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THE VOYAGE OF THE HOPE: 1790- 1792

As is well-known the maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast of America had its origin in the accidental discovery by Captain Cook's sailors that the furs which they had obtained at Nootka in exchange for the veriest trifles were of great value in the eyes of the Chinese. Naturally the earliest of these traders came from India and China. At that time the monopolies of the South Sea and East India companies closed the Pacific Ocean against British enterprise. Some British vessels, like the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte*, the *Princess Royal* and the *Prince of Wales*, operated under licenses from these companies; other British vessels, like the *Imperial Eagle*, the *Felice*, and the *Iphigenia*, took refuge under the flags of Austria or Portugal; while doubtless, numerous others, like Meares' *Nootka*, simply disregarded the monopolies altogether. So the trade went on from 1785 until 1788.

In September of the latter year appeared at Nootka a new flag—that of the United States of America. This first American venture consisted of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, commanded by captains Gray and Kendrick. After about a year spent on the coast the *Columbia* sailed for China with the furs collected by both vessels, and thence to her home port, Boston, where she arrived August 10, 1790. Though the voyage had proved a great disappointment, financially, yet other enterprising Boston merchants determined to essay another venture.

The vessel they selected was the *Hope*, a brigantine of seventy tons and slightly built. In command they placed Joseph Ingraham, who had been mate of the *Columbia*. This move angered the owners of that vessel, who seemed to think that as they had introduced Ingraham to the fur trade they had some vested right in his services. The incomplete record of this voyage, commonly known as Ingraham's Journal, exists in manuscript in the Congressional Li-

brary in Washington. A copy is in the Archives of the Province of British Columbian Victoria; and it is by the kind permission of the Archivist that I am permitted to use it in the preparation of this summary.

The *Hope* sailed from Boston September 16, 1790. Poor Ingraham, who had only enjoyed five weeks in civilization after an absence of three years, found himself once more bound for the Northwest Coast and facing an absence of at least three years.

The *Hope's* course was as usual by way of the Cape Verd and the Falkland Islands. Bonavista, one of the former, was sighted October 31, and on the following day the *Hope* cast anchor in Porto Praya Bay, St. Iago (Sao Thiago), famous as having been pillaged by Drake in 1585.¹ There lying at anchor was a large ship from Liverpool bound to the African coast for a cargo of slaves for the West Indies. Ingraham dined on board and was surprised and disgusted that at the conclusion of the meal the first toast drunk was to "The Land of Liberty."

After remaining four days to obtain wood, water, and fresh provisions the *Hope* shook out her sails for the long run to Cape Horn. The little vessel, not being coppered, soon became foul, and twice on the voyage to the Falklands it was found necessary to clean off the grass, which was of such length as to greatly retard her speed. On Christmas day one of the crew fell overboard. Much delay was experienced in bringing the ship to and launching the yawl which had been lashed down owing to a heavy gale. The lad was wearing heavy boots, but had the presence of mind to draw his knife and cut them off, "and what was very singular," says Ingraham, "in such a situation that he should be careful to return his knife to his pocket again." By the time the boat reached him he had been so long in the water that he was almost exhausted.

On January 4, 1791 the Falkland Islands were sighted just west of Falkland Strait. Having no chart of the Islands, the *Hope* after a narrow escape from shipwreck on a sunken reef, anchored on January 8 at the entrance to Bahia de la Soledad, the Acarron Bay of the French, the Port Stanley of the British. Here Ingraham found a small Spanish settlement, and, after considerable delay, obtained permission to enter the harbour to careen his vessels and obtain necessaries. All his actions were very jealously watched by the Spaniards; a corporal and two soldiers were placed on board to see that the harsh port regulations were strictly observed; and

¹ Froude, *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century*, London, Longman (1895), p. 184.

every care was taken to insure that no unauthorized communication with the shore took place. Five days were occupied in this work, and then with a strong but favorable wind the *Hope* sailed from Port Stanley. On January 17, while off Cape Horn, the French ship *Necker* from Dunkirk to the Peruvian coast was encountered. The sea being calm Ingraham accepted an invitation to dine on board, where he was regaled with roast pork, which calls forth from him ecomiums equaling those of Lamb's foolish Chinese boy. As the vessels were bound in the same direction and travelled at about the same rate it was arranged that they should sail in company around Cape Horn.

For eighteen days the two vessels journeyed together, but in the afternoon of February 4, when north of the western entrance to the Strait of Magellan, they separated in a fierce gale that lasted more than thirty-eight hours. The heavy weather still continuing Ingraham determined instead of making for either Mas Afuera or Juan Fernandez to steer for the Marquesas. Only water for seventy days now remained, for since leaving the Falkland Islands almost two months had elapsed, during the greater part of which the little vessel had been continually drenched in the buffeting of the gales. He says: "Remaining very long at sea is often the occasion of disheartening seamen and thereby bringing on sickness, whereas only the sight of land, even if no refreshments are procured from it, has often a wonderful effect; it awakens them from a kind of lethargy occasioned by the sameness of viewing nothing but sky and water".

Three months after his departure from the Falkland Islands Ingraham anchored in the Bay of Madre de Dios in the Marquesas. The islanders first encountered were very shy; it was quite impossible to induce them to come upon the *Hope*. "Finally only one ventured on board, an old man whose hair and beard were perfectly white. He trembled exceedingly at first and would fain have left us again. However in a little while he became reconciled." Then, as by magic, the natives lost all reserve and swarmed around the vessel in such numbers that Ingraham ordered up the boarding nettings. Despite every precaution they made their way on board and, with the inveterate propensity for stealing of which Captain Cook so frequently speaks, they pilfered on every hand. Troublesome and mischievous in the last degree, Ingraham who in the meantime had obtained water and fresh provisions, determined to rid himself of these islanders and sailed to the westward.

Late that afternoon (April 21, 1791) two islands appeared under his lee. Startled by the discovery he bore away towards them and soon two others appeared upon the horizon. The next day three more were seen. Feeling confident that these were no part of the Marquesas group and that they had never been seen by Europeans, he named them after Washington and other prominent Americans.² Two months later some of these islands were seen by Marchand of the French ship *Solide*, who named them Iles de la Revolution;³ in June 1792 Hergest of H. M. S. *Daedalus*, the store ship of Vancouver's expedition fell in with them;⁴ and in March 1793 Roberts of the *Jefferson* also saw them and named them Washington's Islands.⁵ Each of these several persons thought himself the discoverer of these New Marquesas, which are now regarded as a part of the Marquesas group.

But Ingraham was in search of furs, not on a voyage of discovery. He hastened towards the Sandwich Islands. On May 17 only five casks of water remained; early on the morning of the 20th, Ingraham was delighted to see the snow-capped summit of Mauna Loa appear above the western horizon. At Owyhee (Hawaii) he met 'Tianna, so frequently mentioned by Meares, with whom he had been acquainted during the voyage of the *Columbia*. Ingraham fills page after page of his journal with the circumstances which led him to believe that 'Tianna, as a result of the seizure of the *Fair American*,⁶ cherished a desire of emulating that undertaking, by capturing the *Hope*. Hogs, fowls, potatoes, plantains, taro, and sugar cane were obtained as the vessel skirted the shores of Owyhee, Mowee (Maui), and Atooi (Kauai).

Finally on June 1 the *Hope* emerged from the channel between Atooi and Oneehow (Nehauai), and the course was set for the Northwest Coast of America. The journal notes all the petty incidents of the passage, the weather, the birds seen, and the day by day happenings. On June 27 the ocean changed from its deep blue to soundings colour, and on the next day the western coast of Queen Charlotte Islands, or Washington's Island, as Captain Gray

² See also *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1793, III, 20-24.

³ C. P. Claret Fleurieu, *Voyage round the world performed during the years 1790, 1791 and 1792, by Etienne Marchand* (London, Longman, 1861), I, 239; II, 103, 270.

⁴ George Vancouver, *Voyage of discovery to the north Pacific ocean and round the world*, etc. (Lond. Stockdale, 1801), III, 152 *et seq.*

⁵ *Voyage dans les Etats unis d'Amerique, fait en 1796 et 1797, par La Rochefoucauld—Liancourt*, Paris, Du Pont An., VII 1799, 8 vols. 8 mo., Vol III. pp. 19 *et seq.*

⁶ Vancouver, *Voyage*, III, 229 *et seq.*; Archibald Campbell, *Voyage round the world*, etc. (Edin, Constable, 1816), p. 135.

had named them in 1788,⁷ was seen; but it was not until late in the afternoon of June 29 that the *Hope* anchored "in a snug cove" within a "fine sound," which he called Magee's Sound. Ingraham gives the latitude of this harbour 52° 22'. The exact location of this sound is unknown, and it cannot be recognized on the existing maps. Strange as it may appear though this voyage occurred over one hundred and twenty years ago, the only information we have upon some parts of the western coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands is contained in Ingraham's Journal.⁸

Nearly six months had elapsed since the *Hope* had been careened at the Falkland Islands and her bottom was again very foul with marine growth; moreover the vessel was leaking badly. The spot was suitable for effecting the repairs; there was a fine beach, plenty of wood and water, and no Indians to annoy. The little brigantine was immediately laid on shore, cleaned, and graved. It was discovered that the leak was between the lower part of the sternpost and the keel; the latter, not having been properly secured with the usual dovetails and clamps, had started a half an inch and allowed much water to enter. This discovery was most opportune, as the keel not being fastened must have continued to work loose and in the end would certainly have spelled destruction. As it was a few hours work of the smith made the two parts strong and water-tight.

The anniversary of the Declaration of Independence occurred while the *Hope* lay in Magee Sound. Ingraham says: "I caused a hog of 70 lbs weight to be roasted whole, on which we all dined on shore. I with my officers and seamen drank the President's health, and made the forest ring with three cheers; after which every one returned to their several employments as we could not spare the time to sit long after dinner."

So enraptured was he with this sound that he left attached to the branch of a tree a bottle containing the information that he had discovered and named it; that he had left a boar and two sows in the hope that they might increase and be of use to future visitors; and desiring that these animals be not molested until they had multiplied. Gray of the *Columbia* was the first to show the Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands how to cultivate the potato. Thus to the credit of the Americans are the introduction of domestic animals and vegetables in those islands. * Ingraham dilates upon the facili-

⁷ Robert Haswell, "A Voyage Round the World on Board the Ship *Columbia Rediviva* and Sloop *Washington* in 1787-9," resume in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1886), I, 718. Manuscript copy in archives of British Columbia.

⁸ *Pacific Coast Pilot, Alaska*, Part 1, Government Printing Office (1885), p. 51.

ties of this sound for repairing or building a vessel or for winter quarters. Nevertheless so far his journal shows he never saw the place again.

On the morning of July 7 the fast was cast off and the *Hope* towed out of the sound, ready to begin the trading. Ingraham was undecided whether to proceed to the northward or the southward. Cape St. James lay only about sixty or seventy miles in the latter direction and Ingraham knew that on the east coast of Queen Charlotte Islands the *Washington* had in 1788 reaped a rich harvest, obtaining at one village, Kioo-sta, three hundred sea otter skins at the rate of one chisel each. Yet he thought the west coast also offered great opportunities; so far as he knew no one but Dixon had been there, and that some three years before. In this dilemma he left the solution to fate. A breeze from the south decided the question. The *Hope* sailed northward with a fair wind, but very cautiously, for the weather was thick. Occasionally the fog lifted giving vague views of points and rocks and then settled down, blotting out everything as in the days of Juan Perez.

Pursuing his course northward Ingraham discovered a large bay in latitude $53^{\circ} 16'$, which he named Port Ingraham. This bay has not been identified, but it may be the Skelu Inlet of our present maps; in which event the island at its entrance now supposed to be Dixon's Hippah Island, is Ingraham's Young Frederick's Island, though Dixon gives its latitude as $53^{\circ} 16'$.⁹ Here he spent the night of July 8, his anchor in sixty-four fathoms and a line from the stern to a tree. Two days later the *Hope* was abreast of a large opening which had the appearance of a good harbour. As they edged in towards the shore a canoe approached them, its occupants singing a song of welcome "by no means disagreeable to the ear."

Ingraham observed that the women wore that strange fancy in feminine adornment, the labret or staie, which had excited the disgust of Jaun Perez's friars seventeen years earlier, and which had caused Haswell to denominate the inhabitants of the islands as "Loblips." "Most of the women," to quote the Journal, "have a piece of wood in their under lip which resembles a small shelf, when the mouth is shut; or it may be lapped up against the tip of the nose which may occasionally serve to keep the wind out of their mouths. When it falls down it entirely covers the chin and exposes the teeth of the lower jaw. Upon the whole it seems as

⁹ John T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names* (Ottawa, 1909), p. 192; George Dixon, *Voyage Round the World*, etc. (Lond. Goulding, 1789), p. 205.

strange a fancy as was ever adopted by the human species and however consonant with their own ideas of beauty was to me a most shocking sight."

Another canoe came off and offered to pilot the *Hope* to the village, saying that many skins of the sea otter could be there obtained. Though Ingraham does not seem to recognize the spot there is no doubt that this harbour, which was at the western end of Cox Strait or Parry Passage, was that called by Dixon Cloak Bay where that trader obtained sea otter skins in such numbers that he could scarce keep count of them, purchasing over three hundred in less than half an hour.¹⁰ The chief of the tribe now appeared and was recognized by two seamen whom Ingraham had taken on board at the Sandwich Islands, as Cow, whose principal village was at Meares Bay or Titanee, at the entrance to Cox Strait.

Despite their large promises Ingraham saw only a few skins and those of small value. Good skins were, in fact, exhibited, but when he endeavored to obtain them he found the price exorbitant. He displayed to the chief his trading goods, but "on the whole he did not seem much enamored with them, saying they had plenty of such things, which they had obtained from Captain Douglas of the *Grace* and Captain Bennett of the *Gustavus*." This was unpleasant news, and in Ingraham's language "seemed to indicate that we were the day after the fair." This impression was deepened when on going ashore he found many of the natives wearing new blue jackets and trousers. However to induce him to remain, Cow promised, as he did to Marchand a few weeks later, that if he would wait a day or two the whole tribe would go out hunting and procure fresh skins.¹¹

In the interval Ingraham examined the Indian village. He was especially attracted by the totem poles and gives one of the earliest descriptions of these heraldic columns. He mentions two that were forty feet in height and carved in a very curious manner with representations of men, frogs, and birds. The entrance to the chief's house was through the mouth of one of these grotesque figures.¹² Near the village he saw a rude sort of amphitheatre that seemed, as he thought, intended for exhibitions of dancing and boxing.

A heavy gale sprang up, on the morning of July 11, from the westward with strong squalls. The kedge anchor came home and the vessel drove within twenty yards of a ledge of rock. In des-

¹⁰ Dixon, *Voyage*, pp. 201-202.

¹¹ *Voyage of Marchand*, 1, 397.

¹² Compare *Voyage of Marchand*, 1, 401.

peration the sheet anchor was dropped. Fortunately it held until a line was made fast to the opposite shore and the *Hope* warped off. This narrow escape leads Ingraham into a lengthy soliloquy upon their probable fate had they suffered shipwreck on that wild and unknown shore.

He realized that if he were to obtain furs he must create a demand for something new and bizarre. He had thought long and hard during the two days since his arrival. He noticed an Indian woman wearing an iron necklet. This gave him the necessary idea; he would produce a new fashion. The forge was immediately set up, and the smith commence the manufacture of iron collars.¹³ These were fabricated from iron rods of about half an inch in thickness. Three pieces were neatly twisted together into a circle of sufficient diameter to encircle the neck. They were nicely polished and weighed from five to seven pounds. As a side-line to suit other tastes bracelets were made in the same manner. The new fashion took by storm both the beaux and the belles of Cloak Bay. Fashionable articles are proverbially expensive. This latest fad cost three prime sea otter skins: a prime skin in the trade was one that reached from a man's chin to his feet and was usually worth in China about forty dollars.

While the *Hope* lay at Cloak Bay a large war canoe arrived from across Dixon Entrance. Cow importuned Ingraham not to trade with these people, because they were, as he said, bad; but the shrewd Yankee trader was far more interested in their peltry than their morals. However, to please Cow who wished a monopoly of the new fashion, and perhaps also for selfish reasons (for the collars were difficult to make), Ingraham kept them concealed. He obtained almost all the strangers' furs, even to the cutsarks that they wore in exchange for blue jackets and trousers.¹⁴ No wonder that Marchand a month later found them in "the jackets, great coats, trousers, and other garments in use in our countries and some even wearing a hat, stockings, and shoes."¹⁵ But in an unlucky moment the strange chief descried one of these collars. The evil was done. Three fine skins remained, and these he absolutely refused to barter except for a collar—and a collar he got, greatly to the vexation of Cow. Ingraham was constantly urged to take the strangers' furs by force, "but this," he says, "I did not attend to, as they traded fair and behaved well." This guarded statement

¹³ See a description of similar collars in Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages, etc.* (Lond. Cadell, 1801), p. 234.

¹⁴ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 333.

¹⁵ *Voyage of Marchand*, 1, 439.

gives colour to the charge that force was sometimes used by the maritime traders in their transaction with the natives, and may cast light upon later incidents.

Early in the morning of July 15 the Indians informed him that they had seen a ship in the offing. Fearing it might be Spanish, and remembering the seizure of Meares' vessels, Ingraham, after sending a boat to reconnoitre, prepared to slip through Cox Strait to the eastward if his fears should prove true. By the time the boat obtained a view of the open sea no sail was in sight, though he learned later that a Spanish vessel had been in the vicinity. Its identity is undetermined. It is thought to have been one of Malaspina's squadron; but he was not in that latitude until three weeks later.¹⁶ There may however be some confusion in the dates. The following day the brig *Hancock*, of Boston, Captain Crowell, was seen standing to the eastward through Dixon Entrance.

Ingraham examined one of the native forts, which in imitation of Dixon he calls a Hippah. It seems to be the same fort as that described by Marchand.¹⁷ It was on a high rock, accessible upon one side only and there secured by palisades so arranged that if the enemy carried the outermost, the defenders, retreating to higher points behind other palisades, could assail them with stones of which a large supply lay ready to hand. On the flat top of the rock were the frames of numerous houses. Doubtless says Ingraham, the whole tribe in time of war retreated to this citadel, but how they were supplied with water he could not discover. His Curiosity was also arrested by a strange rock, near the shore, exactly like the hull of a ship. Upon scaling it, he found a "mama-loose Island"—a burial place of the chiefs. The boxes containing the remains were carved in the neatest manner, decorated with sea otter teeth, and enclosed in houses before which stood totem poles.¹⁸ His only remark is the practical one that: "Should any more of the royal family die soon they must find some new repository or dislodge some from this to give place, for it will not admit any more."

One morning Ingraham discovered that the cook, a negro whom he had in compassion for his starving condition, taken on at the Cape Verde Islands was missing. Uncertain whether Cow was privy to this exploit and for a time at a loss whether to use

¹⁶ Alessandro Malaspina, *Viaje político—científico alrededor del mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida al mando de los capitanes de navío D. Alejandro Malaspina y Don José de Bustamante y Guerra desde 1789 a 1794*, publicado con una introducción por Don Pedro de Novo y Colson. (Madrid, Impr. de la viuda e hijos de Abienzo, 1885.) p. 181.

¹⁷ *Voyage of Marchand*, i, 395.

¹⁸ Dixon, *Voyage*, pp. 176-181.

force or persuasion, he finally adopted the latter course, principally as he confesses, because "I had not bought all their skins, and by a quarrel with them, detaining their chief, etc., would no doubt put an end to all traffic for the present, if not for the ensuing year which I depended much on." He promised Cow a handsome reward for the capture of the cook. In an hour the chief returned with the deserter and was rewarded for his trouble; "likewise," adds Ingraham, enigmatically, "the cook for the trouble he had given me."

Having obtained about three hundred sea otter skins and completely cleared the village of the least particle of fur, Ingraham sailed on July 19 through Cox Strait or Parry Passage, and shaped his course eastward. Virago Sound was visited, but though there was at least one Indian village on its shores, yet as it appeared deserted, he resumed his voyage along the northern shore of the islands. The next day, rounding Rose Point, which he most appropriately named Sandy Point, he followed the easterly coast of Queen Charlotte Islands, southward.

The night of the 22d, was spent under sail in Hecate Strait, as no anchorage could be found. It appears that, though unaware of the fact, the *Hope* was, during the night very near the ship *Columbia*, for Hoskins Narrative says,¹⁹ that during that night the watch on the *Columbia*, hearing "sounds as of chopping wood, hung out lanthorns," and at daylight the *Hope* was seen to northward. Ingraham immediately hoisted the French flag at the fore-top-gallant mast-head and fired two guns, the pre-arranged signal with his friend Haswell, the mate of the *Columbia*. When the vessels came within speaking distance they saluted with cheers. Personal friends but commercial enemies. Ingraham went on board the ship, his former home for three years, and by the kindness of Haswell, received letters from Boston friends. This was in breach of owners' orders. "For," says Ingraham, "these gentlemen, filled with envy and malice against all who meant to share with them this valuable trade, gave orders that no letters should be borne out in this ship to any one on board the *Hope*, by which Mr. Crafts my second officer was deprived of the pleasure of hearing from his friends, and the letters intended for him by this ship were afterwards sent out in the *Hancock*, Captain Crowell, whom, as will hereafter appear we met at the Sandwich Islands, but the person the letters were

¹⁹ The Narrative of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America and China on Trade and Discoveries, performed in the ship *Columbia Rediviva*, 1790, 1791, 1792 and 1793, by John Hoskins. Manuscript in library of Massachusetts Historical Society; copy in archives of Province of British Columbia, pp. 63-4.

for, was then no more." Two hours later they separated, the *Columbia* for the continental shore; the *Hope* for the southern end of Queen Charlotte Islands.

Ucah, the chief of Skincuttle Inlet, had been aboard the *Columbia* but seeing nothing to tempt his fickle fancy, visited the *Hope*. There also he was obdurate until shown the iron collars, when he immediately changed his mind and disposed of his skins. Knowing that the *Columbia*, the *Hancock*, the *Eleanor*, and, perhaps, other vessels were all trading in the vicinity, Ingraham resolved to try the Alaskan coast in the hope of finding virgin fields; but the weather continuing very boisterous, he abandoned that purpose and sailed for the mainland. On July 27, in latitude 52° 15' he saw a large bay with an opening that had the appearance of a good harbour. About five o'clock the following day, he succeeded in entering it; finding it uninhabited, he, in token of his feelings, conferred upon it the name Bay of Disappointment. This bay is difficult to identify, but is, perhaps, a portion of Laredo Sound. Though almost a week had elapsed without obtaining any sea otter skins, Ingraham kept his smith occupied in making the iron collars. Every man having any ability with a needle was engaged in fashioning garments of blue cloth,²⁹ with bright buttons conspicuously set to catch the fancy of the natives.

Owing to the competition of the other vessels his future movements caused him much anxiety. He would have tried a cruise to the west coast of Vancouver Island, had not fear of the Spaniards deterred him. Fate again decided the question for him. A fair wind bore him toward Queen Charlotte Islands once more. From Houston Stewart Channel a canoe came out as he sailed northward, but having now determined to revisit Ucah's village in Skincuttle Inlet, he did not slacken his speed. Night had settled down on July 31 before he came to anchor in this inlet. Sublimely grand and awful was the dreary spot, its gloom increased by the deep shadows cast by the surrounding mountains. The primeval silence, broken only by hollow surges beating upon the rocky shore and the sportive gambollings of the monsters of the deep, inspired him with reverential awe, and led to serious trains of reflection in which he indulges at some length. At dawn he fired a gun to announce his arrival. Whilst awaiting the natives the crew were employed in obtaining wood, for the supply being plentiful, the cook, he says burned it "without mercy." About noon Ucah, the chief, came out to the *Hope*, on his neck the iron collar, shining and bright, bearing

²⁹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*, p. 333.

evidence of having been carefully scoured and polished. He was shown the garments with their array of fancy buttons; but whilst admiring them, he plainly indicated that only the iron collars would be acceptable in trade; though the clothes were of ten times greater intrinsic value. Ucah was insistent to obtain the gift of a cold chisel as a preliminary to any dealings with his people. However he met his match. The present was promised, delivery being deferred until the completion of the trade. Two small and indifferent fur garments (cutsarks) were offered for an iron collar; but Ingraham refused, being determined to keep the price up, inasmuch as five of them constituted a good day's work for the smith. Ultimately he obtained these skins for a saucepan, an article of greater utility, but not so fashionable. Ingraham having in three days' trade obtained their whole stock of furs, resumed his voyage northward. Ucah solicited him to remain, saying he "would go and fight for skins which he would bring and sell to us, but his success was too precarious to trust to." This statement also throws light upon methods of trade.

At noon on August 4 Ingraham entered Juan Perez Sound, at the solicitation of Kanskeeni, the chief, who represented that his tribe had many sea otter skins. After reaching anchorage only one skin and a piece, which were alleged to be all they had, were offered and a collar demanded in exchange. Ingraham, highly incensed, detained the chief a prisoner until the tribe produced their whole wealth—twenty-five skins—for which, he says, he paid them to their satisfaction. We do not know the Indian version. As an evidence of good will, he informs us, that the Indians forced him to accept a present of some halibut, and on leaving them they sang the song of friendship. This whole incident might readily be given a totally different aspect.

The *Hope* continued her cruise northward. From Laskik Bay four canoes came out, whose occupants were dressed in jackets, trousers, and bed gowns, obtained from Captain Douglas. They desired him to enter, but it being late in the evening, he thought it wiser to spend the night under sail. It blew a perfect hurricane and the little brigantine lay to under double-reefed mainsail. The tide and the wind acting in opposition raised a frightful tide-rip, the water dashing and foaming in such a fearful manner that it was necessary to get the guns and the forge below decks and to lash down the boats. This was Ingraham's first experience with such a sea in so restricted a channel. The gale died down at day-break and under the guidance of the natives he anchored at

Skedans, the Tooschcondlth of Hoskins on the south side of Cumshewa Inlet in a most indifferent roadstead.

Cumshewa, the chief, refused to trade or to allow any of his tribe to do so until he had received the present of a collar. All of Ingraham's promises to make the gift at the end of the trading were brushed aside, and he found himself compelled to make the donation, then and there. But after this preliminary was arranged the friendship of the chief was completely secured, and when the day was done one hundred and seventy-six sea otter skins had been added to his cargo. Such a wonderful result presaged a good trade at this place. Though the following day was Sunday, all day long the anvil rang as the smith fashioned the latest craze in collars; all day long the *Hope* was surrounded by canoes, eager to trade; all day long Ingraham was busy putting the tribe "in irons;" and when the Sabbath sun had set eighty-four more skins had found their way into the capacious maw of the *Hope*. The natives were very peaceable, though this seemed rather the result of recent discipline than of natural disposition; for on being questioned, they admitted that a vessel had recently fired upon them, presumably for some attempted outrage, and one man bore an open wound from a musket ball.

Skidegate, a neighboring chief, came to trade, but Cumshewa wished Ingraham to order him away. He, however, paid no attention to the request as these people had what he had travelled so far to obtain. From them he succeeded in getting skins for chisels and clothing. These chisels as they were called in the trade were merely pieces of flat iron about an inch in width, drawn to an edge. They are what Dixon and the earlier traders called "toes." The jackets were in demand and when they were all sold the trousers were no longer current; blue cloth alone appealed to their taste; green and white they would not accept. Then the crew disposed of all their old clothes. Still the furs kept coming in, but now there was a great dearth of the means of barter and in the end Ingraham's only resource was iron worked into collars or some more useful form, though the greater the utility the smaller the value in the native's eyes.

This chief brought to an art the plan of barter in the form of reciprocal gifts. He gave to Ingraham his skins and begged presents in return, taking care that the value thus received should be greater than he could possibly have obtained in the regular way of trade: after haggling for an hour over the price of a skin he would in apparent disgust throw it on the deck with "I'll give it to you,

then." Ingraham's great effort was to avoid these Greek gifts. Skidegate urged earnestly that his twenty-four retainers should be allowed to remain on board over night; as they outnumbered the crew the request was denied. Clothing being still in demand by the Indians and the supply being exhausted Ingraham bethought him of some feathered caps and cloaks of the Sandwich Islands that had been intended for friends in Boston. As soon as he saw them the chief was captivated; he must have a cap and two cloaks, for which he bartered five excellent skins; but no sooner was the bargain closed than he repented and demanded the return of his skins. This Ingraham stoutly refused: "As sea otter skins were to me much better curiosities than caps and cloaks I chose to adhere to the bargain." Seeing that he was obdurate, the wily old chief threw the contended articles on the deck and in a high dudgeon got into his canoe and paddled off a few yards, where he sat sulking, Achilles-like, until mollified by a small gift.

Having obtained all the furs at this place Ingraham, after a week's stay, sailed on August 12 across the bay to a cove on the north side. This is identified as Cumshewa's Village, opposite Skedans. From Hoskin's journal it appears that the *Columbia* was at this place or in the vicinity some ten days previous, and again some ten days subsequent to the visit of the *Hope*.

A chief came aboard here with two very fine sea otter skins, for which he wanted a collar. He solicited a night's lodging, as his wife had beaten him and he was afraid to return home. The narrative throws no light on the cause of the trouble. As this man had visited the *Hope* quite frequently while she lay on the other side of Laskik Bay it may, perhaps, be assumed that his trading had not met with the approval of his spouse. Hoskins tells us that the women of this vicinity in trade, as in everything else, appear to govern their husbands, whom they beat if they make unsatisfactory bargains.²¹

It was now the 15th of August; only a little over a month since he had begun his trading at Cloak Bay; and in that interval Ingraham had collected more than eight hundred and fifty sea otter skins. Each day added a few to his stock; but all the cloth and clothing were gone; and in the competition with at least three other vessels this would place him at a distinct disadvantage. He therefore decided, instead of wintering on the coast, to sail to China, dispose of his cargo of furs, obtain further supply of trading goods,

²¹ Hoskins' Narrative, p. 61.

and return to Queen Charlotte Islands in time for the opening of the next season.

The crew were set to work to take out the furs, beat, clean, and dry them, obtain wood and water, and prepare for the voyage across the Pacific. These necessary occupations consumed about a fortnight. The *Hope* still lay at anchor in the little cove at Cumshewa's village, visited each day by the natives. The trade went steadily on, and the stream of furs flowed uninterruptedly into her hold. When, at last, the vessel was ready to sail, Ingraham found that he had more than fourteen hundred sea otter skins and upwards of three hundred sables, besides beaver, wolverine, etc. Forty-nine days trade on the northern and eastern side of Queen Charlotte Islands. He attributes his success to the method, first introduced by him, of visiting a village, casting anchor and remaining until no more furs could be secured. In this he is probably right, for the natives naturally preferred to deal in this way, rather than paddle out four or five leagues to a moving vessel, as they must do to trade with the others. The results support this view, for the *Columbia*, pursuing the old fashion of flitting hither and thither had in about the same time obtained only six hundred skins, and the *Hancock* between five hundred and six hundred.

During this fortnight the trade was practically confined to plain bar iron; the standard being a piece of iron of the length of the sea otter skin offered. When they learned of his intention to depart the chiefs begged him to return soon and to bring them several specified articles of trade but especially a good supply of the iron collars.

The natives seemed to be becoming restless. On three occasions in spite of his warning they persisted in attempting to approach the *Hope* at night and Ingraham fearing that they purposed to seize his vessel, felt obliged to fire in their direction, though, as he claims, over their heads. After each of these troubles Ingraham was doubtful as to their future relations; the Indians, nevertheless continued to trade and when taxed with the misconduct invariably laid the blame upon the members of any other tribe who happened to be there at the time. The *Columbia* arrived on August 22 with a sad story of the murder of three of her crew by natives on the north side of Dixon Entrance. This convinced Ingraham of the wisdom of his course and of being constantly on the alert. War, too, had broken out between Skidegate's tribe and a tribe at Juan Perez Sound.

Just as the *Hope* was under way a canoe came out and traded twenty skins—the very last they possessed—and, says Ingraham, “seeing we were about to leave them, they traded quick.” He left Queen Charlotte Islands on September 1 for China by way of the Sandwich Islands. Many pages of the Journal are here filled with a long description of these islands, the natives, their habits, implements, language, history, and possible origin.

On the voyage to the Sandwich Islands the second officer, Mr. Crafts died after a lingering illness. This leads Ingraham to discourse upon the solemnity of death at sea, the void that it makes, and the constant reminder in the vacant chair. On October 6 the island Owyhee (Hawaii) was seen at a distance of twenty leagues. Two days later at nightfall they met the brig *Hancock*, just from the Northwest Coast of America and like themselves bound for China. Ingraham waxes eloquent upon that perfect night. “It was calm,” he says, “a delightful evening; the moon shone with uncommon splendour, casting a silvered gleam on the bosom of the deep; the highlands threw a dark shade which was gradually lightened into a blue tint as the shadow lost its effect.”

Until Ingraham’s intentions were known the captain of the *Hancock* tried to deceive him as to his future plans, and endeavored to obtain supplies under the pretence that he intended to winter at the Sandwich Islands; but knowing from the *Columbia* that the *Hancock* was on her way to China, Ingraham pointed out to him the futility of his purposed deception. This incident is only mentioned as a mere outcrop of the secrecy and distrust that permeated the whole maritime fur trade. Though maintaining outwardly friendly relations, yet considerable ill feeling sprang up between the two Boston vessels, engendered, in part, by the effort to obtain provisions from the islanders—each being anxious to forestall the other. In four or five days Ingraham, having collected seventy hogs, some fowls, and a great quantity of vegetables, resumed his voyage to China carrying with him three Sandwich Island lads as an addition to his crew.

He anchored in Macao Roads November 29, 1791. There he met *La Solide*, Captain Marchand, the French ship that had discovered the New Marquesas about two months after his own discovery. He also met Captain Coolidge of the *Grace*, who had been on the *Washington*, and whose name is familiar to all who have studied the details of the seizure of Meares ships at Nootka in 1789. From him he learned that, owing to war between China and

Russia, the Chinese, under the mistaken idea that the fur trade was wholly connected with Russian interests, had prohibited all vessels having furs on board from entering Canton, the great Chinese mart.²²

This was indeed a difficult situation. Here was Ingraham with fourteen hundred sea otter skins worth at least \$30,000 at the door of the market, but unable to enter. Captain Marchand informed him that in view of this interdict he intended to depart with his furs for the Isle of France (Mauritius). This Ingraham could not believe. He says, "I was afterwards informed he had smuggled them ashore through the interest of the Padres, which I believe was the case as the ship sailed shortly after and it did not seem probable they would take their skins with them to the Isle of France." Nevertheless he was wrong. "As a sole and wretched resource," says Marchand. "the cargo of furs was brought to France." They were ultimately sent to Lyons as the most eligible market, but soon after their arrival the city was besieged, the furs seized, and in the end they became a prey to the worms.²³

Ingraham resolved to pursue a different course; he had come to China to sell his furs, and sell them he would despite the prohibition. The *Hope* was removed to Lark's Bay, three or four leagues southwest of Macao. Then he familiarized himself with the various underground routes. There was no market; had there been one, it would have been flooded, for the cargoes of the *Grace*, *Hancock*, *Gustavus*, *Hope* and *La Solide*, added to those of the Spanish vessels from Manilla amounted to about eleven thousand sea otter skins. The risks attendant on smuggling further decreased the price, which, according to Marchand had now fallen to fifteen dollars for a skin of first quality.²⁴

Ingraham at first relied upon a supposed friend who assured him that he could readily dispose of his cargo; but after waiting some weeks in vain, he concluded that his friend was merely "amusing" him and keeping him out of the market while he was selling the furs brought by the *Grace*. In company with Captain Coolidge of the *Grace* Ingraham went into a smuggling venture in which each risked one hundred skins in an attempt to land them at Whampoa. After ten days spent in a vain endeavor to get the skins ashore, and in which they narrowly escaped seizure the boat

²² *Voyage of Marchand*, II, 84.

²³ *Voyage of Marchand*, II, 238.

²⁴ *Voyage of Marchand*, II, 97.

returned. Some two hundred skins were sold to other captains who took the risk of running them ashore.

While slowly getting rid of his skins, disposing of a few here and a few there, and smuggling a boat load ashore at every available opportunity Ingraham was also obtaining his trading goods. He purchased a large quantity of broadcloth and began on shore the manufacture of jackets and trousers, but when he attempted to put the cloth and the clothing on the *Hope*, the mandarins demanded \$100 to be paid before they would allow them to leave the shore. After haggling long and vainly, Ingraham paid the exaction. Verily these Chinese dues were only governed by the personal whim of the mandarins. Marchand explains that these officers being required to collect a certain sum each year resorted to the simple expedient of doubling or trebling the charges according to the circumstances.²⁵

In about a month of this surreptitious trading Ingraham succeeded in disposing of practically his whole cargo; but unfortunately at prices far below those that usually prevailed. The expenses too, far exceeded his original calculations, and when he came to adjust the accounts with his "blockade runners" he found to his surprise that each one made claims more exorbitant than the other.

He and his friends Coolidge and Rogers agreed to invest the proceeds of their sales in a cargo of tea and to charter a small vessel, the *Fairy*, to transport it to Boston. He accordingly purchased one thousand eight hundred and sixty chests of tea as his share of the lading, but soon discovered that he had obtained far too much. The tea was brought to Macao to be loaded; only a hundred chests had been put on board when the mandarins again interfered and seized sixty-seven chests. As he had the permission of the Portuguese governor to export he thought the matter easily adjusted; yet on visiting that official with his complaint the latter informed him that for the unnamed consideration he had only agreed to shut his eyes as regarded Portuguese imposts and that he could not interfere or exempt him from Chinese demands and regulations. Marchand had evidently had some experience with the same individual. "The Portuguese government of Macao," says he, "is in a state of debasement which can be compared only to the indolence, the avidity, and the knavery of a mandarin."²⁶ It was now discovered that the *Fairy* was anchored outside the Portuguese juris-

²⁵ *Voyage of Marchand*, II, 96.

²⁶ *Voyage of Marchand*, II, 99.

diction and was, moreover, a foreign ship that had paid no Chinese port dues. So the sixty-seven chests were confiscated. Ingraham was at his wit's ends. At last a Spanish ship which had paid these dues was found and for \$500 agreed to take the tea aboard as part of her cargo for Cochin China and deliver it to the *Fairy* at Lark's Bay. This being accomplished the *Fairy* sailed on March 29, 1792 for Boston, and Ingraham was free to prepare for his departure.

On April 1, 1792 the *Hope* in company with the *Grace* sailed for the Northwest Coast of America. Head winds drove them back, and it was not until the 26th that they finally left the Chinese coast. Soon the vessels separated and each pursued her way alone. On July 1 "the water changed from its usual blueness at sea to a greenish hue which indicated that we were not far from soundings." The latitude was 53° 14'. The next day the snowclad summit of San Christobal appeared on the eastern horizon. Ingraham steered for Cloak Bay. Anchoring there he immediately began to trade. He found that six vessels had visited the village already that season. With every confidence he displayed his collars and his clothing, but alas! the fashion had changed in the interval. Only one skin would be given for a collar; the clothing was scarcely looked at; table spoons, which in the preceding year would hardly be accepted as a gift, were now the one thing the natives wanted. On the voyage across the Pacific the smith had been kept busy fashioning daggers of the various forms in use on the islands. Ingraham now offered these weapons, but with no better success. Everything had changed. Articles regarded as most valuable a few months before were now despised. Copper, which during the last year had never been asked for, was now in demand; but when Ingraham did produce his copper sheets they were too thin to suit the exacting taste of these changeable people. They asked, too, for heavy leather to make coats of mail and, strangely enough, for a variegated shell of green and white, a species of pearl.

The *Hancock* arrived the following day; both vessels requiring cleaning it was agreed that they should remain together for mutual protection during the operation. The *Hancock* had left one of her crew at this village before sailing for China, for the purpose of collecting furs and securing the trade. On inquiring for this sailor Captain Crowell, her master, found that he had departed on the very first vessel that had arrived, which happened to be Meares celebrated ship the *Iphigenia*, now it would appear, no longer masquerading but a real Portuguese bottom, in command of Vianna. Many ships had left men, as in this case, to preempt the trade but

they invariably found, as did Captain Crowell, that the person becoming weary of his voluntary exile had taken passage at the first opportunity. Naturally the vessel that received him obtained the advantage of his labor—another instance of one reaping where he had not sowed.

While engaged in the operation of gravings the vessels, the Fourth of July arrived. The entry in the Journal reads: "In order to celebrate it in the best manner our situation would admit of, I had as on my last voyage, a hog of 60 pounds weight roasted whole on the beach, and invited Capt. Crowell and his officers to dine with me. At 12 o'clock we fired a gun, hoisted our colours, and gave three cheers, which the *Hancock* returned. As the *Hope* was on a careen, we dined on shore under a tree near the beach. Old Cunneyah, one of the neighboring chiefs, was one of our guests."

That afternoon a native stole an axe belonging to the *Hancock*. Her crew in retaliation seized some of the villagers' skins. The Indians, fearing trouble, fled immediately. Presently two or three returned and claimed the skins which they then offered in exchange for a jacket and trousers. The bartering had just reached the stage at which one of the Indians was fitting on the trousers when the real owner arrived. The others then ran off with the jacket and trousers. The sailors pursued them, firing upon the fugitives, who dropped the jacket, but he who had the trousers in possession, though wounded, got safely away. All thought of further trading vanished and as soon as the gravings was completed, Ingraham sailed through Cox Strait. On enquiring for Cow, who had been so prominent on the former visit, Ingraham was told that he was dead, but he learned later that he had removed with his tribe to Kaigahnee on the northern side of Dixon Entrance, and, adds the Journal: "So far from being dead, was very stout and had three wives, which many would suppose was enough to kill him in a short time."

The *Hope* rounded Rose Point and anchored under the lee. On the morning of July 7 Skidegate, a chief whom he had met during the preceding season, arrived with ten large canoes bearing about two hundred and fifty men equipped for war. Thirty skins were obtained from them. Before they departed they were insistent that he should foretell the weather. He looked wise and prophesied that no storm would occur until five days had elapsed. The Indians' faith in his ability as a prophet must have fallen greatly, for the storm came on the next day. Sailing southward he met the *Grace* which had just left Cumshewa Inlet. Her captain informed him that the Indians there had many skins which how-

ever he had been unable to procure, as his trading goods did not appear attractive to them. The *Grace* had heard that a man-of-war was in the neighborhood. This was probably the Spanish vessel *Aranzuzu*; the report could not refer to Vancouver's ships for they were then in the vicinity of Bute Inlet, three hundred miles distant.²⁷ As the *Grace* had no legal papers Captain Coolidge, to avoid the possibility of seizure and confiscation determined to spend the summer trading in the northern waters.

Owing to baffling winds the *Hope* did not reach Cumshewa Inlet until July 10. The trade was very slow for the Indians held their furs at a price "beyond all reason." After two days of unsuccessful attempts Ingraham sailed for Juan Perez Sound. On the way he met the sloop *Jackal* of London. When he first descried her he was surprised to see such a small vessel with a tier of gun-ports fore and aft, and thought her a King's cutter or a tender to a man-of-war. On nearer approach he saw that the ports were false or painted, a bit of camouflage to overawe the natives. This meeting caused him to return hastily to Cumshewa's for he feared that the *Jackal's* articles of trade might effectually end his traffic by introducing some novel fashion. Arriving at Cumshewa's he found to his surprise that the Indians were not only aware of the presence of the *Jackal* but also of the assortment of trading goods that she carried. No longer could he obtain furs in quantities. Here and elsewhere it was now a case of picking up two or three after much waste of time and at great expense.

There were now at these islands and the neighboring mainland besides the *Hope*, the *Butterworth*, *Jackal*, *Lee Boo*, *Margaret*, *Hancock*, *Grace*, *Adventure*, and *Iphigenia*, Ingraham therefore thought that the field had too many workers and concluded to try the region to the southward. While he lay becalmed at the entrance of Juan Perez Sound the natives came off and supplied him with halibut. They put out kelp lines and awkward looking hooks and in a few minutes caught three fine fish. The sailors tried their luck with European gear, but unsuccessfully. This to the Indian mind demonstrated the superiority of their own implements and resulted in an increased price.

Continuing his southward voyage but never neglecting an opportunity to obtain a sea otter skin, Ingraham on July 27, saw the entrance of Kyuquot Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island. He traded at one or two of the villages and made his way into the

²⁷ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1886), 1, 267; Vancouver, *Voyage*, II, 235 et seq.

sound itself. He seems to have been suspicious of the natives, for his first step on entering was to seize two of them as hostages, an action which he does not appear to have taken in any other place. Nevertheless, leaving four men on the little brigantine, he and the remainder of the crew went ashore for recreation. The Indians gathered in large numbers and from their conduct seemed to be examining the vessel as if contemplating an attempt at capture. Ingraham and his men returned hurriedly on board. Hardly had they done so when fifteen large canoes filled with savages bore down upon the *Hope* in regular battle array. Warning shots and gestures were unheeded; then a shot was sent over their heads; as they still continued to approach he fired upon them with grape and round shot. The assailants retired precipitately, but rested near a neighboring point. Ingraham fired again upon them to show them they were still within range and then arming the long boat gave chase. No trade could now be carried on and he sailed without delay for Nootka. In passing out of the sound the chief came alongside. Ingraham reproached him for the attempted aggression. As usual he laid the blame upon the members of another tribe, the Ahatesets.

When he anchored that night in a cove of Esperanza Inlet, Ingraham took the precaution to seize all the canoes which were drawn up in front of the village and moor them to the *Hope* during the night. As he approached the entrance to Nootka Sound on July 31 he noticed many canoes with sails, a means of propulsion that he had never before met amongst them. Though the natives knew the art of making cloth, they do not appear, according to the testimony of the early voyagers to have applied it to use on the water. Late that evening the *Hope* dropped anchor in historic Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. Lying there were the *Daedalus*, the store ship of Vancouver's squadron, the *San Carlos*, and *Columbia*.

He saluted the Spanish flag with nine guns which were returned with an equal number. The Spaniards had established a little village on the shores of Friendly Cove. They explained that owing to the uncertainty of their occupation the houses were but temporary. Cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry they had in abundance, and the pristine wilderness had been transformed into a garden producing every kind of vegetable. Quadra, the Spanish commandante, received him most courteously, offering him all needful assistance, and inviting him to an excellent dinner, served, as he gravely records, on silver. At Quadra's request he joined with Captain Gray in giving the letter containing their version of the circumstances

surrounding the seizure of Meares' ships at Nootka in 1789. This document, which is set out in full in the Journal, is also to be found in the appendix to Greenhow's History of Oregon, and in the Report of the Archivist of British Columbia for 1913.

He renewed his acquaintance with Maquinna and his brother, the head chiefs of the vicinity. From their constant association with the Spaniards these treacherous chiefs had become quite polished in their manners, meeting and parting with strangers with a great deal of ceremony, and bowing and scraping "Adieu Senior" in the most approved Castilian style. "I verily believe," adds Ingraham, "that if the Spaniards had the tuition of these people but a few years longer they would be quite civilized." Much ceremony was observed at this unique settlement. Spanish manners, customs, and ideals held sway just as rigorously on the wild shores of Nootka as within the precincts of Madrid. All vessels entering the sound saluted the Spanish fort punctiliously and received the same courtesy in return. When Quadra visited the *Hope* he was saluted with nine guns.

On August 7 Ingraham sailed for Neah Bay, the new Spanish settlement at the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. During the week that he had spent at Nootka, he had not been able to obtain a single sea otter skin; not that the natives had none, but they would sell to no one except Captain Kendrick, of whom they seemed very fond, owing, as they said, to his consistently kind treatment; though Ingraham opines that the real reason was that he gave them prices which other traders regarded as exorbitant. On his departure, besides furnishing him with a letter of introduction to all Spanish commanders and a general passport, Quadra sent him "40 fresh salmon, some fresh pork, eggs, butter, 50 loaves of new bread, some wine, brandy, and a great supply of cabbages, salad, etc., which considering the part of the world we were in, I thought a very handsome present."

Off Nootka Sound the *Hope* met the *Butterworth* of London, the consort of the sloop *Jackal*, already mentioned. From her he heard that the people of Clayoquot had unprovokedly attacked her boats, killing one seaman and severely wounding two others. The next day he encountered the *Margaret* of Boston, owned by the same interests as the *Hope*. Her captain, Magee, was very ill, and in compliance with his request, Ingraham abandoned his intention of visiting the Strait of Juan de Fuca and accompanied her to Nootka.

From the *Margaret* he heard a different story of the affair at

Clayoquot. According to this version the crew of the *Butterworth* attempted to rob the Indians of their furs, actually going so far as to cut some from the backs of the wearers. When the Indians resisted further despoliation the sailors fired upon them, killing four men. The natives armed themselves and launched their war canoes, intending to surround the boats, which retreated incontinently toward the ship. Captain, Magee, who had seen the whole trouble, fired a cannon shot in front of the pursuers and the affray was ended. In the offing, said Captain Magee, the *Butterworth* fell in with some canoes of the tribe engaged in fishing, took the Indians therefrom, triced them up, flogged them, and threw them into the sea; and the *Jenny* of Bristol, which was astern, dispatched them with her guns. Which of these contradictory accounts is the truth is unknown. Ingraham's outspoken dislike of all things British must be considered and weighed in arriving at a conclusion; and it must be remembered that during this keen competition there was scarce a trader against whom somewhat similar complaints were not made.

The two vessels remained at Nootka for six days. During this time they evolved a new scheme of trading. They were to sail in company and in dealing with the Indians one was by agreement to overbid the other, an account was to be kept, and the proceeds of the joint undertaking to be divided; but when they attempted to put the plan into execution, they found that the price demanded far exceeded their uttermost agreed bid. This is only mentioned to show the ingenuity of the American traders in their efforts to obtain skins.

Once more the *Hope* headed for Queen Charlotte Islands, calling at every bay and inlet along the Eastern coast, but meeting with no success. The field had been reaped; little remained for the gleaner. On August 22 Ingraham anchored in Douglas Cove on the southern side of North Island, not far from Cloak Bay. There he found the *Grace*, a felucca from Macao, likely the *Fenis & St. Joseph*, the *Adventure* tender to the *Columbia*, in charge of his friend Haswell; and the sloop *Jackal*. No trade was to be obtained, and after three days' delay he sailed again for Skidegate. Not a single skin could be procured there, either. The ship *Butterworth* passed by while the *Hope* lay in this bay. Southward again sailed the *Hope*; four skins were obtained near Atli Point; and she passed on into Carpenter Bay. This place, to his great disappointment, he found already in possession of the *Lee Boo* of the *Butterworth* squadron. Three fruitless days were spent, and then in sheer des-

peration Ingraham set sail again for Nootka. Off Cape Scott, the northwestern extremity of Vancouver Island, he picked up "three different skins." At midnight of September 10 with the aid of Spanish launches he reached Anchorage in Friendly Cove. There he found Vancouver's vessels, the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*, which had arrived on August 28.

His first business at sunrise the next day was to hoist his jack, ensign, and pennant and salute the Spanish flag with nine guns. After stating in the Journal that the Spanish commandante informed him that he was preparing to abandon the sound to the British, Ingraham adds that the *Daedalus* was, after discharging her stores, to depart to Botany Bay, Australia for a load of convicts to form a British settlement at Nootka. Where he got this strange idea it is impossible to ascertain; it never had any foundation in fact, and probably arose from the knowledge that the *Daedalus* was to sail to Port Jackson, (Sydney, Australia).

Ingraham was surprised to meet at Nootka the Sandwich Islander, Opie, whom he had brought out from Boston and left at Owyhee in May 1791. This man who had evidently an attack of the wanderlust had embarked with Vancouver in March 1792. He now wished to return to his home and begged Ingraham to afford him a passage. This, however, was refused unless Vancouver would discharge him. When Vancouver declined to do so, Opie suggested that he would desert and meet the *Hope* in a canoe outside Nootka, but to this Ingraham would not consent, especially as Opie freely admitted that he was well treated on the *Discovery* and, in any event, the *Hope* was already overmanned.

According to the writer of the New Vancouver Journal Ingraham had at this time only four hundred and fifty sea otter skins on board.²⁸ This unknown author, who from the internal evidence was probably Mr. Bell, the clerk of the *Chatham*, adds pertinently: "It was very difficult to come here at the truth of what number of skins ships collected; for the masters of them and their mates and ship's company, whether from a privilege they think they can claim by passing round Cape Horn, or from some unaccountable species of distrust or jealousy seldom agree in their accounts of their quantity on board, many of them, and often, varying hundreds of skins. However I believe I may be somewhere tolerably near the truth in the quantities I have mentioned throughout, at all events I am pretty sure I am not above the mark, more likely considerably under it."²⁹ Haswell, Dixon, and other traders notice the same peculiarity.

²⁸ *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 307.

²⁹ *Id.*, vi. 56.

After nine days of idleness at Nootka the *Hope* again sailed for the Strait of Juan de Fuca. In the vicinity of Neah Bay Ingraham had difficulty with the Indians. As he passed their village they set up a most hideous yelling accompanied with signs and gestures highly inimical. Fearing they might attack him at anchor, he fired, he says, over their heads, and this quieted the disturbance. He thought that these people were anxious for revenge for the men killed by the Spaniard, Fidalgo, some days previously, and his small vessel seemed suitable for the purpose. The Spanish settlement at Nunez Gaona (Neah Bay) which was about to be abandoned he describes as consisting "only of a few huts and a tolerable good garden." On this cruise he obtained fifty-five excellent sea otter skins in exchange for copper.

He was again at Friendly Cove on October 1st, when at Vancouver's invitation he, with the Spanish officers, dined on board the *Discovery*. "Captain Vancouver," he says, "entertained us in the best manner his situation would admit of, which considering the place we were in, might be called elegant." He gives the following appreciation of Vancouver, which is the more interesting because of his pronounced dislike of the British: "Without losing any of the dignity necessary for a man in his situation to assume, he behaved in a liberal, kind, and impartial manner to those of all nations who anchored in this port."

The season was ended. More than three months had been spent in the vain endeavor to procure a cargo of skins. The Journal does not give any information as to the number on board; about five hundred and fifty seems the correct quantity. He had in the preceding year obtained almost three times that amount in one-half the time. The increased competition, the strangely whimsical and constantly variable taste of the Indians, and his flitting from port to port combined to effect this result. On October 12 Ingraham sailed from Nootka for China by way of the Sandwich Islands. His Journal ends here quite abruptly, with some general remarks upon the charts that he had drawn to accompany it.

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