoria, June 24, 1903. This letter was written to be read at what was supposed to be the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Craigflower School.

and I will desire Mr. McKenzie to make immediate arrangements for his reception.[19]

In December, Douglas reported that:—

The school house for Mr. Clarke not being yet quite ready for his reception, will be opened in the course of another month.[20]

Some unforeseen delay must have occurred, however, as it was not until March, 1855, that the Craigflower School was actually completed and opened.

These excerpts from the letters and despatches of James Douglas, from the Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island, and from Thomas Russell's letter, enable us to conclude with certainty the order of establishment of the first colonial schools on Vancouver Island. Craigflower was not the first, as is often supposed. The first colonial common school was opened in Victoria early in 1852, with Charles Bailey as master. The first colonial school-house was built in Victoria and occupied prior to October 21, 1853, with Robert Barr as master. Prior to September 3, 1853, a school was opened at Nanaimo, although no school-house was built there. Mr. Bailey was transferred from Victoria to open this school at Nanaimo. There were afternoon classes for children at Craigflower during 1853, but the Craigflower school-house was not completed and opened until March, 1855. To Craigflower alone, however, belongs the honour of having preserved its original school-house. This building can justly claim to be the *oldest* school building still existing in British Columbia, but not the *first* school-house. Craigflower was the third colonial school established and the second to build a school-house.

According to a census of Vancouver Island completed by Douglas in August of 1855, the three District Schools at Victoria, Craigflower, and Nanaimo then had a total of eighty-one pupils regularly in attendance.[21]

The death of the Rev. Robert Staines left the Hudson's Bay Fort at Victoria without a chaplain, and in due course Andrew Colville, Governor of the Company, issued a memorandum dated August 12, 1854, which in effect advertised for a successor.

(19) Douglas to Barclay, July 13, 1854.

(20) Douglas to Barclay, December 20, 1854.

(21) Douglas to Lord John Russell, August 21, 1855.

After setting forth the clerical duties involved and the remuneration proposed, this memorandum dealt with the school question in the following terms:—

The Company think it very desirable that the Clergyman should as is done at Red River by the Bishop of Rupert's Land take charge of a Boarding School of a superior class for the children of their officers and would wish that he should take out with him a gentleman and his wife capable of keeping a school of this nature. The Fur Trade Branch would find a school house and residence for the master and his family & will vote an annual grant of £100 in aid of the School. Should they give satisfaction to the gentlemen in the country they might expect from thirty to forty pupils & the usual payment for each pupil has been £20 per annum for Board, Lodging and Education.

A free passage will be allowed from London to Vancouver's Island to the Clergyman, his family & servants and also to the schoolmaster & his family.[22]

The terms and conditions set forth in the memorandum were formally accepted on September 13, 1854, by the Rev. Edward Cridge, who arrived in Victoria on April 1, 1855. No schoolmaster accompanied him, but Mrs. Cridge opened a private school similar to the one formerly conducted by Mrs. Staines. To Mrs. Cridge belongs the honour of opening the first Sunday-school in the Colony. The Rev. (later Bishop) Cridge was also deeply interested in education and soon began to play a most important part in its progress. The following minute of the Council of Vancouver Island, dated February 27, 1856, records the appointment of Mr. Cridge to what may justly be termed the position of first inspector of colonial schools:—

The Governor then called the attention of the Council to the subject of the Publick Schools, and recommended that the Revd. Edward Cridge, District Minister of Victoria, should be appointed a Member of the Committee for inquiring into and reporting upon the state of the Publick Schools, It was then Resolved, That the Revd. Edward Cridge be, according to the Governor's recommendation, appointed a Member of the said Committee, and be requested to hold quarterly examinations and to report on the progress and conduct of the pupils, on the system of management, and on all other matters connected with the District Schools which may appear deserving of attention.

The names of the other members of the Committee in question have not come to light, but references in Cridge's first report on

(22) From Cridge's own copy of the *Memorandum of Salary Allowances for a Clergyman for Vancouver's Island*, now preserved in the Provincial Archives.

the colonial schools make it clear that other members either had been or were subsequently appointed to it. This report, submitted to the Governor in November, 1856, throws so much light upon the condition of the colonial schools at the time that it is worth printing in full. Readers will note that it deals only with Victoria and Craigflower and, unfortunately, gives no account of the school at Nanaimo.

FIRST REPORT ON COLONIAL SCHOOLS.

The Parsonage
Victoria
Novr. 30. 1856.

To His Excellency the Governor

Sir

In conformity with the instructions of the Council of the Colony, I submit a report of the Colonial Schools. With your Excellency's concurrence I have so far departed from those instructions as to hold half-yearly instead of quarterly examinations, believing that more frequent periods would tend to unsettle the schools, & render it less easy to mark the progress of the pupils.

I. Report of the Victoria School, Mr. Barr, Master—up to August 1856.

A private examination was held before the Committee in July, when the children were examined jointly by the Master & myself—13 children present. Some of the children answered with intelligence, & shewed a fair understanding of their subjects as far as they went. The chief deficiency noticed was a want of accuracy and grounding in the elementary parts. The subjects taught are Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History, a little Geography & Grammar. Owing to domestic circumstances the Master preferred not having a public Examination this year.

The number of children on the books is 17 all of whom are boys. Their ages vary from 6 to 15 years, there being 7 boys under ten years of age & 10 of ten years & upwards; 9 are boarders & the remainder day scholars. Of these latter 3 are of the labouring class. That only 3 boys & no girls of this class attend the Colonial School at Victoria is a remarkable, &, I think, rather a painful fact. As to what may be the real causes of this deficiency I do not feel myself able to speak with confidence. There is evidently a feeling unfavourable to the school existing among some of the people chiefly on the alleged grounds of the irregularity of the Master's attendance. With regard to this Complaint I will only state the fact that during the three months immediately preceding the examination mentioned above there were given one whole & five half days holidays; & of these I believe that a part were given on account of the necessary absence of the Master on other duties.

In answer to the question as to what children had been removed from the school during the last 12 months & on what grounds, the Master writes, "Many children have left during the last 12 months but as to what schools they have gone to, or for what reasons they left I have not been made acquainted." Some girls formerly at this school have been placed at a girls' school, but none of the labouring class. Two boys have been removed & placed at the Roman Catholic School lately established at Victoria; partly on the ground of distance, & partly for the reason I have already specified.

With regard to the Conduct of the children I have heard no complaint. I have been always pleased with their Conduct and attention whenever I have visited the school.

I wish I could speak in terms equally favourable of their attendance. This is exceedingly defective & irregular. During the 3 months preceding the examination, there were absent of the day scholars 1 above 60 days, 4 above 30 days, 2 above 20 days, & 1 above 15 days. This fact alone will account for much deficiency, as it is impossible that children should make due progress in their learning who are frequently absent from school.

In answer to a question relating to the organization of the school, the Master replies, "In consequence of the different ages & abilities of the children I am unable to classify them." They are therefore taught in detail or grouped miscellaneously. It is perhaps owing to this method that the younger children do not make that progress which could be desired.

This school is not well supplied with books—& other requisites—a serious defect. I would suggest that an adequate supply should be ordered from England or San Francisco at the earliest opportunity. The books published by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland are very suitable to a school of this description & are very cheap.

The subject of a new Master in place of Mr. Barr who has resigned is one on which I have heard a good deal of interest expressed, and one which I would respectfully urge on the attention of the Council. The filling up a vacancy in such an office is not easy in a distant colony; & if, as I understand from His Excellency, the appointment has not yet been made, I would venture to suggest whether it might not be desirable, in case of a person of this colony being chosen, that he should be taken on trial before the appointment is permanently conferred.

It may not be irrelevant to this report if I name a request which the Master has desired me to make, that the furniture & fixtures, or a portion of them, might be bought at a valuation for his successor, as many of them were provided specifically for the school & school house. Should the Council think proper to grant this request, I do not doubt but the Committee would undertake to arrange this matter with Mr. Barr.

II. Report of the Craig Flower School Mr. Clark, Master,—up to August 1856.

A private examination of this school before the Committee (of whom only myself was present) was held on two successive days in July. A public

examination was held at the end of the same month before the Governor and a considerable number of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The examination was conducted by the Master, & its results with regard to the standing of the children corresponded with those to which I had arrived in the private examination. The subjects taught are those mentioned in my report of the Victoria School; & in addition to these one boy has begun the elements of Euclid & Algebra. The children are fairly grounded in the elementary parts, the Master bestowing a good deal of pains on this point, & the Examination on the whole seemed to give satisfaction to those who were present. A considerable improvement was remarked by those who had attended the examination of the preceding year. Prizes were bestowed on three children in each class except the lowest, & one on a little girl who had only been 8 days absent in 18 months. The examination in Scripture was inadvertently omitted till too late on the day of the public examination, but I had examined the School previously in this subject, in which I did not find that the children had made the same improvement as in some others.

The number of children on the books is 21 of ages varying from 4 to 16 years, there being 12 under ten years of age & 9 of ten years and upward. There are 11 girls & 10 boys; 3 are boarders. Of the day scholars 11 are of the labouring class (5 girls & 6 boys). Of the whole school 14 are from Craig Flower, 3 from Victoria, 1 from Colwood, 2 from Burnside & 1 from View Field.

The school is divided into 4 classes and the system is that which is usually followed in the National Schools in England. The conduct & attention of the children have been always pleasing when I have visited the school, & I believe this is generally the case.

The attendance though not so good as it might be is fair. In three months preceding the examination there were absent 1 child about 30 days, 1 about 20, 1 about 15 & the rest not exceeding 10 days.

In answer to the enquiry as to how many children had been removed during the past year, the master informs me that one boy, a Canadian was removed to the new Roman Catholic School at Victoria, one girl had finished school & two were removed to the girls' school at Victoria.

The school is at present sufficiently provided with books & maps; & on the whole I think that it is fairly suited to the class of children chiefly found in its immediate vicinity. Its position also seems central to the population as at present distributed.

In framing this report I have thought it better to avoid any lengthened comment & to Confine myself chiefly to facts; & I would remark that whatever prejudice may exist against either of the schools it is the common lot of schools; & in forming my judgment I have endeavoured to keep myself clear of any influence of this kind. I have also endeavoured to the best of my power to give such information as should enable the Council to judge of the state of the schools; & I shall hope to have the pleasure of presenting another report after Christmas relating to the half year shortly about to expire.

In conclusion, I would take this opportunity of stating to the Council what I conceive to be a great want in this Colony, & that is a girls' school for the labouring class. It seems greatly to be lamented that those who are likely hereafter to perform so important a part in the community in the capacity of wives & mothers, should be suffered to grow up without Education.

I shall be happy to receive instructions from the Council with regard to any wishes they may entertain in relation to the schools.

Meanwhile I beg to remain

Your Excellency's obedient Servant

Edward Cridge,
Colonial Chaplain.[23]

A number of points in this report are worthy of note. The Scriptures were taught in the Schools. The repeated references to "the labouring class" seem to suggest a rather deeply ingrained class-distinction attitude in the mind of the writer of the report. The reference to a "new Roman Catholic school" indicates that a successor to the pioneer Catholic school opened by Father Lamfrit had recently been established. It is surprising to find that the District School at Victoria was attended by boys only; and though there was a "girls' school at Victoria," attendance there must have been either expensive or restricted in some way, since Cridge concludes by stressing the need for "a girls' school for the labouring class."

As noted in Cridge's report, Robert Barr resigned as master of the Victoria District School in November, 1856. His lot does not seem to have been a happy one, financially as well as in other ways, and a dispatch from Douglas to the Secretary of State, written in 1854, records the fact "that the sum of £50 sterling was granted for the relief of Mr. Barr the Teacher, whose salary of £60 a year is insufficient for his support."[24] He was succeeded by a Mr. Kennedy, who held the post until March, 1859, when he in turn was succeeded by W. H. Burr. In January, 1857, another staff change occurred when Charles Bailey resigned as master of the Nanaimo District School. His successor was Cornelius Bryant, who was furnished with the following interesting letter

(23) From the original manuscript report, preserved in the Provincial Archives.

(24) Douglas to Newcastle, August 17, 1854.

of introduction by Governor Douglas when he left Victoria to assume his new duties:—[25]

Victoria, V.I.,
30th Jany. 1857.

Captain Stuart.

Dear Sir:

I beg to introduce to you Mr. Cornelius Bryant who after undergoing an examination before the Revd. Mr. Cridge, and being by him pronounced duly qualified, has been appointed Teacher of the Nanaimo School, on the following terms; that is to say, he is to have a fixed salary of £40 per annum, and an allowance of ¼ a day for ration money; to levy a fee of £ sterling per annum to be paid by the parents, on every child who attends the school for the purpose of being educated. He is also to have the House occupied by the late Teacher, for his residence, and the school room will of course also be placed under his charge. You will install him without delay, and his salary and other emoluments, will commence from the day of his entering upon the office & not before.

I have requested Mr. Bryant to open a Sunday School for the children, which he has cheerfully agreed to do, and also to read the church service to the people at large.

I trust you will give him every encouragement and support in effecting that laudable and highly necessary object, which will prove an advantage to all and be a means with God's blessing, of maintaining order and decency among the Company's Servants.

You will give Mr. Bryant such instructions in respect to the opening and management of the school, and the distribution of Books, Slates &c., as you may consider requisite and necessary. I have appraised him that such instructions would emanate from you, and he is therefore prepared to obey them.

I remain Sir,
Your obdt. Servt.
JAMES DOUGLAS.

How these meagre salaries were to be supplemented is shown in the following notice, issued by the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island in 1857:—

NOTICE.

Whereas it appeareth from a report of a Committee of the House of Assembly appointed to enquiry into the state of the Public Schools of this Colony, and some misapprehension exists with respect to the District School Fees as authorized by the Governor and Council:

It is therefore desirable to make known to all whom it may concern that the Teachers of the District Schools of Vancouver's Island are, in addition

(25) From Douglas's letter-book copy, in the Provincial Archives.

to their annual salary and board allowance from the Colonial Trust Fund, authorized to receive pupils in the manner following, and to charge according to the Scale of Fees hereinafter set forth for each pupil; that is to say, children placed under the care of the District Teachers for tuition shall be boarded at the following rates:

1st. Children of Colonists residents of Vancouver's Island and of servants of Hudson's Bay Company.	18 guineas per annum.
2nd. The children of non-residents, not being servants of Hudson's Bay Company.	Any sum that may be agreed with the parties.

Day scholars attending the District Schools shall pay at the following rates for tuition, viz.: Five shillings per quarter of (or) twenty shillings per annum for the following instruction, viz.: Reading, English grammar, writing, geography, arithmetic, and industrial training.

When a higher series of education is given, such as Latin or other languages and the higher branches of arithmetic and mathematics, they shall pay an increased rate of school fees to be arranged between the Governor for the time being and the Schoolmaster.

In all cases the pupils are to find books and stationery at their own expense, the same not being provided by the Colony.

RICHARD GOLLEDGE,
Secretary.

Victoria, Vancouver's Isld.,
December 15th, 1857.

By His Excellency's command.

It will be interesting at this point to add Cornelius Bryant's own account of how he came to secure the appointment of schoolmaster at Nanaimo, as it is given in his diary. He had travelled from England in the *Princess Royal*, which left London in August, 1856, and arrived at Victoria on January 17, 1857. The entries in the diary for Thursday and Friday, January 29 and 30, 1857, read as follows:—

Had my first interview with His Excellency Jas. Douglas Govr. of the Island, who informed me that my Uncle at Nanaimo [George Robinson] had applied to him (for me) for me to have the appointment of Schoolmaster there which was then vacant. He said that if congenial to my wishes, I could have the appointment, after having been examined as to my qualifications by Mr. Cridge the Chaplain, to whom he sent me with a note of introduction. I saw Mr. Cridge that night, and again the next day, Friday, after which I returned to His Excellency who receiving from Mr. Cridge by me a letter as to my abilities, &c., then congratulated me on my success and on the favourable opinion Mr. C. entertained of me in his note. He accordingly gave me the appointment of Schoolmaster at Nanaimo. His Excy. was very courteous and kind, enquiring as to the welfare of me

and my relatives during the voyage we had just ended, besides other marks of attention which he paid us.[26]

The next day Bryant left for Nanaimo in the *Recovery*, and on Thursday, February 12, as his diary records, he "Commenced School at Colville Town Nanaimo." Two later entries show that on May 11 Cridge "paid the school a visit and privately examined the scholars," and that the next day "The Governor & suite heard the children examined at School." Bryant served as schoolmaster at Nanaimo from 1857, when he succeeded Charles Bailey, until July, 1870. For nearly seven of the thirteen years he held the office of postmaster as well.

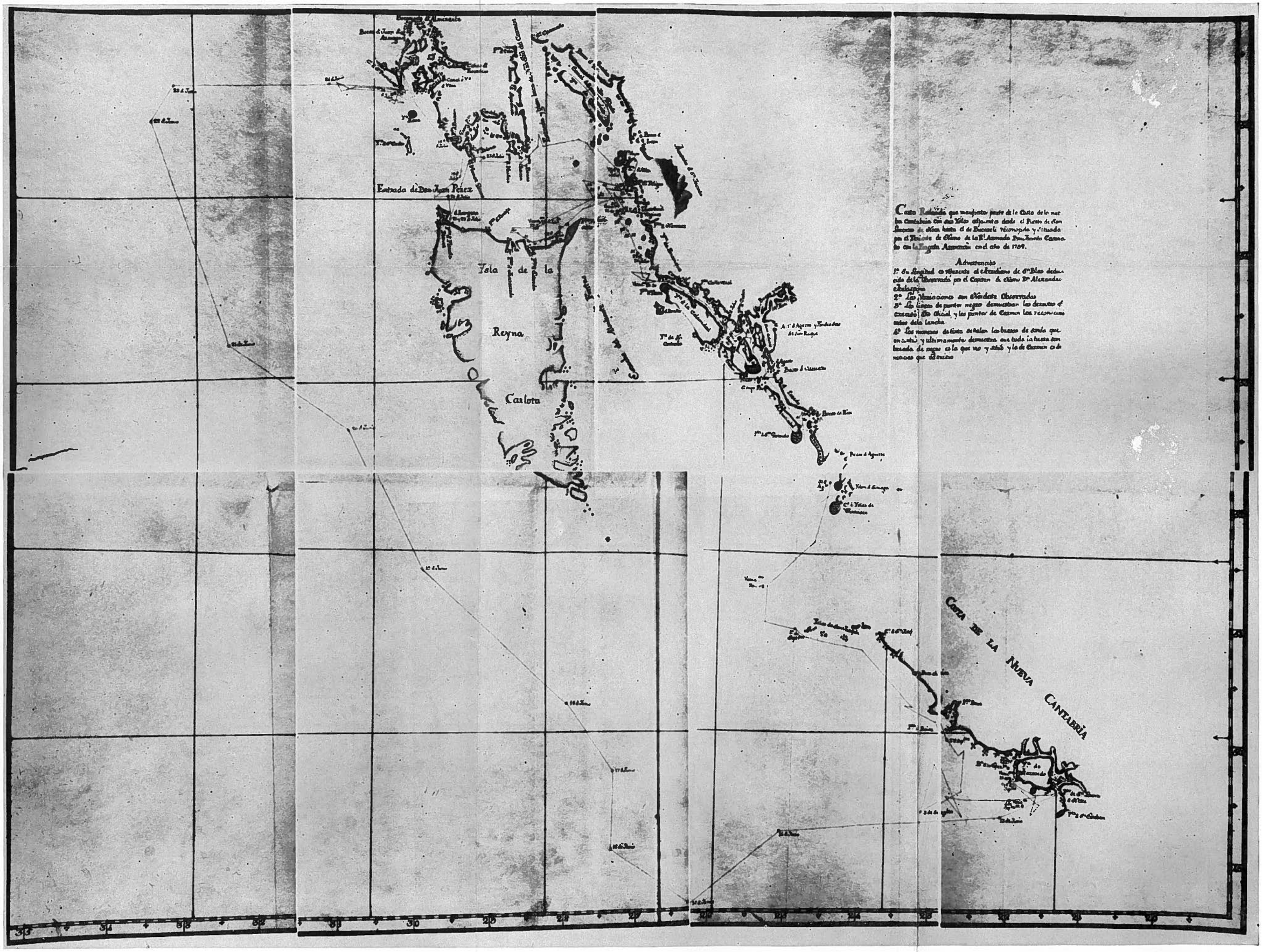
The third of the teaching pioneers, Charles Clarke, remained at Craigflower until May, 1859, when he was succeeded by Henry Claypole.

These notes and documents complete the sum total of our knowledge of the colonial schools in what is now British Columbia before the gold-rush. Though it is clear that Cridge continued to examine one or more of the schools year by year, no second report from his pen has survived which is earlier in date than January, 1860—by which time the influx of gold-seekers had transformed the colonial scene.

D. L. MACLAURIN.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.
VICTORIA, B.C.

(26) Quoted from the original diary by courtesy of Bryant's son, Mr. Thomas Bryant, of Ladysmith, B.C.



Costa Reconocida que manifiesta parte de la Costa de la nueva Cantabria con sus Islas adjacentes desde el Puerto de San Lorenzo de Nutka hasta el de Bucareli Reconocido y Situado por el Teniente de Navio de la R.l Armada Don Antonio Caamaño en la Fragata Asunción en el año de 1792.

Advertencias

1.ª En Longitud se Observo el Meridiano de S.ta Blas deducido de la Observada por el Capitan de Navio D.n Alexandro Malaspina

2.ª Las Variaciones son Nordeste Observadas

3.ª La linea de puntos negros demuestran los derroteros q executó el Sr. Chard, y los puntos de Carmen los reconocimientos de la Lancha

4.ª Las rumbos de tinta encarnada demuestran el todo la costa reconocida de nuevo en la que vio y atrabó y la de Carmen los demas que demuestra

General Chart of Caamaño's Discoveries.

THE JOURNAL OF JACINTO CAAMANO.

TRANSLATED BY

CAPTAIN HAROLD GRENFELL, R.N.

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

HENRY R. WAGNER AND W. A. NEWCOMBE.

PART II.

[*July, 1792*—Continued.]

Exploration of the coast between Puerto de Florida Blanca and Fondeadero San Roque; with some remarks about the inhabitants.

At daylight on July 23, the frigate was six miles off Cape Muñoz. Continuing our investigations, we next found ourselves in the large bay, as capacious as that of Bucarely, forming the approach to PUERTO DE CORDOVA Y CORDOVA.[33] As, however, it would have taken at least two or three weeks to carry out a detailed survey of that; about as much, indeed, as was left to us of the season favourable for the execution of other more important parts of my orders; I decided to do no more than make a sketch survey and plan of a harbour that we had in sight, and then immediately continue following up my general instructions, taking advantage of the fine weather that we were now so fortunately experiencing.

At 5 o'clock, when off its mouth, a shift of wind put me so far to leeward, that it would have taken several hours to enter. At the same time we sighted an American brig[34] lying at the anchorage within. I, therefore, decided to send in the pinnace,

(33) This name was given by Caamaño in honour of Luis de Cordova y Cordova. Vancouver adopted it. It is the large bay between Long Island and Prince of Wales Island. The east point of the bay was named " Nuñez," also by Caamaño. This was adopted by Vancouver but erroneously placed farther east. It may be the point now known as March Point.—H. R. W.

(34) Judge Howay identifies this vessel as the *Hancock*, a brig from Boston, which had returned from China on July 3, 1792.

manned and armed, in charge of the pilot, with orders to make a sketch survey of it as soon as possible; and meanwhile lay-to in order to wait for his return. At 1 p.m., having carried out his orders, he came alongside, whereupon, we immediately filled, made all sail, and stood over for PUNTA DE NUÑEZ, from whence we continued to follow the coast at the same distance as before. From the plan, made by the pilot, Don Juan Pantoja, it appears that this harbour to which I gave the name of NUESTRA SENORA DE LOS DOLORES,[35] lies in Lat. 54° 47′, and Long. 29° 13′ W. of San Blas.[36] It is roomy, contains deep water, and is well sheltered from all winds except those between S.E. and N.E. It offers, moreover, good facilities for wooding and watering. It is uninhabited, but the Indians dwelling round Cordova and its various inlets (which I imagine to be pretty numerous), frequent the place whenever vessels happen to be lying there. I can say nothing about its natural products, but as the land has much the same appearance as that around Bucarely, I take it that they are of similar kind.

By 6 o'clock that evening, the frigate was abreast of PUNTA DE CHACON, from which position we could see the broad entrance of the CANAL DE NUESTRA SENORA DEL CARMEN opening between PUNTA DE EVIA and CABO CAAMANO.[37]

We stood in, to observe it more closely. The wind, however, died away to a calm, and a strong ebb tide was running; so that we were no more than nine miles nearer by night fall.

Neither from this position, nor from the earlier one, could any land be made out towards the bottom of this great opening.[38]

(35) This port was at the entrance of what is now known as Kaigani Strait, between Long and Dall Islands. It was one of the chief ports of call during the height of the maritime fur-trade.—H. R. W.

(36) The longitude is again 2° in error, as customary with his longitudes. The same figures are shown on the plan of the bay.—H. R. W.

(37) The "Canal de Nuestra Señora del Carmen" is Clarence Strait, and Punta de Chacon is still the name of the south-east end of Prince of Wales Island. It was named either in honour of Antonio Chacon or José Maria Chacon by Caamaño. "Punta Evia" cannot be identified, but it was some point on the east side of Prince of Wales Island. It was nearly opposite the south end of Cleveland Peninsula, which Vancouver thought was "Punta de Caamaño," as in all probability it was. July 23 was the octave day of Nuestra Señora del Carmen.—H. R. W.

(38) Clarence Strait.—H. R. W.

Indeed, nothing was to be seen but an expanse of water, although it was clear weather, and a good glass was in use from the mast head. At 10:30 p.m., when it fell dark, we hauled off for a couple of hours on a S.S.W. course, and then tacked, so as to maintain our position until daylight, and avoid as far as possible becoming embayed in this opening.

The morning of the 24th broke with a cloudless sky and clear horizon. The wind, which was a light breeze at S.W. veered at 6 o'clock to N.W. As this was now a head wind for making the Carmen Channel, I ordered the helm a weather, and ran the ship off before it, feeling convinced that this opening must be the main one of all the inlets between Bucarely and Nootka Sound. At 5 in the evening, when four miles from PUNTA DEL PELIGRO[39] (which is extremely foul), the wind suddenly backed to south, and we were at once enveloped in thick fog. Very soon after, it fell calm, and as we were being rapidly set by the tide towards this point, the lead was hove, and bottom found in fifty-five fathoms. At 6:30 the wind sprung up fresh at S.E.; but, within half an hour, veered suddenly to S.W. It then freshened to such an extent as to force us hurriedly to shorten sail, and take in all canvas, instead of running her off (as the force of the wind and crankness of the frigate, made desirable), because I was neither sure of the ship's position nor had any means of fixing it, as the fog prevented us seeing anything at more than one half a cable's distance. This squall lasted some twenty minutes being followed by light S.E.y airs accompanied with rain. At 8 o'clock, it again fell to a calm; when, taking into consideration that we were within three miles of the land, I anchored the frigate in forty-five fathoms, on a bottom of fine sand, and lay in this situation throughout the night, during which we experienced continuous rain, and noticed that the tidal stream ran with much strength in variable directions.

At 3:30 a.m., of the 25th, a breeze sprung up at S.E. We weighed at once, and made sail, steering a S.S.W. course, so as to run along the northern coast of Isla de la Reyna Carlota and observe it from the point already in sight up to Puerto Florida

(39) Captain Grenfell thinks this was probably the southern point of Dundas Island, or the northern point of Stephens Island. The location is very uncertain.—H. R. W.

Blanca; it being a matter of importance to acquire information about this part of the coast, and, owing to head winds and fog over the land, we had so far been unable to do so, and were entirely ignorant of it.

We sighted PUNTA INVISIBLE[40] at 7 o'clock, and were fortunate in making it no earlier, else we might have run on to it, as it is very low land, and extends far to seaward.

During the whole of this day, we followed the shore at a distance of three miles, or less, and thus were able to locate PUERTO DE ESTRADA and PUERTO DE MAZARREDO.[41] When six miles from PUNTA DE PANTOJA[42] at 9 in the forenoon, the wind fell to a calm and I thought of anchoring; but, finding soundings in forty fathoms, gave up the idea. In the course of the afternoon, several canoes approached the ship. Their occupants begged us to enter the harbours just mentioned; assuring us that they were very good ones, that there was great store of skins for barter, and that they would provide us with much prettier women than those brought by Cania. Puerto de Estrada had the appearance of being a safe and roomy harbour.[43] While we were lying-to off it, a Portuguese sloop[44] came out, passing us quite close. She was hardly larger than our pinnace, and carried seven hands, but I was unable to speak with them.

At 7 o'clock in the morning of the 26th, the breeze sprang up at N.W.; whereupon we made sail, put up the helm, and ran back in the direction from whence we were come. By 8 o'clock the same evening the frigate was in mid-channel, abreast of the Canal de Nuestra Senora del Carmen. Here we observed that the current ran with considerable force, but were unable to deter-

(40) Rose Point.—H. R. W.

(41) Masset Harbour and Virago Sound, on the north side of Graham Island. They were named in honour of Nicolas Estrada and José de Mazarredo.—H. R. W.

(42) Named in honour of Caamaño's chief pilot. Probably Wiah Point. —W. A. N.

(43) These two harbours were noted places for the fur-traders. Masset Harbour was known to the American fur-traders as "Hancock's River." —H. R. W.

(44) The *Florinda*, of Macao, which had arrived on July 13. Further research may show that this was the vessel built by the mutineers of the *Bounty* at Tahiti, and sold at Batavia in 1791. (Note by F. W. Howay.)

mine its rate as the ship was making more than five knots at the time, and we were aware of it only by the ripplings and over-falls that it caused. These showed that it set to the south-eastward, the continuation of the channel turning markedly in that direction. Daybreak of the 27th found us nearly in the same position as our anchorage on the 25th. As, however, there was much fog over the land, and the breeze was light from S.W., we continued to stand off and on, although slightly increasing our distance from the land, while waiting for the weather to improve. The next day, also, was spent under similar conditions; with light airs from the second and third quarters.

At times it cleared over the land; when, owing to our closeness to it, we could make out very distinctly the vast number of islands, islets, and rocks that go to form the ARCHIPIELAGO DE LAS 11,000 VIRGENES,[45] circumstances that made me all the more regret the unfavourable state of the weather. During the 29th, we continued along shore, at our usual distance from it running before a N.W.ly, wind with fine weather. These conditions, as our course laid down on the chart shows, enabled us to see the smallest rocks, and to fix their positions. By the afternoon, the Canal del Principe (the channel between the Isla de Calamidad and ENRIQUEZ),[46] was in sight. This passage, according to the account of the Englishman, Captain Colnet, leads into the Estrecho de Fonte, one of the chief objects of our expedition.

Its appearance clearly showed that it would be a hazardous undertaking for both the frigate and her people to engage her within this channel. At the same time, however, the reflection that it was my sovereign's wish that no risk should stand in the way of its exploration and survey, effectually removed any idea from my mind that obedience to orders deserving so great respect

(45) Porcher Island and the many neighbouring islands and islets lying between Brown Passage and Browning Entrance.—H. R. W.

(46) Banks Island and Pitt Island. "Calamidad" was obviously a Colnett name, while the "Enriquez," which in reality comprised McCauley Island as well as Pitt Island, must have been named by Caamaño in honour of Juan Antonio Enriquez, a famous naval official. The channel still bears the same name, having been adopted by Vancouver. It was probably named by Caamaño after the Principe de Asturias, but as it also appears on Colnett's map, in the Museo Naval, as "Principe Real" it is possible that it was named by Colnett "Prince Royal Channel."—H. R. W.

could be in any degree qualified. I resolved, therefore, at least to furnish indubitable proofs of my loyalty and constancy, even though ill fortune might prevent the execution of my orders in conformity with my own desires.

At 9 o'clock that evening, we were six miles off the entrance to the Principe channel. We then hauled to the wind and stood off on a W.S.W. course until midnight, when we tacked to the northward in order to be again off the entrance by daylight. The wind, however, suddenly fell, and a thick fog set in, which decided me to continue making a succession of short boards, so as to maintain the frigate's position. At 9:30 a.m. of the 30th, the weather cleared, and a breeze sprang up at N.W., which enabled us to run for the mouth of the channel, so that we entered it by 1 o'clock of the afternoon.

Whether any merit be due to these proceedings, or to my action in having held a course along an iron bound coast such as this is, without possessing either local knowledge or information (since Colnet's accounts refer only to the waters southward of this channel), in a vessel of the qualities of my ship, at so advanced a season of the year, I leave to the judgment of experts; and whatever shall be their opinion, my own will freely conform to it. We continued running through the channel during the afternoon and evening. It is so narrow in places that the farther shore was often less than a mile from us; but in spite of this proximity to the land, we could get no bottom, although frequently sounding. By 10 p.m. the frigate was abreast of SENO DE GOROSTIZA,[47] and at midnight little more than a mile from PUNTA DEL ENGANO;[48] when, the wind having fallen to a calm, I became anxious to find an anchorage; both for the security of the vessel, and to give some rest to her tired and short handed crew. I therefore sent away the cutter, with orders to search for a depth of less than seventy fathoms (which was the amount of water in which we found ourselves at the moment), but she soon returned reporting that no bottom could be had with fifty fathoms line at no more than the distance of one cable [200 yards] from the shore. This information decided me to wait for daylight; leaving the frigate, meanwhile, to drift with the cur-

(47) Nepean Sound.—H. R. W.

(48) Probably Wolf Point.—H. R. W.

rent, which set her some six or seven miles inside the entrance during the remainder of the night. At 4 o'clock in the morning of the 31st, the wind sprang up from the N.W.^{d}. with which we stood again for Punta del Engano. At 6 o'clock when two miles distant from it, I sent the pilot, Don Juan Pantoja, in the manned and armed pinnace to survey a harbour, named Puerto de Bala,[49] that lay according to Captain Colnet's description (though he appears to be an unreliable authority, as well as devoid of humanity) just beyond this point, and hove the frigate to on the port tack while waiting for my officer's return. The pinnace came back an hour after noon, when the pilot reported that this harbour had no existence; nor could he find anything in the least resembling one, after a most thorough search, except a bay whose entrance was encumbered by innumerable islets, reefs, and sunken rocks; which, several times, had turned him back; and left him considerably surprised at seeing a small English sloop[50] lying at anchor within. Indeed, he could no wise make out the passage by which she had entered; nor how she had managed to get there, unless by poling herself in at the top of high water. As I have entire confidence in the report of my officer, I have foreborne to give either Colnet's original (but unfounded) name, or any other, to this bay; which is wanting in every quality that is required of a harbour. Also, by making known the real conditions, controversies occasioned by such deceptions may be avoided.

At half past one, we filled and steered for PUNTA DE MALA INDIADA,[51] hoping to find some convenient anchorage in its neighbourhood, from whence to carry out our work of surveying the deceptive Estrecho de Fonte by means of our boats.

---

(49) This name appears on the Colnett map, now in the Museo Naval, as on Isla Calamidad.—H. R. W.

Pantoja's description of Puerto de Bala fits very well the south-east end of Banks Island, which I visited in 1903 when looking for Duncan and Colnett anchorages.—W. A. N.

(50) The *Prince Lee Boo*, of the *Butterworth* squadron. Despite Caamaño's criticism, both the *Prince of Wales* and the *Princess Royal* entered this bay, which Colnett describes as being "half a mile to a mile wide, formed by many small rocks and isles." (Note by F. W. Howay.)

(51) In all probability Steep Point, or near it.—H. R. W.

By 4 o'clock that afternoon we had reached the entrance of the narrow channel, formed between Isla de la Compañia,[52] and Isla de Enriquez, and felt confident that we would soon sight the Estrecho de Fonte, off whose entrance I hoped to anchor. This channel, however, contrary to the information given by Captain Colnet, ran on for such a distance that notwithstanding the fresh breeze, it was 8 o'clock that evening before we brought up in the SURGIDERO DE SAN ROQUE, also named SURGIDERO DE MAL FONDO.[53]

By this time the Indians, continually coming on board, were much increased in number. This, added to the fact that I noticed rather an ugly attitude among them (for a native who was caught by the pilot trying to steal the candles out of the binnacle threatened the latter with his knife, which they all carry slung over the shoulder), induced me to warn our people to be on their guard, and the sentries on the gangways, hatchways, and cabin door, as well as the rest of the marines, to redouble their vigilance.

When the incident with the binnacle took place, the chief was also on board, to whom I immediately related the event in form of complaint. He called for the aggressor, rated the fellow soundly, and ordered him out of the ship. Just before the frigate came to an anchor, this chief had arrived alongside accompanied by his three wives, in a canoe manned with eight, all very much in the same style as at Florida Blanca, except that this chief wore a long blue cloth overcoat reaching to his heels, surmounted by a cloak of similar material and colour, such as is usually worn by them. This cloak was trimmed with an edging five or six inches wide, painted with various figures and grotesque faces, made of deer skin, as well as with two rows of flounces also made of deer skin.[54] On his head was a large cap fashioned of some black fur. This was stiffened, so that two ears stood upright for about eight

(52) This name appears on Colnett's chart, and as it is not underscored by Caamaño it was probably taken by him from that chart. It was adopted by Vancouver, and was later changed to Campania, its present name.—H. R. W.

(53) Probably the small bay just south of Toowartz Inlet.—H. R. W.

(54) A very rare type of cloak in museums of to-day. The cloth used was of native manufacture and not secured from traders, as the context might imply.—W. A. N.

inches at each side. From these, several long golden coloured threads (or hairs of some animal) hung down his back, and over his shoulders were two large burnished iron rings, twisted in rope fashion. All this, together with his affable expression, and extremely fair complexion, combined to produce a most pleasing impression.

As he stepped over the frigate's side, he at once asked for the commanding-officer. As soon as I was pointed out, he came forward and gave me a long and affectionate embrace. Without evincing any repugnance, I responded in similar manner, being struck by his handsome appearance. He then informed me that he was the " Samoquet " of the village; whereupon I presented him with several trifles and invited him into my cabin after we had anchored, entertaining him with wine and biscuit. He made but a short stay and then took leave of me, apparently well pleased and amicably disposed. On the way ashore in his canoe, he intoned the customary chant, in which his crew joined in unison, while keeping time with the strokes of their paddles. The other Indians on board then followed his example and left the ship in their canoes.

When these were gone, I made up my mind not in future to allow them this free access to the ship. This decision was reached not so much from fear of attack, since none need be apprehended when they come accompanied by their women and children, as from a desire to be free of their intrusions and unpleasant smell. Not many are nice in their appearance; all are exceedingly filthy and, as little trade with Europeans is done in this hidden, out of the way, spot, they still live in wretched conditions. A few, however, wear coats or pieces of blue cloth, and even old English uniforms, as the English, and more especially the Americans, give anything they have, or for which the natives may beg, in exchange for the skins of the sea otter.

Our not allowing the women on board whom they offered to us, so greatly surprised them, that the men already on board with most significant gestures imparted the news to the others who were continuing to press alongside the vessel. So far as I was able to gather, these Indians seem to live in much the same manner as those around Bucarely; with this difference, that their thieving propensity, common to all these peoples, is greater, and

their habits more mischievous. Both men and women are so addicted to daubing themselves with paint, that one rarely gets a sight of their actual face or complexion. By this means they are so disfigured that one might imagine that they desire to give themselves a devilish appearance. The women make themselves even more hideous, as besides the wooden toggle worn by all of them in the lower lip, they go as naked as those of Florida Blanca. Both sexes mostly wear their hair cut straight all round the head a la "Estudiantina,"[55] differing by this fashion from all the other tribes.

[*August, 1792.*]

At daylight on August 1, the officer of the watch reported to me that a rock was showing just off the port beam. I at once ordered a kedge anchor to be laid out from the stern when, using its hawser as a spring, we sounded all round the frigate, finding no more dangers but uniform depths of twenty-three fathoms, the same as the soundings obtained by the cutter the evening before, when sent in to look for an anchorage.

The rock that was reported, with two others, lying one each side of it, were almost vertical pinnacles, having depths of twelve and fifteen fathoms close up to them, and covered more than twelve feet at high water. Great care, therefore, is required to locate them, unless when showing at or after half-ebb. The natives, although repeatedly asked concerning the existence of such dangers had said not a word about them; neither are they mentioned by the discoverer of Puerto Bala and author of the Estrecho de Fonte fable.[56]

This chain of fatality would have led to the loss of the frigate should I have held on but another half-fathom when bringing the ship to anchor the day before. As a matter of fact, she had come so close to these rocks, that the anchor actually had fallen on one of them when we let go; but I thought that the fact of the cable not running out was due to a kink in it, especially as the anchor —slipping off the crest of the rock, where it could not bite—again

(55) This type of hair cut had only recently become fashionable in 1793, according to Archibald Menzies. He had visited these waters previously with Captain Duncan. (*See* transcript of Menzies' *Journal*, in Archives of B.C., July, 1793, p. 659.)—W. A. N.

(56) Colnett is here meant.—H. R. W.

took the cable in normal fashion immediately afterwards. We had lain in peril all through the night. Fortunately, there was no wind, so that the ebb-tide kept the ship's head pointed steadily in one direction; otherwise, she must have swung on to the rock; and then, with the rapidly falling tide, probably would have been helplessly over-set.

In order that the unprofessional reader may the better understand the nature of the hazard to which we had been exposed, I must explain that we came to anchor just at the moment of high water, on a spring tide with a rise of seventeen feet, eight inches; also, that the frigate's draught of water forward was eighteen inches less than at the stern, and, at the instant of anchoring, there could not have been less than fourteen feet of water on the rock.

We weighed the bower anchor, warped the vessel with the kedge, let go again the bower, and then lay moored with it and the kedge.

I now decided to take formal possession of this harbour, and therefore ordered a large wooden cross made. As, however, it continued to rain; as, too, I did not wish to risk any unseemly manifestations on the part of the Indians, the Mass was celebrated on board the frigate. At its conclusion, the marines and greater part of the seamen were landed with small boats in charge of the pilot, together with the chaplain, to carry out the prescribed ceremonial of taking possession, and bury the Act or official Document, recording the fact.[57] This was all finished by 1 o'clock in the afternoon when the rest of the day was spent in preparing the pinnace and cutter to be sent away at daylight next morning to survey the inlets, in charge of the second pilot, Don Juan Zayas. The chief of the village, noticing these preparations, came to ask me whither the boats would be going. On my telling him that they were to explore and survey the various channels, he explained to me by signs that these were innumerable, ran inland a great distance, and were infested by huge animals that thrust the whole body out of water, attacked and over-set the natives' canoes and devoured their occupants. I had

(57) The act of possession took place, of course, where the cross is shown on the plan of Puerto de Gaston.—H. R. W.

no doubt of the untruth of this story, in spite of the chief's expressive gestures, and confirmation by all the other Indians.

The surveying party left the ship in the two boats at 4 o'clock in the morning of August 2. It consisted of twenty-seven men; well armed, and with provisions for eight days. I gave them orders not to spend more than four or five days on the outward journey on account of the lateness of the season, the large amount of work still remaining to be done, and the fact that a detailed examination of these arms and entrances could well require several months. Today, and yesterday, a great number of canoes came alongside the frigate. As, however, I allowed no more than the chief, with his son and his father, to come on board, the natives soon went away. All the same, in that short period they managed to steal the iron mast clamps out of the cutter without being noticed by any of our people, although many were all the time about the gangways, and the robbery could not have been effected without the use of great force, as these clamps are firmly secured to the thwarts of the boat. On August 3 the chief and most of the natives left the harbour for the neighbouring inlets, to carry on, as I suppose, their sea-otter hunting; although I fancy these animals are there very scarce.[58]

Nothing worth the mention happened on the 4th. The next day, however, I had allowed ten of our men to take my galley (the only boat then remaining on board), for the purpose of landing to wash their clothes, as others had done previously. Half an hour after noon, it was reported to me that one of these hands was seen in the water trying to swim to the ship. I at once ordered a seaman to take a grating and go to his assistance, fearing lest the swimmer should become exhausted. The two men were soon again on board, when I learnt that our washing party had been robbed of the clothes (of which there happened to be a considerable quantity) by natives who had come back to the place where these were, not only in their canoes, but along the shore as well. The Indians were numerous and carried weapons. Our people, alarmed by this, offered no resistance, but thought only to save their lives by flight. Some fled into the forest, others threw themselves on to logs in the water, in an endeavour to reach the

(58) Both Captain Vancouver and Archibald Menzies report a "vast crowd" of sea-otter in Nepean Sound the following year.—W. A. N.

ship as the natives had seized the galley and carried off the two boat keepers, Juan Salinas, one of the boatswain's mates, and Manuel Lecanda, a navigating cadet. I was made extremely angry by this news, and at the same time felt greatly exercised how best to rescue our men ashore, as well as to save five of them then in the water, who could be seen being set every minute further from the frigate, by the tide and freshening breeze. Several ideas rushed through my mind, but all appeared useless or likely only to increase the tale of victims, until at last I ordered a raft to be made from casks; manned it with four hands, furnished with paddles made from pipe staves, and veered it astern by a long hawser. This raft was already a good cable's length distant from the ship, when my fears were increased at seeing two large canoes, each full of Indians, come out from Puerto de Gaston and make towards the village a course that would take them close to our people in the raft, whom it would not then be possible to defend by means of our guns in case of attack by these Natives, as they and my men would all be mixed together. More than once I was on the point of hauling in the raft, had it not been for my anxiety to save one man in the water who then was close to it (two others had already been picked up). This consideration restrained me until he also was secured, when I at once gave the order to run away with the hawser, giving up all hope of rescuing two others, who each moment were drifting farther astern, but directed the Chaplain to give them final "Absolution" from the taffrail.

My feelings in this sad situation may be imagined by any humane person, at seeing a third canoe carrying a number of Indians follow the two former ones, and at hearing its occupants (for their voices carried further than could ours using a good speaking trumpet) shout to their fellows to approach the frigate no nearer lest we might capture and hold them as hostages for the Spaniards already in their power. I could, now, have opened fire, with certainty of hitting, on both the warning Indians and the warned. I reflected, however, that this action might serve only to increase the peril of the couple of unfortunates still in the water, and of the others in the hands of the natives ashore, and, therefore, held back our fire. These "Stranger" Indians had no sooner reached the shore, when a canoe urged by seven or eight

paddles shot out from it towards us at an almost incredible speed. A native, standing up in her, made signs that he was going to the assistance of our two men, now almost exhausted, in the water. This unlooked for act of humanity somewhat eased my mind, which then was altogether lightened by seeing the galley making for us with two of our men in her; the ones that were missing. She was soon alongside, when the boatswain's mate in her told me how they had been freed by the old father of the chief (now absent) to whom I had shown civility, by name Jammisit, and the people of his village. That the Indians who had captured them, whose chief was called Gitejon, belonged to a different faction, and several times had attempted to kill them with clubs and knives, but had been stopped by the former. Indeed, so obstinately malicious had been those, and so definitely humane these, that both sides armed themselves with spears, bows, and muskets, besides putting on their armour of leather jackets,[59] breastplates, long boots, etc. The first to do so had been the good old man, who started beating his war drum, made of some sort of calabash or hollow wood and containing tiny pebbles, something like a timbrel at a country fair in Andalusia.[60] In the resulting confusion, nothing was heard or seen but discordant cries, piercing yells, women's weeping, faces distorted by rage and ferocity; on all sides a lively prospect of certain death. Seeing themselves about to be attacked, the hostile party gave in; whereupon, our benefactor led his proteges to his house, decorated their heads with white feathers, and had various sorts of fruit, including even some of the forbidden kinds, brought for their refreshment. Thereafter, escorting them to the beach, he put them safely into the galley, and placed guards to prevent any attempt by the enemy faction to hinder their getting away. Just as the boatswain's mate finished his story, which left me not a little astonished at finding evidence of so much good feeling among such a backward people, the Indian canoe, bringing our two men taken out of the water, arrived alongside. These they had picked up almost insensible, but had carefully covered them with their otter skin and pine bark cloaks. I told these Indians to come on board.

(59) Armour of leather jackets; i.e., hard-tanned moose hide.—W. A. N.

(60) This description fits very well the globular type of Shaman's rattle found in this area.—W. A. N.

Showing some signs of apprehension, they did so, but I gave them presents, particularly to the principal man among them, who was Jammisit's brother, and made him understand that two of our people were still missing, who I fancied might have remained near the spot to which they had been sent in the morning. He replied by signs that he would send for them when delivering the present that I was now sending to his brother by him. Being, however, afraid lest our men might again take to the woods or seek some other refuge, should they see that it was Indians alone coming after them, I sent the galley back to the shore with four marines in her (a precaution we had always taken except on this last occasion) besides seamen.

Noticing this, our friendly natives in their anxiety to do all they could towards putting matters right, made such exertions that they handed over the present and then themselves found our two missing hands sooner than those could do it whom I had sent expressly for this purpose. When they came back with them, I expressed my gratitude, especially to Jammisit, who had accompanied them, and who shortly after returned on shore, singing as he left, and leaving me turning over in my mind the best means of chastising the ill-doers, but extremely relieved that the trouble had boiled down to no more than the loss of some hours of quiet, and a few pieces of clothes.

At daylight on the 6th, our boats were sighted returning from their surveying expedition with, in their midst, a canoe containing several Indians. Reckoning, should these belong to the hostile tribe, that they might serve us as hostages for the return of my people's clothing, while their captivity and punishment would perhaps act as a deterrent, I sent the galley with four marines and three seamen in her with orders to the pinnace to bring these Indians on board at any cost. But the watchful scouts, who had been posted all night along the shore, guessing both my intentions and the danger of their fellows, sent out one of their swiftest canoes to shout a warning. Had it not been for this, I doubtless would have had my satisfaction; therefore, seeing that this opportunity was lost, I let fly a volley at both canoes, to which they replied from the islet abreast of the village with a fire from muskets supplied to them by the English.

The boat expedition, commanded by Don Juan Zayas, 2nd master, got back to the ship at 7 a.m. He brought with him the draft of the survey that he had made, and reported that the N.E. Arm (the main one),[61] up which he had penetrated for a distance of fifty-four miles, had a breadth varying from one to one and one half miles, and seemed to run inland for a considerable way; also, that although very deep water, it, as well as the others, are all subject to a regular, but extremely sluggish, semi-diurnal flow and ebb of tide; and, therefore, in his opinion, have small importance. These reasons, coupled with others that I shall mention later, led me to deprive this region of its name of Fonte Strait, and replace it by that of BOCAS Y BRAZOS DE MONINO. He also informed me that throughout the whole distance between the mountains forming these channels, he had seen nothing of particular interest and had met but one fishing canoe.

Jammisit came aboard at 9 o'clock in one of his canoes, accompanied by his brother, a son and seven more lusty Indians, chanting " Peace—Peace." They all used their paddles either seated or kneeling except the two foremost, who were standing up and making movements as if wishing to dance. In the stern of the canoe, the chief was trying to force his shaky, quivering, massive body to prance and leap, though borne down by the weight of his more than eighty years, in a manner that did little beside threatening him with a dangerous fall. Around his head, across the temples, was a strip of black cloth, six inches wide and long enough to be tied at the back of his skull, ornamented with coloured enamelled buttons arranged in symmetrical patterns. Over his shoulders he wore a couple of cloaks; the inner one a parti-coloured woolen cape, trimmed with nutria fur; the outer, a bear-skin mantle edged and flounced with broad strips seemingly of deer-hide, cut to finish as fringe, and sewn with small tassels of white swansdown making a pretty regular pattern.[62] From the middle of these hung four very fine leather thongs, each about four inches long, with an eagle's claw at the end, which made hardly less noise than a harlequin's suit of bells. His

(61) Not shown on the chart, but no doubt Douglas Channel.—H. R. W.

(62) The outer cape was apparently similar in weave to specimens that have been collected in recent years at Bella Coola; the inner cape described is like a Shaman's apron.—W. A. N.

middle-aged brother, in the bows, was freer in his movements, rapidly opening and closing his arms, whistling, and scattering around great handsfull of feathers, as signs of peace and friendship. His sole clothing was a cloak of sea-otter skins.

When close to the frigate, they slackened their pace, as if afraid that the trouble arisen earlier in the morning had not yet blown over, and that their overtures might not be well received. I, however, realised their well-founded apprehensions, and hailed them; whereupon, they at once came alongside, astonishing us by their courage and confidence.

The first to come up the side was he who carried the peace-offerings of feathers. Before doing anything else he sprinkled two large bunches of them over my head, and over those of the officers standing near. He was followed by Jammisit (who presented me with an otter skin) and the rest of the company, performing the same ceremonies, whom I rewarded, each one in proportion to the part played by him in protecting our men. I also bought the old chief's jingling cloak, to keep as a curiosity. I regaled Jammisit and all his gang with biscuit and wine, of which they drank much and nauseated us more; after which they took their leave, singing and gesticulating in the same manner as they had done when arriving. As a mark of his great friendship for me, the old man had given me his name, taking mine in exchange. In consequence, I was called "Jammisit" ever afterwards by all the Natives, while he was known to them as "Caamaño."[63]

Reflecting that I now had all my boats back and my whole ship's company on board, I had chosen the coming night to attack the Indians as a punishment for their insolence and for the anxiety they had caused me. Everything was prepared and ready for execution, when, much against the general will, I decided to take no steps. I realised that it was hopeless to think of taking them by surprise, from the precautions that we saw they were taking; and, even had we been able to do so, we would not have found them defenceless, as they always sleep with their great knives slung round them, as I myself had noticed. To this

(63) See *supra*, note 23, for the similar exchange of names between Captain William Douglas and Cuneah; but I have never heard the name Caamaño used by Indians today.—W. A. N.

consideration was added another, that I knew them to possess six or eight muskets, so that the loss of some of our men would be no unlikely event; for I was well aware of our people's habits on such occasions, and the difficulty of preventing them from risking themselves during the pursuit, or at the destruction of the native villages, and from which might ensue accidents that might be extremely unpleasant to me. One thing, for instance, that went far to confirm my change of purpose, was the fact that some entirely innocent Indians as well as many well disposed towards us, would probably lose their lives during the fight, since, being a high spirited people, they would all rally as one man in defence of their homes, and consequently might be expected to put up a vigorous resistance.

During the 7th, 8th, and 9th, of this month, we carried on the survey of the anchorage, and of several neighbouring channels. By this, our enforced stay was not entirely wasted; as, ever since our arrival, the wind had settled in the S.E. and South with frequent rain, thick fog, and occasional squalls.

The results of this survey, made with considerable accuracy, give the position of Surgidero de Roque in BAHIA JOSEF at the entrance to the Moñino Bocas as Lat. 53°. 24′. N., and Long. 25°. 40′. West of San Blas.[64] They also show that this anchorage is protected from winds all round the compass, by the moderately high hills that surround it, provided a berth be taken S.E.^{d}. of the islets lying abreast of the native village; though caution is necessary when entering, on account of the three rocks already mentioned above. The bottom here, in twelve fathoms, is sand and fine gravel; and this is the only berth that I would recommend to a vessel intending to winter.

There are depths of twenty, twenty-three, and twenty-five fathoms, over coarse gravel, to the northward of these islets, but one is exposed here to N.E.ly and S.E.ly winds, while in places the bottom is foul and likely to chafe a vessel's cable.

The best berth for a short stay, is to the S.E.E.^{d}. of the islets that lie S.E.^{d}. of the village, close to them, in fourteen to sixteen

(64) This longitude does not agree with that given on the attached copy of the plan by Caamaño. The latter, however, seems to be fairly correct by modern charts. The cross at the head of the creek which probably represented Caamaño's observation spot is in longitude 129° 31′ W. (Note by Captain Grenfell.)

fathoms, sand and gravel bottom, with good holding ground. A vessel here, will lie fairly well sheltered from S.E.ly winds, which are those most to be feared in this neighbourhood. She will also be conveniently situated for getting under weigh, without risk of falling into shoal water, even though she closely approach the dangers that show above water.

There is anchorage, as well, in BRAZO DE MALDONADO[65] to the northward of San Roque Anchorage, where a ship need have no apprehension of meeting other dangers than those shown on the plan made by us, and these all uncover at low water.

All the land in this region is extremely barren. The steep and narrow beaches consist of shingle or rock. The natural products are the same as those of Bucarely, but there is considerable difficulty in procuring them. Alone, the pine-tree grows in great profusion.

On August 10, we had completed the plan of a harbour lying four miles N.E. of San Roque Anchorage, to which I gave the name of PUERTO DE GASTON.[66] The natives assured me that here was a passage by which they went to Queen Charlotte's Island when visiting Cania. They could, no doubt, easily do this by the inlet running to the N.W.^{d}., from it, as it probably leads into the Archipelago of the 11,000 Virgins, or thereabouts. In my opinion, Puerto de Gaston possesses all the requisites for a vessel to winter in, as the anchorage is protected from every wind that blows by the surrounding hills, and by ISLA MIGUEL[67] in its midst. No Indians live here, and the channel is used by them only when going to trade with their neighbours. The ground is rather more fertile than around San Roque; the beaches, also, are wider and have a better surface.

Our friendly intercourse with the Indians, which had been somewhat interrupted by bad weather, was now continued, as it had turned fine. At 9 in the morning of the 12th, a canoe with one man and six women in it came alongside. The chief boat-

(65) No doubt named for the botanist, José Maria Maldonado; the present Toowartz Inlet.—H. R. W.

(66) In Union Pass, near the entrance to Grenville Channel; possibly it was on the east side of Hinton Island. The port was named in honour of Miguel Gaston, the Spanish naval officer.—H. R. W.

(67) Hinton Island; it seems to be the " San Antonio " of the Caamaño plan.—H. R. W.

swain's mate, directly he saw the man, told me that this was the one who had been most active of the party by whom our people had been attacked. Having confirmed this information, which agreed with other reports already made to me, I had him brought on board by the three marines, who had already been put into the canoe to secure her. So soon as the women saw him made prisoner, although their own liberty was not attempted, they pushed off and paddled away, screaming vociferously and making gestures of fervent entreaty. They quickly reached the village. Already, though from more than a mile away, Jammisit with five of his family was laying off the frigate; and began calling to me in humble manner. I answered, assuring him that he might come aboard without any fear. At once he did so, without hesitation or consultation of his companions, and came aft on to the quarter deck, where he found his compatriot securely lashed to the main bitts. Jammisit begged me not to kill the man, as he had been one of those who helped to liberate our people. To this, I replied that I would release him if the clothing that had been taken were returned. Jammisit then at once went back to the shore, and came again alongside with a good part of the stolen clothes, as well as three otter skins for a present to myself. I handed these latter over to those whose garments were still missing, and then set the culprit free, at the same time telling those who had pleaded for him that for their sake I would also let him off the flogging at the gun, which my earlier intention had been to give him. We then made reciprocal friendly advances and some presents, although of trifling value, were received by those to whom I gave them with shouts of pleasure. At one o'clock all points having been settled, and their bellies filled, they left the ship, singing their "Peace" song, as on arrival; and carrying out precisely the same ceremonies as they had done on the 6th (which I have already described in detail), except the beshowering me with feathers, which I managed to avoid by keeping to the weather side of them. The weather now remained persistently bad up to the 23rd, when the wind shifted to the S.W.ward at 2 in the afternoon. Without caring whether the wind were settled or not, or considering the consequences that might ensue in the latter event, I immediately got the frigate under weigh; anxious only

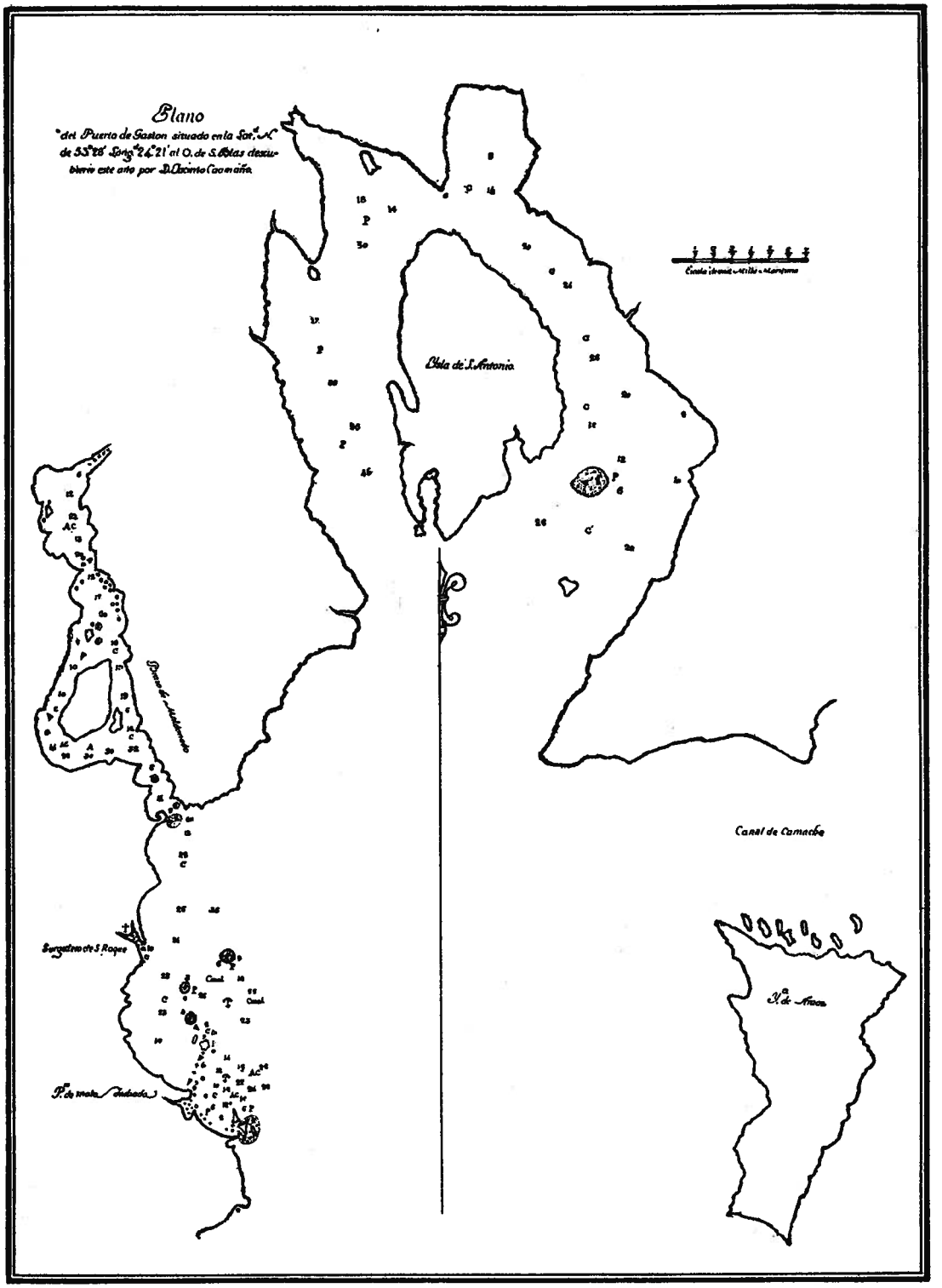
to get clear of these narrow waters, whither no sensible being would ever penetrate, unless forced by necessity, a mad desire for personal gain, or blind obedience.

In a couple of hours time the wind had backed to S.E. obliging us to anchor. This we did at 5 o'clock, in fourteen fathoms at a distance of two cables from the shore, under the lee of the islets that lie S.E.ly from the village. Several Indians at once came alongside with fish, who told me that the vessel's present position was not the best for any stay, but that she would ride sheltered from all winds and sea behind the islands situate eastward of the houses. I explained to them, however, that though already aware of this, we were only waiting to make sail on the first opportunity from the berth we now occupied.

As the chaplain, master, surgeon, and botanist wished to land in order to visit a pretty large river that discharged near the village, I gave them the cutter. They were, however, no sooner ashore, than Jammisit accompanied by several more came to meet them, inviting them into their houses. Our people accepted, and were entertained with a dance, decorated with feathers, and presented with various trifles, together with a dagger for me. At the same time, the Indians intimated that if I should visit them, this would give them great pleasure, and a grand fete would be arranged in my honour.

At 7.30 next morning the wind came fair from the northward; whereupon, we weighed; but no sooner was this done than the wind shifted back into the S.E., and forced us once more to anchor; this time, in sixteen fathoms. At daybreak the following morning, the 25th, we again weighed and made sail to a light S.W.ly breeze. Towed by the pinnace, the vessel had already reached mid-channel when, once more the wind backed to the S.E.wd. I decided, nevertheless, to attempt to beat up these narrows against it; hoping that the wind might veer again S.W.ly or N.W.ly, during the course of the day, and thus let us get clear of this corner. The breeze, however, freshened so much, that at 4 o'clock in the afternoon I was forced to bear up and run back to the anchorage that we had just quitted, where we brought up at 6 that evening.

Here, some natives came out to the ship; while Jammisit with many of his people landed on the islet nearest to us; where,



Plan of the Puerto de Gaston.

The "Isla de S. Antonio" is the Hinton Island of to-day, and the "Canal de Camache" is Cridge Pass.

having cut great branches of pine, waving these in their hands they danced and sang, as tokens of joy at seeing my return.

As I expected the weather during the night would be much the same as that which we had lately been experiencing, we had come to with the stream anchor, which had been shown by experience to be trustworthy. The wind, however, so freshened that at midnight a hard squall caused the frigate to drag with such violence, that had we not immediately let go one of the bowers, she would have been lost on the northern-most of the islets abreast the village.[68] As it was, this second anchor only brought her up at less than half a cable's distance from it, and in a position still to cause me considerable anxiety. I therefore sent down the upper yards and top-gallant-masts, but leaving the top-masts in place, so that in case of the vessel again dragging, sail could still be made, as then our only chance would be to fetch into a better berth, since there was not room enough in San Jose bay for the frigate either to work out, or to lie to. The weather remained much the same until the forenoon of the following day when, about 11 o'clock, it began to improve; so that during the afternoon we were able to weigh and warp the ship into a more secure position; where she would lie less exposed should the gale of the night before repeat itself.

During the 27th, the wind continued in the south-eastern quarter, but with much less force, and with occasional fine intervals. The Indians profited by these to come alongside with their women, whom they proffered to us in the most open manner, without asking any price for their favours.

The chief, Jammisit, with the whole circle of his relations, made me great demonstrations of friendship, and begged to be allowed to come on board. This, I granted, and invited them below into my cabin, knowing it to be what they most desired. When there, Jammisit according to custom, began chanting one of his songs; which, taken up by the others in chorus, then produced a terrific, though not altogether unpleasing noise. At its end, I ordered wine and ship's biscuit to be set before them. This refreshment gave them renewed strength to sing me a second song, which perhaps was the least bad of any that I had

(68) The village so frequently referred to was probably Citeyats, as it is now known, at the south-eastern extremity of Pitt Island, or one near it.—H. R. W.

so far heard. By the time this one was finished, it was nearly nightfall; when—as they always did—they asked leave of me to withdraw, which was granted them. Their servants (who are natives of low class) then brought the canoes to the gangway, into which Jammisit embarked with his party, all extremely pleased, and inviting me to visit their village on the following day, as they desired to entertain me with a grand ball. During today's gathering, I had learnt from them (although their dialect is not quite the same as that of the Indians at Bucarely or Florida Blanca) that two of Jammisit's three wives are sisters, daughters of a neighbouring chief. Consanguinity, I understood, forms no bar to marriage, which they regard as such an indissoluble bond, that after the death of one of the parties, even should the other remarry (the general custom being to remain widow or widower), the survivor never parts with the body of the dead spouse, but preserves it in a large chest and keeps continual watch over it; especially in the case of people of quality.[69] It also appears that their songs are all addressed to God (whom they recognize and worship), but never to an idol,[70] and are extemporized for the end they have in view; as was the case with the one last sung to me, wherein they begged for me a fair wind and fortunate voyage.

This day (August 28) the S.E.ly wind still held, with frequent squalls, until noon. Jammisit came to visit me in the afternoon, accompanied by upwards of forty of his relatives, all singing and bringing feathers. He, together with his nearest relations, arrived in one of two canoes lashed alongside each other. Jammisit's head appeared from behind a screen formed of brilliantly white deerskin; on it, accordingly as the action demanded or his own particular fancy dictated, he would place various masks or heads of the different animals that he proposed to imitate; the deerskin serving as a curtain by which he was entirely hidden when he wished, unseen to put on or change one

(69) Burials in large chests were generally those of wealthy individuals and Shamans. Others were often placed in the large storage type of box. —W. A. N.

(70) Caamaño's observation regarding songs not being sung to idols has been confirmed in later years, though songs may be sung by chiefs who were inspired by spirits. Songs were of many kinds, such as cradle songs, gambling songs, war songs, potlatch and dancing songs, etc.—W. A. N.

of these masks or faces. They remained alongside thus for some time, singing and continuing their antics, until Jammisit with great eagerness explained that he was come to conduct me to his village. Curiosity to see it, as well as the fete for which such extensive preparations were being made, induced me to comply with his entreaties. Accompanied by the master, botanist, and surgeon, I therefore landed in the cutter, at the same time sending nine marines armed with muskets ashore in the pinnace. As we left the ship in the cutter, the five canoes all started to race as fast as they could paddle for the village, intending to be first on shore so as to be able to receive me as I landed. They succeeded in this without difficulty, owing to the extraordinary swiftness of their canoes. By the time we in the cutter reached the strand, there were already six lusty natives carrying a very clean deerskin awaiting me on the beach. These at once dashed into the water up to the waist alongside our boat, making signs for me to sit on the skin to be carried ashore on their shoulders. At first I declined, but they were so vehemently insistent, that I gave in and let them do it; not, however, without considerable apprehension lest I should be dropped upon the ground on my back.[71]

The moment that I placed myself on the deerskin, these six fellows hoisted my 150 lb. carcass on to their shoulders and carried me at a run across the shingle and up the pretty steep slope leading from it to the village, whither they brought me at a surprising speed. To pass through the narrow doorway of the chief's house, over which was painted a huge mask,[72] it was necessary to make a litter or hammock of the deerskin. Two of the strongest of the Indians did this, with the other four assisting as best they could, while I was shrinking myself into as small compass as possible (though my bearers were careful enough) to avoid being bumped against the door posts. Once inside, I tried to get on my feet, but this they would not allow before bringing me to the place prepared for my seat, which was to the right of the entrance. The seat was formed of a case or

(71) This custom of carrying a " visitor of standing " ashore was practised by all our Coast tribes.—W. A. N.

(72) This tends to confirm the view of Marius Barbeau, of the National Museum, Ottawa, whose researches among the Tsimshian indicated that house frontal paintings were the forerunners of totem-poles.—W. A. N.

chest, raised higher than those for the others, fitted for only one person, and covered with a new mat; while a similar one was spread before it. The seats for my officers, ranged on either hand of mine, were made in similar manner; those for my men, were formed of mats spread out on the floor. When we were all (I had left about fifteen seamen and marines in the two boats as a guard in reserve) arranged and seated I noticed that opposite to me, and sitting in a seat of the same sort as mine, was the chief named Gitejon; who had not again shown himself on board the frigate since the theft of my men's clothes by his people. This ill-disposed Indian occupied that place of distinction in virtue of his quality as a guest and chief of the other faction. He was wearing a new mantle, of fine blue cloth, edged with leather; on which, as is usual among the chiefs, were painted various grotesque masks or faces.[73] He also wore a breech clout, of the same cloth, but lined with antelope skin, and neatly cut into numerous pendants, about twelve inches deep and perhaps five or six inches wide; oval shaped and hanging from a narrow strap around his hips; thus covering that which otherwise would have been extremely noticeable. So soon as he caught my eye, he arose, straightening his huge stature, bent (though not with years, as he was under 40) by some infirmity or spinal complaint, came over to me and seated himself at my feet. From a small bag made of pine bark, he then produced a quantity of feathers which he proceeded to blow so that they should fall upon myself and my immediate neighbours; followed up this action by other friendly gestures, and then returned to his own seat. By this time, the whole native company, amounting to about eighty people of both sexes, was arranged on the floor. Jammisit, his three wives, and grown up family, were in front. Myself, with all my officers and men, were on the right; and only women were allowed to be behind us. On the left were the remainder from Jammisit's village, and those from that of Gitejon. In this situation, then, Jammisit began to emit piercing howls in a pitiful key; after which, throwing back his head as if about to faint, he sat down, clutching at the collar laces of his cloak, as if wishing to throw it off. Several of his family nearby,

(73) The behaviour and costume of Gitejon give me the impression that he was a Shaman.—W. A. N.

who were watching to give him any help that might be necessary, when they noticed this, gathered around him forming a screen so that he might not be seen changing his garments in which some of the others were assisting him.

So soon as he had put on the ones in which he was to show himself, they would break up and sit down out of his way, leaving only a couple of his nearest relations standing by ready to help him as he might require. When he was ready, these also left him, and the actor arose.

On his head was a large well-imitated representation of a seagull's head, made of wood and coloured blue and pink, with eyes fashioned out of polished tin; while from behind his back stuck out a wooden frame covered in blue cloth, and decked out with quantities of eagles' feathers and bits of whale bone, to complete the representation of the bird.[74] His cloak was now of white calico, bearing a blue flowered pattern, trimmed with a brown edging. Round his waist hung a deerskin apron falling to below the knee, whose fringe or flounce was made from narrow strips of the same leather, everyone being split into two tails, each of which carried half the hoof of a deer. Over this apron or kilt he wore another, shorter, one, of blue jean ornamented with numerous metal buttons arranged symmetrically, and two rows of antelope hide pendants or tassels, each finished off with an eagle's claw. On his legs were deer skin leggings, tied behind with four laces, ornamented with painted masks and trimmed with strips of hide carrying claws. Clad in this weird rattling rig, he then began to leap and cut capers, reminding one of a rope-dancer trying his rope. He also waved his arms, keeping them low down, in the same manner as that of the blind man at Florida Blanca. After two or three preliminary attempts, he started a song. This was at once taken up by every one inside the house, man or woman, and produced a terrific volume of sound, to whose measure he then began to dance, while a specially chosen Indian beat the time on a large drum. The dance was on the lines I have just mentioned, except that it now took place in the middle of the room, and lasted all the time that the music played; long enough, indeed, to tire the performer. As he

(74) The wooden frame behind the mask also acted as a counterbalance and generally had a string from it to the waist.—W. A. N.

finished and sat down, those attending him took off his mantle, and wiped the sweat from his face and body, while others held up a hide to screen his following change of attire from the general view. During this interval, which proved a short one, two tubs or small troughs were brought in, filled with freshly boiled fish for our refreshment though few of us tried it.

The old chief having recovered from his exhaustion due more to his age than the exercise, and being now dressed in the costume for his next performance, the curtain was drawn, and he appeared with a half-length wooden doll on his head.[75]

Two Indians at some distance behind him, who endeavoured to conceal their actions, then proceeded—by means of long fishing rods—to open and close the eyes of the doll, and raise its hands, in time to another tune that was struck up, while the dancer himself imitated the movements of the doll's face, which was sufficiently frightful in appearance, being coloured black and red, and furnished with an owl's beak and nostrils. For this scene, he wore a bear skin cloak, with the remainder of his costume as before. So soon as the music ceased, his attendants again hid him from sight. Before long, however, he again appeared, this time wearing a heavy wooden mask on his head, of which the snout, or upper jaw, was moveable.[76] He also carried a blue cloth mantle, such as distinguishes the chiefs, and the timbrel (or "jingles") that my men had noticed when they were captured. He began by making various weird movements, on which a new tune was started when his gestures and contortions soon worked him into such a state of frenzy, that he reached the point of fainting, and would doubtless have collapsed, had not the attendants quickly come to his aid. One laid his mouth to the chief's right side uttering loud shouts, while the singers still continued theirs, and laid hold of him, moving and lifting him with his hands as if he were a sack of straw to be stood on end. Others uncovered his breast and one after another sprayed him by squirting great mouthfuls of water from a distance of 10 or 12 feet. These attentions soon revived him, though groaning heavily. He was then led to his seat, his mask and mantle taken off, and the latter exchanged for the one he had earlier worn.

(75) These mechanical dolls were used by certain secret societies of the Haida, Tsimshian, and Kwakiutl.—W. A. N.

(76) Masks with the upper jaw moveable are a rarity.—W. A. N.

He then presented me with a nutria skin and returned to his place, when all the rest of the Indians rose up from theirs. I thereupon did the same, which being seen by my native escort, they at once got ready my coach (the large deer skin as a litter), put me into it, and quickly carried me down to my boat. On the way, I noticed four more houses similar to the one in which we had been entertained. This was about fifty to fifty-five feet in length, and thirty to thirty-five in breadth, with walls and roofs of well-fitted planking. In the middle of the roof was a louver or skylight, placed so as to admit plenty of light, and serving also for the exit of smoke from the hearth (on which a fire is kept constantly burning), but at the same time keeping out the rain. It was cleaner than I had expected to find, and at some time must have been much larger, as around and above it stood heavy forked posts with cross timbers.[77] My boat had hardly cleared the beach before the Indians leaped into their canoes and were making for the ship, which they reached simultaneously with us. Here, they asked my leave to come onboard, and when I consented started again to sing with even greater vigour than before. I gave them to eat and drink and towards nightfall they returned ashore with expressions of gratitude and pleasure.

In the morning of the 29th, we had a succession of squalls, with the wind shifting from the southward to the eastward. There were intervals of fine weather during the afternoon of which the natives took advantage to pay us visits.

Departure from Fondeadero San Roque to continue the survey of the coast between it and Nootka Sound.

The wind came to the S.W. at 2 o'clock in the morning of the 30th. At 5 a.m. we began to weigh; then made sail, standing to the south eastward, in order to enter and run through the CANAL DE LAREDO,[78] which we did until 3 in the afternoon, when

(77) A very good description of the average house in this area, though no mention of an interior pit is made. The house frame within which it stood must have been that of an exceptionally large house. It is also interesting to note that there is no mention of carved house-posts.—W. A. N.

(78) No doubt Squally Channel, which continues south to the present Laredo Channel, which was probably named for Laredo in Spain. Cridge Pass appears as the "Canal de Camacho," named for the pilot of that name, and Fin Island appears on the plan as "Isla de Araoz," probably named for Juan de Araoz, an officer in the Spanish navy.—H. R. W.

a passage, not shown on Captain Colnet's misleading chart, was unexpectedly sighted to the S.E.E.d. opening to the sea.[79] It appeared very narrow, but in spite of this I steered for it, having some suspicions that the one [shown as] leading out of Canal de Laredo might be a cul-de-sac. These doubts proved well-founded, when another, and wider opening, was soon after seen to the southward. I ordered the ship to be headed for it, feeling certain from this serious discrepancy, as well as from others noted by us, that when Colnet had been in these parts, he must have been experiencing south easterly winds. We therefore hauled to the westward as much as the wind allowed, in order to get free of these narrow passes; but found it impossible to do so by either of the two openings just seen, owing to the current and to the lee-way made by the frigate.

At 4 o'clock p.m., when assured of our failure to succeed in beating out, I gave orders to bear up to the south eastward, and run through the narrow channel[80] between ISLA ARISTAZABAL and the main land, although feeling extremely doubtful of finding any exit, as this channel gave no signs of communication with the sea. On this S.E.ly course, and others dictated by the circumstances and direction of the channel, we continued until 10 p.m., at which time we brought the main topsail to the mast to lay by for the night; making short boards and frequently sounding; getting sixty, forty-five, and twenty-seven fathoms, with a bottom of rock, gravel, and very fine broken coral.

At 3.30 in the morning of the 31st, we again filled and stood with topsail yards on the cap, towards what looked like a more roomy opening. By 4 o'clock it was light enough to make out the different islands, points, and passages; whereupon, at 5 a.m. all sail was made with the wind fair at N.W. and course shaped S.W. leading clear to open sea.

As we ran out past PUNTA DE SANTA XERTRUDIS, the southern extremity of Isla Aristazabal, I noticed a reef of rocks extending three and one half miles from this point, which has not before been reported. At 8 o'clock, a.m., being now outside and free

(79) The present Caamaño Sound, apparently, although that hardly fits Caamaño's description of it.—H. R. W.

(80) The present Laredo Channel. The island was named by Caamaño after Gabriel de Aristazabal, a Spanish naval officer, and this name was adopted by Vancouver, and still persists.—H. R. W.

of the islands, course was laid S.S.E., so as to follow the coast, keeping a distance of seven or eight miles, as the shore had an appearance of being very foul, and a big swell was making from the south westward.[81] We continued throughout the forenoon in this manner, hauling up or running off as the sinuosities of the various bays and headlands demanded; although, owing to a considerable amount of fog over the land, these were not so easily seen. But, at 2 in the afternoon, the wind having meanwhile backed to west, we hauled out to the southward, and regretfully gave over the survey of this stretch of the coast, which seemingly trends much to the eastward from CABO WENTHUYSEN and the island of the same name.[82] My reason for doing so, was fear of becoming embayed with a possible further backing of the wind to the S.W.wd; in which case, should we find no passage between the ISLAS SAN JOAQUIN[83] and the shore, it meant the inevitable loss of the frigate. Moreover, we had provisions remaining for only thirty-eight days; so, even if we were able to find safe anchorage, should the wind then settle southerly or S.E.ly, as might be expected at this season of the year, we could still be brought to the direst straits.

For the rest of the evening and throughout the night we continued on S.E.W.ly and W.S.W.ly courses, standing to the westward so closely as the wind allowed, in order to avoid becoming embayed within the Islas San Joaquin. These, according to my observations, are charted much to the westward of their true situation. It seemed to me, therefore, worth while to take some trouble to verify their position, as well as to determine the bearings of these islands relative to one another; since various authorities know them by different names, all of whom are at variance as to their number and appearance, and some even as regards their latitude.

---

(81) Along Price Island.—H. R. W.

(82) It seems that this island must have been Goose Island, and the cape some point on the island. Winthuysen was named after Francisco Xavier de Winthuysen, a lieutenant-general in the Spanish naval service at the time.—H. R. W.

(83) No reason can be assigned why Caamaño gave this name, as the day of San Joaquin was August 21, some ten days earlier.—H. R. W.

[*September, 1792.*]

Wishing, therefore, to make this group, I gave orders at sunrise of September 1 to alter course to S.S.E. At 9 o'clock they were sighted bearing N 84°. E [or E. ½ N.], whereupon we hauled up to E.N.E. and N.E. by N., with the intention of observing them well and fixing their position. In this we were successful, passing the five principal islands at three to four miles distance, or near enough to make sure of not missing any of their off-lying rocks or islets. We noted, also, that there are good channels between all, except the two largest, of these islands, in spite of the strong eddies and overfalls that we noticed near them to the S.E.[d]. At 8 in the evening of this day, we bore up under short sail to the eastward as I wished to run along just the stretch of coast that we had sighted during the afternoon. At 2 o'clock of the following morning, however, seeing that I had already somewhat overshot it, we wore ship to the westward, standing thus for the space of an hour; then, at 3, again to the eastward, and stood E.N.E. so as to be close in with the land by daybreak, as I was desirous of making Puerto Brok.[84] In this I succeeded, for at daylight we had a good view of the entrance. I did not stay, however, to make a survey of the harbour, as this had already been done; besides, I was anxious not to waste a fair wind; for the breeze was then N.W.ly; and capable of carrying us to Nootka Sound in the course of the day. But, at 8 o'clock the wind fell almost to a calm when we were already within a league of the farallon off Punta de Boyset[85] so that by 4 in the afternoon the frigate, having lost even steerage way, had been set beyond the cape to a position three leagues E. by S. of it; from whence we could clearly see all the coast as far as the vicinity of Bahia de Buena Esperanza.[86] At 7 in the evening we felt a few light airs; by 10 o'clock the breeze had freshened and settled at S.E., with heavy squalls; so, for the rest of the night, we lay by under small canvas, standing off and on with short boards in order not to be

(84) Brooks Bay, on Vancouver Island.—H. R. W.

(85) The "Woody Point" of Cook, and the "Split Rock" of the American traders, now known as Cape Cook; the island off it is Solander Island.—H. R. W.

(86) Esperanza Inlet.—H. R. W.

put to the leeward of Nootka Sound. Throughout the following day, we had the wind from the N.E.^{d}. to the S.E.^{d}.; with which we beat up towards the shore, wishing to make the land so as to be sure of our position. At daylight on the 4th it was well in sight, whereupon we shaped course as near as we could for the harbour. As, however, the wind was light, and variable between S.E., through east and north, to N.W.ly, by sunset we were still three leagues distant from Punta Macuina.[87] From this position we worked throughout the night towards the entrance, but a heavy squall from the eastward and the current put us so far past the point that at daylight the frigate was still eight to nine miles from Esperanza Inlet.

Calms prevailed during the whole of the next day, but we were able to take advantage of a few light airs to make something of an offing and so avoid becoming embayed for a heavy S.E.ly[88] swell was tending to set the frigate inshore. At 9 in the evening we brought to in forty-five fathoms with the stream anchor on a bottom of sand and mud, in order to maintain our position.

On September 6, we weighed at 1 in the morning and made sail to a wind from the northward that gave signs of holding. It lasted, however, but three hours, then fell to a calm, and so remained until 10 o'clock of the forenoon, when a breeze springing up from the S.W.^{d}. enabled us before it died away to reach a position six miles from the harbour entrance, where we anchored one hour before midnight in twenty-three fathoms, sandy bottom.

The calm lasted until 9 o'clock of the next morning, at which time the sea breeze, setting in from the westward, enabled us to weigh and run in, anchoring in Nootka Sound two hours later. As the anchor fell, I could not help experiencing the satisfaction of feeling that I had left nothing undone that could have helped towards the execution of my orders, even though these had called for abilities superior to mine. At the same time, even if I had not fulfilled them in every particular, I hoped that this failure could be ascribed rather to a want of competence than to any lack of zeal, a quality which so vastly greater than my capacities,

(87) Maquinna Point.—H. R. W.

(88) Probably an error for S.W.ly. (Note by Captain Grenfell.)

always has been, and ever shall be, devoted to sacrifice of self in the service of His Majesty.

[Here follow parts of the Journal dealing with events in Nootka Sound, the departure for Monterey, and an account of events in Monterey, which are omitted from this translation.]

Description of the coast comprised between Puerto de Bucarely and that of Nootka; together with that of the northern portion of the Reyna Carlota.

So far as I am able to judge from the numerous inlets that are seen, the coast from Puerto de Bucarely up to Nootka is all one archipelago, formed of a vast number of large and small islands. This country, also, is all high mountains, especially that part between Canal del Carmen and the Surgidero de San Roque; with many gaps, precipices, and lofty peaks, whose summits are snow clad for all but a few months of the year; while, of those lying more inland, some are wrapped in eternal snow. No expanse of level ground accessible from the shore is anywhere to be seen. The shores, themselves, are both extremely steep and narrow; presenting no beaches, but only boulders and shingle. Some parts are so barren as to be devoid even of grass. Near, and also within, the Canal del Principe, one sees remarkably few pine trees and no other timber at all. This circumstance leads me to think that the whole of this district is very thinly populated, especially the tract between Puerto de Cordova and San Roque.[89] Indeed, I saw not a single canoe during our passage between those two places.

The shores of the northern portion of Isla Reyna Carlota are very flat, with broad beaches, and appear extremely fertile; here, too, one notices trees and bushes that are not seen anywhere else. The climate, also, is better than that of the mainland; and, from the number of canoes that we saw or that came alongside the ship the day of our ranging this shore, and during the vessel's stay in Puerto de Florida Blanca, I would say that this island contains a considerable population.

---

(89) The Indians were probably at salmon streams securing their winter supply, as the tract mentioned by Caamaño was one of the most thickly populated on the Coast.—W. A. N.

Opinion concerning the Estrecho del Almirante Fonte.

Having examined the entrances of the various arms, straits, and channels, situate on the stretch of coast between Puerto de Bucarely in Lat. 55°. 15′. N., and that of Nootka in Lat. 49°. 36′. N. (except those between 52°. N. and 53°. N.), I am definitely of opinion that Fonte's famous strait is no other than the Canal de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, as described by him in his extravagant, and romantic letter. For this letter (the only narrative, so far as I know, of this expedition) states that his landfall was made in 53°. N., from whence he steered north and then N.W.: which courses, together with the lie of the shores of the mainland and of Isla Reyna Carlota so far as Punta Invisible, could not but have led him into it.

I might well, it seems to me, without fear of being accused of poaching on other's preserves, claim for myself the discovery of this channel, as no one of the former classical voyagers, nor of the later private adventurers, makes any mention of it. The respect, however, with which I regard the fame of the early Spanish explorers, leads me to wish to perpetuate that of Fonte, in spite of my opinion that the expedition said to have sailed under his command from Callao on April 2, 1640 (consisting of the four vessels, *Espiritu Santo, Santa Lucia, Rosario,* and *Rey Felipe;* commanded respectively by Fonte, Don Diego Penelosa, Don Pedro Bernardo, and Don Felipe Ronquillo) never took place. For, to me, it seems to have no other foundation than the madness or ignorance of some one devoid of all knowledge of either navigation or geography, who, wishing to stimulate the search for a N.E.ⁿ. passage leading into the Atlantic, invented (so I venture to suggest) this story of channels, great rivers, cataracts twenty feet high which he ascended with his ship, fertile islands, large towns inhabited by civilized people, and a passage extending even so far as 80° of north latitude wherein he said he met a vessel from Boston, and other absurdities. Fonte, indeed, is made to speak of the " Rio de los Reyes," the name by which Nootka was formerly known,[90] but the latitudes and longitudes given do not fit it; although, in spite of this confused account, several of the localities described appear

(90) This identification is erroneous. The Spanish name for Nootka Sound was San Lorenzo de Nuca.—H. R. W.

to bear some resemblance to the interior waters of the Estrecho de Juan de Fuca.

It passes my comprehension how Colnet, like a blind man's dog, should have led Fonte into the Brazos de Moñino. For only thus, or being already dead, could the poor fellow have let himself be guided thither. Neither do I see where Colnet brings him in, since he shows as closed the passage that actually exists between the Islas Aristazabal and Compañia.[91] For, though Colnet is aware of Fonte's landfall, yet assuming these two islands to form but one, as he himself shows them, and, indeed, as they appear to be when seen from the westward, the courses run by him [Colnet] leave no doubt that the strait described by Fonte is not the one to which Colnet gives that name; without taking into account the absolute impossibility of the former being able to pass it with his vessel, or the backward state of the science of navigation at the supposed epoch of this voyage.

Neither is it credible, nor in the least probable that Fonte after a passage already so prolonged, should attempt the exploration of a channel such as that which opens in Lat. 53°. 27′. N. (offering, as it does, the prospect of extremely toilsome navigation and, at best, but a doubtful exit), or any of the others with land showing at the end; because, the examination of so many as are comprised in that stretch of coast would require the short favourable seasons of several years, and a stock of provisions such as no vessel could either stow or keep in wholesome condition.

Had Colnet actually seen the Estrecho del Carmen I am quite confident that he would share my opinion, and leave the name of Fonte to the passage extending from the position of his landfall and the Isla de la Reyna Carlota at the one end to Punta de Evia and Cabo Caamaño at the other; as a broad gulf appears to open out between and beyond these [latter] two headlands. Nor do I anticipate objections on Colnet's part to my proposal for giving the name of "Piloto graduado Don Juan Perez" to the entrance to the passage between the northern coast of the island referred to and the opposite shores, did he know that this

(91) The Colnett map probably bears out this assertion, as the "Isla de Campania" on it extends far enough south to include Aristazabal Island; but the present maps hardly bear out Caamaño's statement that the two islands overlap when seen from the west.—H. R. W.

officer's log, and other confirmatory notices, prove that he sighted it in the year 1774, on his way southward for San Blas.

Rather, with his agreement, which I should greatly appreciate, let us allow to these earlier Spaniards the reward of their labours and pains in these discoveries, thereby encouraging emulation in their successors by the assurance that, should the idea of a North Eastern Passage not prove, as I fear, an illusion, then the best-founded hopes for finding it lie in the archipelago situated here between the parallels of 51°. and 51°. 46′. of North Latitude. Should, however, the reasons set forth by me above not appear adequate to justify the alteration that I propose; viz., to apply the name of " Estrecho de Fonte " to the present Canal de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, then let him who has, or may yet obtain, better grounded information, settle the question as he please, resting assured that not only shall I admit it, accepting it as true, but also will yield up to him any possible claim of my own, conceding complete liberty in this matter to the actual discoverers.

NOTE.—Attached is the old plan of Bucarely, in order that an idea may more easily be reached of what was accomplished by this last expedition, as well as that by the two preceding ones. [This plan is not reproduced.]

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONTRIBUTORS.

Robie L. Reid, K.C., LL.D., is one of the best-known authorities on the history of British Columbia and frequently contributes articles and reviews to historical journals.

Donald L. MacLaurin, Ph.D., is Assistant Superintendent of Education for British Columbia.

Henry R. Wagner, D.Litt., of San Marino, California, is the leading authority upon early Spanish voyages to the Northwest Coast. It will be recalled that his monumental work entitled *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* was reviewed by Judge Howay in the July issue of this *Quarterly*.

W. A. Newcombe, the well-known ethnologist, is a son of the late Dr. C. F. Newcombe, author of *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island*. Like his father, Mr. Newcombe has a remarkable knowledge of the geography and early history of the Coast, as well as of the native races of the Province.

George Green, who contributed the article entitled *Some Pioneers of Light and Power* to the July issue, has resided for many years in Burnaby, has served on the Municipal Council there, and has made a special study of the early history of the Lower Mainland.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

It is now certain that the paid-up membership of the Association will show a satisfactory increase when the financial year closes at the end of September. On September 20 the membership was 436, which compares with a total of 414 on October 1, 1937. The Victoria Section numbered 136, the Vancouver Section 212, and members-at-large 88.

The fall activities of the Victoria Section are to commence with a meeting on Tuesday, September 27, at which Mr. F. C. Green, Surveyor-General, will speak on *Forty Years of Surveying in British Columbia*. At the first meeting of the Vancouver Section, Dr. Robie L. Reid will deliver the address on *Captain Evans of Cariboo*, which is published in this issue.

SIMILKAMEEN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at Princeton, on Friday, April 29, Mr. A. E. Howse was elected Honorary President of the Association, in succession to the late James Schubert. Mrs. E. M. Daly, of Keremeos, and Mr. W. H. Holmes, of Coalmont, were elected Vice-Presidents.

The main feature of the programme was an address by Mr. Holmes, which dealt largely with his own experiences since coming to British Columbia in the early eighties. In C.P.R. construction days he worked for five years with Andrew Onderdonk, until the section at Kamloops was com-

pleted, in 1885. Next he participated in the Granite Creek excitement, and after it died down he took up land. Later he moved to Coalmont, where he has since resided. One of the most interesting points in his address was the description of the Hudson's Bay Company cache which formerly stood exactly where the church at Tulameen is today. Mr. Holmes described it as being a huge earth-covered store, probably over 15 feet high, with as much space inside as the dining-room of the Princeton Hotel.

The Association's annual banquet was held on Thursday, September 15. Particulars of the programme will be given in the next issue of the *Quarterly*.

THE GREAT FRASER MIDDEN.

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada officially presented a cairn to the City of Vancouver to mark the site of the Great Fraser Midden, on Saturday, May 7, 1938. Judge F. W. Howay, western representative on the Board, made the presentation, which was accepted on behalf of the City by Alderman H. L. Corey, representing His Worship Mayor Miller. The cairn was then given into the custody of the Board of Park Commissioners and accepted by them through Commissioner E. G. Baynes.

Judge Howay in his address enumerated the twenty cairns which had been erected in British Columbia and told of the work of the Board in Canada. He paid tribute to Professor Charles Hill-Tout, who was the speaker of the day. Professor Hill-Tout first became interested in this Indian midden in 1893, when a road was being cut through the forest. Subsequent research revealed the fact that the midden was 4½ acres in extent and ranged up to 15 feet in depth. From the fact that mature trees had their roots in the mass itself, it was evident that it had been abandoned some seven or eight hundred years ago, which, together with the time required to form it, probably a thousand or more years, gave it an antiquity of some two thousand years.

Further internal evidence confirmed this estimate, because skulls found in the lower levels were dolichocephalic with an index of seventy-three to seventy-four, while the upper levels produced brachycephalic skulls with an index of over eighty. Professor Hill-Tout concluded from this evidence that the long-headed Indians had been displaced by his broad-headed brother either by conquest or by peaceful penetration.

Numerous types of artifacts and skeletal remains were enumerated and described by the speaker, most interesting of which proved to be the trepanned skull which was found. Such fine examples of native surgery are rare and this skull, now preserved in the Vancouver City Museum, is one of the famous skulls of the world to-day.

An illustrated brochure, issued by the Art, Historic, and Scientific Association, under whose auspices the ceremony was held, gives Professor Hill-Tout's address in full. Copies may be had on application to Mr. T. P. O. Menzies, Curator, City Museum, Vancouver. [E. S. ROBINSON.]

THE NORTHWEST BOOKSHELF.

Old Yukon. By the Hon. James Wickersham. Washington, D.C.: Washington Law Book Company. 1938. Pp. 514. $4.

This is a book of undoubtable value to the historian; it is an excellent book, written by a trustworthy writer. The reviewer happens to be personally acquainted with the author, and is well aware of the high reputation won deservedly by James Wickersham as a pioneer judge in Alaska. In 1900, while practising law at Tacoma, Mr. Wickersham was appointed District Judge for the third division of the Alaskan Territory. This division covered 300,000 square miles of Alaska, west of the Yukon, and comprised a vast region scantily populated, but then becoming important on account of the gold discoveries.

The newly-appointed Judge proceeded to his headquarters at Eagle City, on the river Yukon, and about 100 miles below Dawson, a mining settlement brought into being in 1897 by the discovery of rich diggings in the Klondike valley. On his journey Judge Wickersham stopped at Skagway. He contributes interesting historic details concerning the Chilkat Indians, and tells the story of Soapy Smith, the desperado that gave ugly notoriety to this gateway into the North. It is a part of the history of those days, and the Judge tells it in language of judicial moderation. The short railway across the coast range, from Skagway to Whitehorse, was already available, so the Judge and his party were saved the hardships of the mountain trail, and soon were gliding fairly comfortably on a steamer down the upper Yukon to Dawson. He gives us a description of the place and of the adjacent diggings, together with one or two good yarns typifying the life of the excited gold-seekers.

On July 15, 1900, he arrived at Eagle City and established himself in a log cabin. Many difficult conditions had to be faced by the Judge in this northern wilderness, but, being young and vigorous, he met them cheerfully and successfully. The details concerning the performance of his duties and the circumstances of life at this outpost have historic value. He tells us about his journey to hold a special term of Court at Rampart in 1901. The notes are taken from his diary, and give a vivid picture of travel by dog-sled along the frozen surface of the Yukon. Touches of humour and philosophic comments serve to give character to his recital.

In March of 1901, Judge Wickersham was instructed by the Federal Attorney-General to hold Court at Unalaska, in the Aleutian Islands. There he heard a most interesting murder case, the details of which make an absorbing story. More important was the fact that later he was asked to hold Court at Nome, the Judge in that division having been summoned before the Federal Court of Appeals at San Francisco "for contumacious refusal to obey the orders of that court in the Nome mining cases." Here we come to one of the most extraordinary episodes that ever disgraced the administration of justice under the American flag. A group of Scandi-

navians had located several rich claims on the creeks near Nome. To deprive them of their property a conspiracy was hatched at Washington. The chief villain of the piece was Alexander McKenzie, a prominent Republican politician, who used Arthur H. Noyes, District Judge at Nome, as his subservient tool. With them, and participating in the nefarious scheme, were other Court officials, notably the District Attorney. Noyes appointed McKenzie receiver for the five rich mining claims. "All persons in possession were ordered to deliver possession to McKenzie and were strictly enjoined from interfering in any manner with him in working the claims. The receiver's bond was fixed at $5,000 in each case, though the output from one of the claims alone was stated to be $15,000 a day." It was a big steal effected under cover of political graft, and with the support of a large party in the United States Senate. Luckily, it was circumvented by the courage and skill of the defendants and their legal advisers. When the matter was carried to the Federal Court of Appeals at San Francisco, the rascals refused to obey the Court's orders. By aid of Federal soldiers stationed near Nome, the marshal representing the higher Court was empowered to seize the gold stored by McKenzie and bring him to San Francisco. He was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for one year—to be pardoned by President McKinley when he visited San Francisco in May, 1901. He had been in prison four months only. Later he returned to Dakota and "continued in his activities as leading citizen." That is the finishing touch. Noyes was fined $1,000 for contempt of court. The District Attorney was sentenced to four months in jail. Both, of course, were removed from office. Judge Wickersham officiated at Nome while the legal complications were disentangled. It is apparent that his courage and integrity came into play at an opportune moment. He tells the story quietly and fairly. It remains a striking exposure of the American judicial system, by which the administration of law can be prostituted by politicians and used impudently for fraudulent purposes. Determined efforts were made by McKenzie's friends in the Senate to prevent the reappointment of Wickersham. President Theodore Roosevelt reappointed him from year to year three times without obtaining confirmation by the Senate.

Another historic contribution is Judge Wickersham's description of the rush to the Tanana diggings, the centre of which was at Fairbanks. He happened to go thither to establish a recorder's office when the trail had already been broken by many stampeders. He shared their hardships and tells us about them. It is a genuine picture of adventurous living in the Northland. When near Fairbanks, the Judge and his party encountered one of the discoverers.

"Rough-locking our sleds with dog chains we plunged down the ridge between twin creeks, and through the forest, following the blazed trees until we opened a little clearing at Costa's cabin on Pedro creek. As we stopped our husky team before his cabin, big Jack Costa came up the ladder out of a prospecting shaft near the doorway. His chubby round face was

distorted and wrinkled with excitement and deep feeling, and, without knowing or caring who the stranger was standing by his shaft, he cried out, his rough bull voice vibrating with excessive joy:

"'Oh, by Godda, I gotta de gold!'

"He had just struck pay in his shaft, the first to be found on this part of the creek, and was fairly overcome with his sudden fortune. He had dug holes on Forty Mile, Birch, Faith, Hope, Charity, and a hundred unnamed creeks in the Tanana hills, but just now, after years of labor and failure, Fortune smiled! Visions of Italy, the old home and the old mother, the girl he left behind when he came to America, a vineyard and a wine press, wife and children,—big Jack cried as he babbled to us of these and the gold in the pit at his door."

A chapter is devoted to the first reconnaissance of Mount McKinley, and another to animal migration from Asia to Alaska. That entails a discussion of man's first arrival on this continent. Social life at Nome is the title of a chapter that will be much valued in years to come. Unlike most reviewers, I have read the book from cover to cover, and with keen appreciation.

T. A. RICKARD.

Yukon Voyage. Unofficial Log of the Steamer Yukoner. By Walter R. Curtin. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1938. Pp. 299. $4.

This book tells the story of a minor episode in the rush to the Klondike in 1898. It opens with a short account of Pat Gavlin, a well-known character of the time, who, in the early days of the rush, had secured control of a group of claims which there was good reason to believe were exceptionally rich. Gavlin had been angered and disgusted by the profiteering which characterized the times, and went to England, fired with the idea of organizing a vast corporation which would operate ocean steamers, river steamers, hotels, and supply-stores, and which would exact no more than a legitimate profit from the ordinary miner. As his mining claims seemed to offer ample security, he was able to launch the grandiose North British American Trading and Transportation Company, and returned to America with virtually unlimited credit upon the Bank of England. Gavlin chose Walter Curtin's father to be his general manager, with headquarters at Dawson, and young Walter decided to accompany the first men and goods sent north by the new company.

Gavlin's scheme was destined to collapse completely, and serious difficulties developed even before the first party left San Francisco. It was found that owing to faulty design the new river steamer *Mary Ellen Gavlin* drew too much water for service on the Yukon, and there was no time in which to build a substitute vessel. The party, therefore, hurried to St. Michael in the chartered steamer *Cleveland*, and there purchased the river steamer *Yukoner* from Captain John Irving, of the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company. But by the time the *Yukoner* was ready to sail it was too

late in the season to get through to Dawson, and she was compelled to winter in a creek-mouth a few miles beyond Russian Mission, on the Yukon River.

The first and longest part of *Yukon Voyage* is concerned with the trip up the Yukon, the winter spent in the ice, the spring thaw, and the final journey to Dawson, which was reached on June 24, 1899—ten months after the party left San Francisco. Most of it is quoted, apparently verbatim, from the author's diary. Mr. Curtin states both in his preface and in the book itself that he enjoyed the voyage enormously and looks back upon it as the happiest experience in his life, but his narrative fails to convey this impression to the reader. This reviewer at least was bored rather than amused by the succession of quarrels and storms in tea cups with which the diary is filled, and Mr. Curtin himself seems to have felt much the same at the time. "I notice that I have written too much about troubles and squabbles," he noted in his diary in February, 1899. "I started out with the idea that I would not mention any troubles at all, but that is about all the news there is." It is a pity that in preparing his story for publication Mr. Curtin did not use certain parts of the diary as the basis for a narrative, instead of quoting them at length.

The second part of the book consists of an appendix of some twenty-five pages devoted to a concise history of the Yukon River steamers. This is much the most interesting and valuable contribution the author has to make, and it is much to be regretted that the bulk of the book was not devoted to this history, in which the winter adventures of the *Yukoner* could properly appear as an interesting episode. The writer might well consider seriously the writing of a second volume which would give the history of the river craft in considerable detail, for even this brief appendix makes it clear that he is exceptionally well equipped for the task, both by knowledge and experience.

The book is well printed and bound, and though the illustrations are none too clear they are interesting and numerous. There is no index, and if the book is reprinted misprints on pages 9, 36, 160, and 169 should be corrected.

W. KAYE LAMB.

The Department of Education has just issued an illustrated handbook upon *The Native Races of British Columbia*, by Alice Ravenhill, which will be of interest to many readers of this *Quarterly*. It will be reviewed in the next issue. Copies may be obtained from the Text-book Branch, Parliament Buildings, Victoria. Price, $1.

INDEX.

VICTORIA, B.C.:
Printed by CHARLES F. BANFIELD, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1938.

The BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Organized October 31st, 1922.

PATRON.

His Honour ERIC W. HAMBER, *Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.*

OFFICERS, 1937–38.

Hon. G. M. WEIR	*Honorary President.*
W. N. SAGE	*President.*
J. S. PLASKETT	*1st Vice-President.*
KENNETH A. WAITES	*2nd Vice-President.*
E. W. MCMULLEN	*Honorary Treasurer.*
MURIEL R. CREE	*Honorary Secretary.*
ROBIE L. REID	*Archivist.*

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

F. W. HOWAY J. M. COADY H. T. NATION
J. C. GOODFELLOW B. A. MCKELVIE

OBJECTS.

To encourage historical research and stimulate public interest in history; to promote the preservation and marking of historic sites, buildings, relics, natural features, and other objects and places of historical interest, and to publish historical sketches, studies, and documents.

MEMBERSHIP.

Ordinary members pay a fee of $2 annually in advance. The fiscal year commences on the first day of October. All members in good standing receive the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* without further charge.

All correspondence and fees should be addressed in care of the Secretary, Provincial Archives, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B.C.