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CAPTAINS GRAY AND KENDRICK: THE BARRELL LETTERS.

The outlines of the voyage of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, 1787-1790, are trite indeed, and it is not intended in this paper to re-tell a story so well known; but every reader as he follows the vessels on their historic voyage finds certain questions constantly arising and insistently demanding an answer: Why the long delays at the Cape Verd Islands, at the Falkland Islands, and at Juan Fernandez? What were the real relations of the two captains? What were their relations with the Spainards at Nootka? Why were the vessels not seized at the same time as those belonging to Meares? Why did Kendrick hand over to Gray the command of the *Columbia*—the important ship—and take the sloop himself?

In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a series of letters, known as the Barrell Letters, written by Gray, Kendrick, and Hoskins, which while, perhaps, not solving any of these questions, yet read in connection with other contemporary accounts, throw a light upon them by means of which, as through a glass darkly, a part, at any rate, of the answers may be spelled out. Copies of a goodly number of these letters are in the library of the University of Washington; it is to be regretted that the whole series was not copied, and the hope is expressed that in the near future a complete transcript will be obtained.

The vessels sailed from Boston on 1st October 1787, reached the Cape Verd Islands on 9th November, sailed therefrom on 20th December, arrived at the Falkland Islands probably about the end of January 1788, resumed their voyage on 28th. February, and separated in a gale off Cape Horn on 1st April. The *Washington* made her landfall on the Californian coast, latitude 41°36', on 2nd August, and trading along as she proceeded northward reached

Nootka on 16th September; the *Columbia* arrived at Juan Fernandez on 25th May and after some delay proceeded uninterruptedly to Nootka, where she anchored on 21st September 1788.

At the Cape Verd Islands the first friction developed: Mr. Woodruffe, the chief officer of the *Columbia*, was removed from his position and left the ship. He was, according to Haswell, granted by Captain Kendrick permission to sleep that night on the *Washington*, but no sooner had he boarded her for that purpose than Kendrick withdrew his consent and sent Haswell to the *Washington* to "order Captain Gray in his name to send Mr. Woodruff and his baggage immediately on board". Mr. Simeon Woodruffe was an "elderly gentleman" who had served as gunner's mate on the *Resolution* during Captain Cook's third voyage. Readers of the Anonymous (Rickman's) Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage¹ will remember him as one of the party of three belonging to the *Resolution* who were lost for two days on Christmas Island and whose adventures and sufferings are therein set out in great detail. Dr. Roberts, the surgeon, also quitted the *Columbia* at these islands and entered with the Portuguese Governor a formal complaint of "the inhuman treatment he had received". Some difficulty occurred between Captain Kendrick and the Governor owing to the former's refusal to deliver up the surgeon's clothes; despite many efforts to obtain them, the *Columbia* sailed away leaving the surgeon behind, but carrying off his clothing. In one of the letters which follow it will be observed that Captain Kendrick refers to these two men's having left the ship in language that implies that though he had not reported the incident it must be known to his owners, doubtless through some vessel from Cape Verd; yet surely that did not prevent, but rather compelled, him to put forward his own version.

Before the expedition arrived at the Falkland Islands the trouble which had been brewing between Captain Kendrick and Robert Haswell, his second officer, culminated in an assault by the captain upon his officer—"a liberty," says Haswell in his log, "which perhaps he dare not have taken had he been on equal ground and not been in the ship he commanded". At Brett's Harbor, Falkland Islands, where, it would appear, the vessels lay for nearly a month, Haswell was transferred into the *Washington*. If he is to be believed quarrels between Kendrick and his officers were of frequent occurrence. In estimating Captain Kendrick's character, conduct, and

¹ See my article, "Authorship of the Anonymous Account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage," in this *Quarterly*, vol. xii, no. 1 (January, 1921), p. 51.

abilities allowance must be made for Haswell's bias, conscious or otherwise. He alleges that while at Falkland Islands Kendrick had frequently intimated his intention of wintering there, but that in deference to his own and Captain Gray's vigorous remonstrances he ultimately agreed to continue the voyage without further delay.

From the ship *Columbia*, lying in Brett's Harbour, Falkland Islands, Kendrick issued to "Capt. Robart Gray" instructions for the remainder of the voyage, in which he ordered him to rendez-vous at Nootka Sound: "You have the command of the sloop Washington my orders is that you sail with the Columbia and do all in your power to keep company with her But should you get seperated from her by Bad weather or any excident whatever you are to proceed on your voiage Round Cape Horn in to the pacific ocean and then stand to the Northward as far as the Latt 49°36' North and Longitude 126°40' West from the meridian of London there you will find a harbor by the Name of Nootka Sound on the west side of North America."

The first letter in the series was written from Mayo, Cape Verd Islands, where the ships had anchored on 9th November.

Thursday November 15th 1787

On board the Ship Columbia at
anchor in English Road in Isle May

Joseph Barrell Esqr
Sir

I arrived here after a passage of forty two Days with the Washington in company, we are all in good health & high spirits, Our Ship sails very well, is a good Sea Boat, and very tight— We have got plenty of fresh stock on board and shall sail this Day for St. Jago [Santiago] to fill our Water, from that place I shall write you more fully—Please to present my Compliments to the Gentlemen Owners and blieve me

Sir, to be with esteem
Your Very humble Servt
John Kendrick

Captain Kendrick says the ship sailed well; Haswell's complaint is that she was not given a chance: that never on the passage to Cape Verd Islands were the studding sails set. These islands were a regular port of call for the Boston vessels; live stock and other refreshment could be obtained there at reasonable cost. As the expedition sailed on 1st October and consumed thirty-nine

days on the trip to Mayo—Captain Gray made it in 1790 in the same ship in twenty-nine and one-half days, Boit tells us, and that he called “a long voyage”—in order to reach the forty-two days, Kendrick must compute the time from the day the pilot boarded the ship, and thus include the three days of final preparation of which Haswell speaks. Kendrick left Mayo, not that day, but the following, for St. Iago [Santiago], and there remained for over a month, to wit, until 20th December—a long time “to fill our water”. If Captain Kendrick kept his promise to write from St. Iago the letter has disappeared, for the next letter is from Juan Fernandez.

On board the Ship Columbia
Cumberland Bay, Juan fernandes
May 28th 1788

Joseph Barrell Esqr
Sir

I have the pleasure to inform you of our safe arrival at Juan fernandes in the Pacific Ocean after a fatigueing passage of eighty six Days from Faulkland's Islands, and the misfortune of parting with the sloop Washington on the first of April--We are all in health and our Ship seaworthy—I have only an oppertunity of a few moments to write, which I hope will be a sufficient apology for not being more explicite—

I have the honour to be
Sir, with esteem
Your humble Servt
John Kendrick

P. S. The sloop Washington
has Orders to Stop at
Massafuera which induces
me to think that she is
safe,—

The *Columbia* and the *Washington* wintered at Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound. Haswell tells us that the vessels were laid up in ordinary; a house was built on shore; spars were got out to rig the *Washington* as a brig, or rather a brigantine, (a favorite project of Captain Kendrick's) although the necessary canvas, cordage, and blocks were altogether lacking; charcoal was prepared for the smith's subsequent use; a little trading went on, and some of the crew were employed in hunting. On one occasion, this authority informs us, Captain Gray attempted to haul out the *Washington* to

grave her, in anticipation of the next season's work, without having asked Captain Kendrick's permission. The latter "seeing us unmoar without his orders he haled us in a pett and ordered Captain Gray to moar the ship immediately again this of course we obeyed". A serious fire at one time endangered the safety of the *Columbia*; at another time the Indians stole fifteen of the water casks and five cannon. During the winter the *Washington* was made ready for sea, but Haswell makes no mention of any such effort as regards the *Columbia*. The sloop sailed on her first cruise in March, leaving the ship in Friendly Cove. In her absence Kendrick removed the *Columbia* to Mawinna, or Kendrick's Cove, (now Marvinas Bay) seven miles up the sound. Vancouver² says this cove was "in great repute with the traders on this coast, and particularly so with the Americans". When the *Washington* returned on 23rd. April Haswell was "greatly surprised to find the ship not ready for sea she was now nearly a Hulk had not been graved or scarce any preparation made for sea".

Early in May, 1789, arrived Don Estevan José Martinez in command of the Spanish ship of war, *Princesa*. At that time only the *Iphigenia* and the *Columbia* lay in Nootka Sound; he had met the *Washington* off the entrance, as she was setting out on her successful trip to Queen Charlotte Islands. Naturally, one of Martinez's first acts was to enquire of Captain Kendrick what these American vessels were doing in Nootka Sound, which was then claimed as a Spanish possession. The *Iphigenia* could have told him, for Meares records that Gray informed him that the expedition was "equipped, under the patronage of Congress, to examine the Coast of America, and to open up a fur-trade between New England and this part of the American Continent, in order to provide funds for their China ships, to enable them to return home teas and China³ goods". However he made the enquiry and obtained the following answer from Captain Kendrick:

Nootka Sound

8 May Anno Dom 1789

Don Estevan Joseph Martinez
 Commander of his most Catholick
 Majesties Ship *Princesa*

Sir:

² *Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific ocean and round the world . . . in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795 . . .* (London, Stockdale, 1801), vol. vi, p. 88.

³ Meares, John, *Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West coast of America . . .* (London, Walter, 1790), p. 219.

In answer to your request how I came to be riding at anchor in Nootka Sound belonging to the King of Spain I would inform you that in the month of September 1788 I arrived on this Coast on discovery and anchored in the Cove Uqot⁴ on the Western entrance of this Sound having prior to my arrival sprung the Head of my mizn mast & in a Gale from the N E my Rudder received some considerable Damage, likewise my Stern post became lose, to repair these Defects & recover my men the most of which were sick with the scurvy and two actually Died with the Disease a few days before my arrival I was Infallibly obliged to anchor Finding the natives Inofensive & a good Harbor to repair my ship which had been then near 12 months from Boston the Season being Far Advanced I was induced to remain the Winter and proceed to the Northd in the Spring following, which is the present, & now as you may Observe we are getting our Ship in readiness for Sea with all possible dispatch and as soon as this is accomplished shall depart from the port. for myself & officers whose names are hereto jointly affixed

I have the honor to assure you

I am very respectfully

Your most obed't & very humble
Servant

[No signatures]

Certainly this is a very pitiful tale and Martinez records it almost word for word in his diary. Of course the voyage of discovery and the accidental call at Nootka were mere diplomatic statements for public consumption and, doubtless, deceived no one. The reference to the ravages of the scurvy has the support of Haswell's Log, in which he states: "I concluded at first sight her [the *Columbia's*] people were in an advanced state of the scurvy for tho very moderate and pleasant her topsails were reefed and her topg't masts down on deack. . . . They had been so unfortunate as to loose two of there people with the scurvey and most of the rest of the crew were in an advanced state of that malignant Distemper". Yet on the other hand this contradicts Kendrick's letter to Barrell as will later appear, and Captain Gray makes no mention of any such loss.

The letter evidently made the desired impression, as appears from the following, written four days later:

⁴ Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound.

✓ May 12th

Don Estephen Jos Martinez
Comr of His most Catholick majesties Ship
Princessa

Sir

Yours of the present date is now laying before me and the Contents Noted, I observe with pleasure you are satisfied with my Answer relative to my Ship, with respect to my Sloop she being ready for sea the 2d of May that is the present month I thought best to employ her on discovery to the Northward of this port particularly to explore the Streights of Admiral De Fonte likewise if possible to procure Hoops to replace the Water Casks I made mention to you the Natives stole from me during the last Winter holding in Idea this wou'd be employing her advantageously while the Ship was getting ready

I have the Honor to Remain
[Not Signed. Endorsed, from Kendrick]

It may be remarked on this letter that it is scarcely ingenuous; the sloop was ready for sea and had sailed on her first cruise on 16th March; she had returned on 23rd April, and sailed again on 2nd May.

The relations between the Americans and the Spaniards seem to have been most friendly from the very beginning. The following letter is set out merely as an example.

✓ May 16th [1789]

Don Estephen J Martinez
Commander of His most Catholic
Majesties Ship Princessa

Dear Sir

I this moment received a Letter Handed me by a man of Capt Arrow's Boat^s which I take to be the Blacksmith by what I can understand by him you want some Iron work Done and if that shoul'd be the Case I will have it done for you with all possible dispatch that I can I hold myself in readiness to serve you in any and every thing in my power but as to the Letter it is so unintelligible as to the English that I can make nothing of it

I have the Honor to Remain
Sir

Your Devoted Servt
John Kendrick

At this time the trouble with Meares' vessels had commenced;

the *Iphigenia* was seized on the 14th May; her strange instructions and her masquerading under Portuguese colours roused the suspicions of the Don; whereas everything surrounding the American venture was, or seemed to be, on the surface. The story of the beginning and development of that good feeling can be pieced together from Martinez Diary and Haswell's Log. The former tells the story in great detail. As the entries are too lengthy to be introduced *in extenso*, a mere summary will be given. As the *Princesa* was approaching Friendly Cove on 4th May 1789 the *Washington* was sighted as already mentioned, carrying, says Martinez, "the American colors of the Congress of Boston". On being hailed Captain Gray explained that his commander was in Nootka Sound, that the expedition was on discovery, and that the *Washington* was now bound northward "in search of material for pipe and barrel staves". We know that on this trip Gray sought and secured many sea otter skins, but this is the first and only word about the pipe and barrel staves, Martinez saw their passport, as he calls it, "which was signed by General Washington and countersigned by their captain John Kendrick". Gray presented to him, he says, two cloaks made of red feathers, a fine palm hat, two red birds, and a black one—all from the southern seas, and probably much the same as Tianna gave to John Henry Cox⁵. Not only did Gray make him this present⁷ but, adds Martinez, "the Americans saluted the flag of his Most Catholic Majesty with seven guns"—adding courtesy to generosity. Haswell says: "He was no sooner informed who we were than he said if there was any thing in his ship we stood in need of he would supply us"⁸.

After the *Princesa* had anchored in Nootka Sound and Martinez had received Kendrick's letter of 8th. May, the latter showed him a certificate from Gonzales, the Governor of Juan Fernandez, of the arrival of the *Columbia* and the good conduct of her crew

5 Gonzales Lopez de Haro in command of the *San Carlos*, the other Spanish ship of war at Nootka at the time. She had arrived on May 12, 1789.

6 Mortimer, John, *Observations and remarks made during a voyage to the Islands of Teneriffe, Amsterdam, Maria's Island near Van Diemen's Land, Otaheite, Sandwich Islands, Owhyhee, the Fox Islands on the North-West coast of America, Tinian and from thence to Canton, in the brig Mercury, commanded by John Henry Cox*. . . (London, Cadell, 1791), p. 84.

7 This raises an interesting question: how did Gray obtain these articles? In his own voyage he had not been near any of the South Sea Islands. He had sighted Masafuera, St. Ambrose, and had passed between the Galapagos Islands, and then sighted the coast of California; he had almost coasted from the Strait of Magellan—to Haswell's great disgust. Hence, he could not have got them. As to Kendrick, after he left Juan Fernandez, where he could not have obtained such things, he is understood to have sailed direct to Nootka. There is no record of his calling at any of the South Sea islands. The likely explanation is that the *Iphigenia*, which had only returned on April 24 from the Sandwich Islands, where such things were very plentiful, and brought them.

8—Haswell adds a little later: "He made Captain Gray presents of Brandy wine hams sugar and in short every thing he thought would be acceptable."

during their stay. That afternoon Martinez found on the port gangway of the *Princesa* "two medallions of white metal", which he describes. These were some of the medals struck in commemoration of their voyage.⁹ "They left them", he writes, "as memorials of their expedition wherever they landed". These attentions were not lost on the courtly Spaniard; then began an apparent friendship. Kendrick accompanied Martinez to visit Maquinna and the other chiefs, and introduced him as his brother, who would protect and assist them, and to whom they should be very friendly. Thereafter, as Martinez proudly records, the Indians saluted him as "Friend, friend". The *Princess Royal* arrived on 15th. June; Martinez informed Hudson, her commander, "that if he wished to assure himself that this port and coast belonged to the King of Spain, he might obtain the information from the first pilot of the Boston frigate *Columbia*, Don Joseph Ingraham, who could furnish him the certain evidence". The American and Spanish commanders frequently dined together. On an early occasion Martinez sets down in his diary: "During mess they drank three times to the health of our monarch, and each toast they followed with a salvo of thirteen cannon shots". He records the return of the *Washington* from her northern cruise, but says nothing regarding her success in finding the Straits of De Fonte nor of the "pipe and barrel staves," of which she had been ostensibly in search. In all probability Martinez knew the truth. Perhaps this only goes to show the truth of Butler's adage: "Doubtless the pleasure is as great of being cheated, as to cheat." In all the disputes with Meares' vessels Martinez always looked to Kendrick and his men for, at least, moral support.

The friendship was, perhaps, more apparent than real; each party was probably using the other, and possibly each party was deceiving the other. After the Americans had sailed from the coast in the fall of 1789 Martinez in a long review of the whole situation expressed himself in his diary thus: "The sloop *Washington* continued on her way, not on a voyage of discovery as her commander said, but in pursuit of the fur-trade, which is the principal object of all the people who come to this coast. I could have taken this sloop

⁹ In Mortimer, *Observations and remarks*, p. 88, under date of September 14, 1789, these medals are described as being "of pewter and nearly the size of a crown piece and very neatly executed." Later he adds: "The medals seem to have been left (at) the different places touched at by the Americans, with a view (to) commemorate the first voyage of the kind undertaken by them and to fix them in the remembrance of the natives . . . in my opinion a very excellent plan and worthy the imitation of all future navigators who may be sent on voyages of discovery." Evidently these had been left by Captain Gray in the *Columbia*, when on her way to China in the preceding August. In Greenhow, *History of Oregon . . .*, (London, Murray, 1844), p. 180, will be found a reproduction of one of these medals.

and the frigate *Columbia*, but I had no orders to that purpose, and my situation did not permit me to do it. I treated this enemy as a friend, entrusting to him 137 furs to be sold on my account in Canton. The proceeds he was to entrust to the Spanish ambassador at Boston to the credit of the Crown. Captain John Kendrick informed me that he had not completely carried out his commission, and asked me if he might operate on this coast next year after a trip to the Sandwich Islands and Canton. I informed him that he might do so, but on condition that he always carry an official Spanish passport, as he said he expected to do, and under the further condition that he should buy on my account in Macao two altar ornaments for the mass, and seven pairs of boots for the officers of the *San Carlos* and of my own ship. However, I believe that none of this will be done".

Martinez' remark that he had no orders concerning these two American vessels is difficult to understand, seeing that they are specifically mentioned in articles 14 and 15 of his instructions. By the latter he was given "governmental authority to take such measures as you may be able and such as appear proper" in dealing with these two vessels.

Kendrick's son entered the Spanish service at Nootka Sound, and was taken upon the strength of the *Princesa*. Ingraham mentions his being at the Sandwich Islands on one of Meares' captured vessels. Martinez refers to him as "my second pilot Juan Kendrick" whom he put in command of the *Santa Gertrudis* on the return to Mexico in the fall of 1789.

On 13th July 1789, some ten months after their arrival at Nootka, Kendrick wrote his third, and, so far as the correspondence now remaining shows, his last letter to Barrell.

Nootka Sound July 13 1789.

Joseph Barrell Esq

Sir:

An opportunity unexpectedly offers which affords me the pleasure to inform you and the Gentlemen of the Company of my arrival in this Sound on the month of September last; found riding at Anchor the Sloop *Washington* Capt. Gray whom I parted with coming round Cape Horn on the first April previous, the Season being so far advanced I found it necessary that both Vessels should Winter here.—

The Sloop has made two Cruizes and is now ready to accom-

pany the Ship to the Northd. part of the Coast which I intend Cruizing the Season and from thence proceed to China where I shall follow your further Instructions, and inform you particularly of the Success of the Voyage (which I am sorry is not by any means equal to your expectations when we left Boston)¹⁰ shall leave this port on the morrow.

This will be forwarded you by the goodness of Don Estephen Joseph Martinez, Commander of His Most Catholic Majesty's Squadron in these Seas, he has taken possession of this Sound, and has orders to take possession from the Spanish Settlements to Cook's River.

I have only to add that I have all the people which I brought from Boston except Mr. Jno. Nutting who was unfortunately drowned—and the Doctr and Mr. Woodruffe which probably you have been informed off previous to this and that Captn Gray with the Gentlemen desire to join me in respects to you & the Gentlemen of the Compy.

After which Sir

I subscribe myself

Your and the Comp'y's

Obedient Humble Servt

John Kendrick

The unexpected opportunity, to which Kendrick refers, was the sailing on that date for San Blas of the British ship *Argonaut*, which had been captured on 3rd July; but it was not so sudden as Kendrick would have us believe, for Martinez' Diary shows that the plan was in preparation for a week before the ship actually sailed. This Kendrick must have known because of its publicity and his intimacy with the Spaniards. As a matter of fact Martinez records that one of the hawsers of the seized ship was actually made fast by his orders to the *Columbia*.

The unsatisfactory nature of this letter, for it is a report upon almost two years operations, is at once apparent. Nothing is said in explanation of the fact that it took the expedition almost a year to reach Nootka; nor of the long delays at Cape Verd, the Falkland Islands, and Juan Fernandez. No information is given as to the way the winter was spent, or wasted; nor as to the success that had attended the effort up to this time; and only inferentially is it indicated that the *Columbia* had remained inert from her arrival on

¹⁰ Surely this was early for the commander of the expedition, before he had cruised a mile, to prophecy failure.

21st. September till 13th July. Nothing is said of the seizure of Meares' ships, nor even of the pleasant relations subsisting between the Spanish and American vessels. It is, indeed, remarkable for what it does not contain. The strangest thing, however, is the statement that he has all the crew except Mr. Woodruffe, Dr. Roberts, and Mr. Nutting, in view of the fact (if such it be) that two of his men had died of the scurvy between Juan Fernandez and Nootka. Where Mr. Nutting was drowned we do not know, but it must have been after the *Washington* separated from him, for there is no reference to the incident in Haswell. Mr. Nutting was the astronomer of the voyage.

This letter, with another for Mrs. Kendrick, was enclosed in the following:

Nootka Sound 13 July 1789

His Excellency
President of Congress
United States of America

Sir:

At the Island of Juan Fernandez I took the liberty of enclosing a letter to your Excellency's care, and I must now beg leave to intrude further on your goodness to forward the enclosed as directed, The Extream distance these letters have to pass through the Spanish dominions renders it Necessary to direct them to some public Carachter to insure their safety, this I trust will sufficiently Apologize to your Excellency for the liberty I have taken on this occasion.

I have the Honor to be
Your Excellency's
Most Obedient
and devoted Humbl Servant
John Kendrick

The letter was duly received and was on the 26th February 1790 forwarded to Joseph Barrell by Tobias Lear, Secretary to the President of the United States.

But though Kendrick sent this non-informative communication, yet Gray, on the same date, wrote the following letter, which evidently reached Mr. Barrell. To whom it was sent, or how it was dispatched, we know not; the original contains no indorsement or information upon either point.

Nootka Sound July 13 1789.

From the time of leaving Boston we had good weather & excellent winds to St. Iago where we lay forty one days, which was thirty six more than I thought was necessary & after sailing from St Iago very little care taken to make a quick passage to Cape Horn which has occasioned me to suffer very much in getting round Cape Horn in the month of March and April in the worst season to attempt it, but all this I have mentioned over and over to the Commodore at St Iago but all to no purpose, he being very absolute & would not hear to reason.

I had the good luck to part Company the first day of April in a severe gale & thick snow storm to the Southward & Westward of Cape Horn, which enabled me to make the best of my way along & I made the Coast six weeks sooner by being alone, but by being so late on the Coast entirely lost the season it being the 2nd of August I made New Albion in the latitude of 41 36 North and Cruised the Coast to Nootka Sound in the Latitude of 49 33 North Longitude 126 West but with little success where I arrived the 16th of September & found Two English Snows and one schooner under Portuguese Colours, who treated me very well on some accounts but would not take any letters from me to China, which was worse than anything else they being afraid my letters would injure them & hurt their Trade the next Season for they had made a good Summer's work this Season.

September 21st arrived the Columbia from Juan Fernandez, all well on board except a small touch of the Scurvy I being then nearly ready for sea which I intended to went to Macao in China in case the ship had not arrived here;¹¹ there to get some articles of trade which I had not on board, that suits best on this Coast which in case I had done it I should have made the best voyage that ever was made on this Coast but Capt Kendrick's arriving depriv'd me of my intentions & acting myself he thinking it best to winter here and wait for the Spring to open & cruise the Coast as early as possible, which I began the 16 March & have made two cruises with considerable success, considering the way that I was sent, but not half equal to going the way that I wanted to, which has since appeared to us; the Columbia has rid it out here all the time, but now means

¹¹ Haswell, under date of September 16, as the *Washington* is nearing Nootka Sound, writes: "here we expected to meet the Columbia and we were all positive within our minds that she must be in the sound when we saw a Boat undr sail coming round north point." The boat, however, was one from Meares' vessels then lying in Friendly Cove. Haswell adds: "Our people were employed constantly in necessary Duties of preparing for sea our water filled and wood cut the hold and rigging overhauled", when the *Columbia* appeared.

to sail in Company with me to the Northward where we shall be able to cruise about one month & then for the want of Provisions leave the Coast. We are now in good friendship with the Spanish Commodore & expects to sail in a few days who has taken possession here and erected a fine fort & claims this Coast who I think has the best right of any Nation, they have stopped three English vessels here that came from Macao in China to take possn of this Coast and fortify here, but they being very little force are obliged to give themselves up and go to St Blass for Tryal. I have nothing more to inform you except the voyage will not turn out to the owners expectation, all for the want of a nimble leader, so I conclude & remain

Your affectionate friend and
well wisher
Robert Gray.

P. S. I have to request you to call upon Captn Hatch, & the Gentlemen of the Company and present my best respects to them together with Mr. Howe's & inform them that as we have orders not to write them, we must refer them to Capt. Kendrick's Letter for all information relative to the Voyage. R. G.

This letter throws a great deal of light on the relations between the two captains; not so much in what it says as in the whole tenor, and especially, like the proverbial lady's letter, in the postscript. It shows too that Haswell's statements regarding their conduct are very probable.

In view of Gray's remark that Kendrick was not "a nimble leader" it may not be uninteresting to sketch the latter's movements 1787-1792. Leaving Boston on 1st. October 1787 he spent forty one days at St. Iago, probably about a month at the Falkland Islands, and seventeen days at Juan Fernandez; the voyage from Boston to Nootka in the *Columbia* consumed a year, all but nine days. This seems more like a pleasure trip than a serious business voyage. Contrast this with Gray's second voyage in the same vessel: On that occasion the *Columbia* left Boston on the same date, 1st October, and arrived at Clayoquot, some fifty miles from Nootka, on 5th June following—eight months and five days from Boston. Again from 21st September 1788 till 16th July 1789 Kendrick remained with the *Columbia* in harbour doing nothing, the winter was dawdled away and when spring came the *Columbia* was not in shape to begin her work. When she did actually commence to cruise in 1789, if she

did so at all, which will be discussed later, the time occupied therein was less than a fortnight—she sailed from Nootka 16th July and from Clayoquot on 30th July for China. Again, Kendrick arrived in China in the *Washington* on 26th January 1790 and did not sail again until the last of March 1791,¹² having spent the interval—fourteen months—in disposing of the cargo and realizing his favorite project of altering the sloop into a brig, or rather a brigantine. He reached the Northwest Coast again on 13th June 1791; but in the same time—February 1790 to June 1791—the *Columbia* under Gray had sailed to Boston, discharged her cargo, taken on a supply of trading goods, and returned to the Northwest Coast. Finally Kendrick reached China again in the fall of 1791; but he remained there inactive for another fourteen months. Unless some satisfactory explanation of all these delays is forthcoming Gray's charge would seem established. Even his friend Hoskins writes in his Narrative: "This much must be acknowledged; that Captain Kendrick had two good vessels on the coast, (and if his enemies may be believed), had it in his power to make both for himself and his Owners a very handsome fortune; but he let those golden opportunities pass; and on his arrival in China was deprived¹³ of his largest vessel which was his principal support, but no knavery has at present opened; to be sure the man was by no means calculated for the charge of such an expedition, but a better man might have done worse".

The two English snows mentioned are, of course, the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia*, belonging to Meares and his associates; the schooner is the *North West America*, the first vessel built on the Northwest Coast. Gray says this schooner was under Portuguese colors; so does Haswell. In Meares' Voyages there is a picture of the launching of the *North West America* in which the British flag is quite conspicuous, but that means nothing; it was merely part of Meares' campaign to rouse the national feeling against Spain in order to fill his own pocket. In all probability Meares was flying the Portuguese flag on this coast in 1787-8. His vessels were undoubtedly English; he asks us to believe in his Memorial that he used Cawalho's name and the Portuguese flag in order to avoid the high port charges levied by the Chinese on ships of all other nationalities; but, doubtless, Dixon is more than half right when he

¹² Delano, (Amasa), *Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres*, (Boston, 1817), p. 43.

¹³ This statement is, unfortunately, equivocal. It may mean that Gray by failing to call at Lark's Bay on his return voyage to Boston had deprived Kendrick of the vessel, though this is rather opposed to the tenor of the China correspondence between the two captains; or it may mean that the owners did so.

charges that the great reason was to avoid the monopoly of the South Sea Company. Duncan in his letter to Dixon, which is reproduced in the latter's *Further Remarks on Meares' Voyages*, says that he met "the *Felice*, Captain John Meares, on the 7th [August, 1788] off Nootka, under Portuguese colours; on my first hailing him from whence he came, I was answered, from Lisbon, and that she was commanded by Don Antonio Pedro Mannella, or some such stuff, which I knew to be false". In another part of this letter Duncan adds that Meares had "at that time a small vessel on the stocks at Nootka; where he told me he had a fort, guns mounted, and Portuguese colours flying".

The details of Meares' refusal to carry Gray's letters are set out by Haswell: "Captain Mears offered to be the bearer of any letters he [Captain Gray] wished to communicate to China this offer Captain Gray accepted and giving him a packet on the 22 [September, 1788] assisted in towing her [the *Felice*] out of the harbour, wishing him a good voyage returned before Captain Douglas, but how great was his surprise when Capt. Douglas returned at finding his letters inclosed in a note from Captain Mears apologizing for not [*sic*] returning them saying he was not certain to what part of India he should go therefore could not insure a safe delivery of them". From all we know of Meares this is conduct such as was to be expected of him.

Gray complains that the *Washington* was sent out insufficiently equipped with trading goods. On this point Haswell, under date 21st April 1789, speaking of the trade at Cape Flattery, says: "At day light several canoes came off and upwards of 30 sea otter skins were purchased but we had the mortification to see them carey off near 70 others all of excellent quality for want of chizels to purchase them". And immediately afterwards at Nitinat they found many skins and "had we been provided with any thing that would have purchased skins we should no doubt at this place have got near 200".

The three captured English vessels were the *Argonaut*, *Princess Royal*, and *North West America*. Though the *Iphigenia* was captured also, she was released on a bond, sailed to the northward, and, ultimately after the season's trading, to China. Martinez, speaking of the meeting with the *Washington* already discussed, writes that the Americans informed him that the *Iphigenia* was anchored in Nootka Sound, that her "captain was a Portuguese, the

first mate a Scotchman, and the crew English and that she was engaged in collecting sea otter skins. They said however that the crew did not belong to their nation". Haswell records that "when he [Martinez] was informed Captain Douglas lay there he said it would make him a good prize". The motives moving Martinez to make these seizures were, as he records them, different in each case; but it would be travelling too far afield to enter in this paper into so large a matter.

When these two letters were written the two American vessels were on the eve of their departure on a cruise. We have no knowledge whither they went or whether they sailed in company, unless we accept the statement in Meares' Memorial that the *Columbia* proceeded southward and a few days later entered Port Cox [Clayoquot Sound] where she was joined by the *Washington*.¹⁴ Gray states that they were to cruise to the northward for a month; but Captain Kendrick may have changed his mind. The vessels did not sail until the 15th July, as appears by the entry in Martinez' Diary: "At ten o'clock in the morning there sailed from this port the frigate *Columbia* and the sloop *Washington* to continue their voyage of discovery. I went outside with my launch and accompanied by the missionary fathers a distance of 5' to 6' in order to take leave of the Americans". It must be remembered that the *Columbia* then had on board the ninety six skins that Meares shows the receipt for, and also some of the officers and crew of the captured vessels, and hence was not likely to be going on any cruise. Moreover the *Columbia* was laden with all the skins obtained by the two vessels, the crews were exchanged, provisions transferred from one to the other, the ship made ready for the trans-Pacific voyage, and sailed on 30th July. This would seem to indicate that no trading cruise occurred; for such duties would well occupy a fortnight. In addition to all this, we have Hoskins statement as follows: "When the repairs to the sloop were done he [Kendrick] sail'd with both vessels for Cliloquot, where on his arrival he thought best to change, to send Captain Gray on to Canton with the *Columbia* with what skins had been collected". If this argument be correct it follows that during all of the first voyage the *Columbia* never cruised the coast for furs; any that she obtained were traded with the Indians as she loitered in Nootka Sound.

¹⁴ To this may be added the deposition of Robert Funter attached to Meares' Memorial: "That the *Columbia* and *Washington* did steer to a Harbour to the Southward of King George's Sound, where they separated, the *Columbia* returning to China, and the *Washington* remaining on the Coast." Funter should know the facts, for he and his men returned to China on the *Columbia*.

At any rate when the *Columbia* left the coast on 30th July 1789, Gray was in charge—Kendrick, the commander of the expedition, having seen fit to de-grade himself to the command of the sloop. Gray, who according to Meares' Memorial, reached China on 2nd November 1789, but in truth did not arrive till the 17th as his letter shows, vouchsafes no explanation of this strange course. Perhaps it was just one of Kendrick's whims; according to Haswell he scarcely knew his own mind and was always thinking of changes.

Soon after his arrival in China Gray wrote to Barrell the following letter:

Canton Decembr 17 1789

Gentlemen:

I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my safe arrival in the Ship *Columbia* at Canton and that I sailed from the North West Coast of America in the Lattd 49-9N on the 30th of July last when Captn Kendrick thought best to change vessels and take all the property on board the *Washington* and Cruize the Coast himself and for me to take the best of my way to the Sandwich Islands to procure sufficient provisions to carry me to Canton our provisions on the Coast not being sufficient for both vessels to cruize the Season out was the reason of our separation.

I had four weeks passage from the Coast to the Islands where I salted five puncheons of Pork and bro't off with me on deck one hundred and fifty live Hogs, my passage from thence to this place was nine weeks, being the 17th of November found here fourteen Americans and about Seventy Ships besides of different Nations.

My instructions with Mr. Howes whom Captn Kendrick appointed to assist me was to follow the Instructions lodged here, which we received from you advising to value on Messrs Shaw & Randall which we have done on Mr. Randall, Mr. Shaw being absent.¹⁵

My cargo consist of seven hundred Indifferent Skins and three hundred pieces, which are not yet sold, but expect in a few days will be, I am getting the ship in order to receive a cargo of Bohea tea for Boston, and expect to sail by the last of next month. The expenses of repairing the ship will I fear exceed your expectations, but be assured Gentlemen that no attention shall be wanting to render them as cheap as possible.

¹⁵ See some interesting information as to Shaw & Randall in Delano, *Narrative of Voyages*, chap. 1; and see also *Old Shipping Days in Boston*, 1918, pp. 9-12.

When I parted with Captn Kendrick he was well and all on board the *Washington* the Sloop in the best order and better found than she was when we left Boston. She has twenty men on board and I am in hopes they will make a good cruize, having when we left them provisions sufficient to cruize two mos.

But Captn Kendrick never informed me whether he intended to come to Canton or not in case he meet with no accident on the Coast, which renders it uncertain wether he does or not. Should he not arrive this month I shall conclude he means to tarry another Season or has met with some accident.

The Spaniards have taken possession of all the Coast and fortifying in many places, they have taken possession of an English snow under Portuguese colours, fitted from Macao a Schoor An English Brig, and Sloop (belonging to Merchts in this place) which they have sent to San Blass for Tryall.

This Expedition Gentlemen I don't expect will be equal to your expectations, nor is there any Americans here but will make poor Voyages.

I have only to add Gentlemen that Mr. Howe joins me in best wishes for your prosperities and happiness and subscribe myself

Gentlemen

Your obedient

devoted and very

humble servant

Robert Gray

Joseph Barrell Esq
& Company

This letter was sent, as was the custom, in duplicate; one copy addressed "Joseph Barrell Esq & Company Merchants Boston North America pr favor Capt. Beal"; the other bore the same address put "pr. favor Capt. Hodges". Captain Beal was in command of the ship *Federalist* then from Madras and loading at Canton for America; Captain Hodges, also spelled Hoges, who was master of the brig *William Henry*, had just arrived from the Isle of France.

It is passing strange that in mentioning his cargo Captain Gray is silent concerning the ninety-six sea otter skins already referred to which belonged to Meares and were shipped on her by Martinez; but which were taken off her by Captain Kendrick before he gave Gray the command. Similarly strange is the absence of any word about the crew of the seized *North West America*, who, ac-

cording to Meares, were carried by her to China, ostensibly as passengers at his expense, but in reality as part of the crew.¹⁶ Haswell, on the other hand, says: she "carried several of the officers and crew of those vessels taken by the Spaniards, Captain Kendrick, very politely, giving them their passage". On this question it must be remembered that the *Washington* originally, as Martinez tells us, carried a crew of twelve men including officers; but Gray's letter shows that when he left her in Kendrick's possession she had twenty men; these facts might lead to the inference that the extra hands were supplied from the *Columbia*, and what more natural than that their places should be taken by the so-called passengers; further we know from Ingraham's Journal that both Gray and Kendrick left men at the Sandwich Islands.¹⁷

Captain Kendrick's incertitude is again alleged in this letter. It is perhaps fortunate that on this subject we have not only the evidence of (let us say) the hostile witnesses, Gray and Haswell, and of the friendly witness, Hoskins; but also that of an independent person, Captain Vancouver. In speaking of certain men left at the Sandwich Islands by Kendrick in the fall of 1791, to collect sandal wood and pearls, Vancouver¹⁸ says: "This proceeding, however, appears to have been the effect of a sudden thought, as it was not until his brig was weighing anchor at Ohehow that he came to this determination, and landed the three men; who, in consequence of such short notice, had no means of equipping themselves, and were almost destitute of apparel".

So far as available records show, the Spaniards in 1789 had only built a fort at Nootka, and that was abandoned in the fall of the same year; nor had they taken possession, save at Nootka, on 24th June 1789; though Quimper's map shows that, in 1790, formal possession was taken at three other spots: Neah Bay, the vicinity of New Dungeness, and Esquimalt harbor.

The English snow under Portuguese colours is the *Iphigenia*, as already stated; it may be explained that a snow was a two-masted, square-rigged vessel, somewhat like a brig, but having the spanker on a gunter mast just aft the mizzen mast; the schooner is the

¹⁶ In Funter's deposition, above cited, he says: "That the Ship *Columbia*, on quitting the Coast of America, was so weakly manned, that we do verily believe that she would not have been able to have returned to China had it not been for the Exertions of us, the Master and Seamen of the N. W. America; that the Reason of this Weakness on Board the *Columbia* was their sending the greater Part of their Crew on Board the Sloop *Washington*, in order that she might be manned and made more competent to continue on the Coast of America." And see the deposition of William Graham, also attached to Meares' Memorial, to the same effect.

¹⁷ See entries therein, May, 1791.

¹⁸ *Voyage* (London, Stockdale, 1801), vol. i, p. 408.

North West America; the English brig is the *Argonaut*; the sloop is the *Princess Royal*. They were not all sent to San Blas. The *Iphigenia* was released on a bond; the *North West America* was re-named the *Gertrudis*, and taken into the Spanish service; but the other two were sent as prizes to San Blas.

Mr. Howes, who is allied with Gray in the management of the *Columbia*, had sailed as captain's clerk in her with Kendrick. His name was R. S. Howe; Haswell calls him "Lieut't Howe".

The correspondence from China is not complete, as will be remarked. The next letter follows:

✓Canton January 18th 1790

Joseph Barrell Esq
Sir

In our last by Captn Carpenter we informed you that we had obtain'd permission to land the Cargo of Skins—they are yet unsold by reason of the Mandareens putting their *Chop* upon them but have a great prospects of closing the business in a few days.

Mr. Randall has engaged six hundred Chests of Bohea Tea, but cannot tell the amount of our funds untill the cargo is sold—we shall begin to pack in the course of five days, and in all probability sail by the last of this month—cannot but express our anxiety for Captn Kendrick who has not yet arrived, but are in hopes of seeing him previous to our departure, and of giving you pleasing accounts of him on our arrival in America, untill which time we remain with every sentiment of respect to you and the Gentlemen of the Company

Your

Devoted

and Obedient

humble Servants

R. S. Howe for

Himself and

Robert Gray

The word "chop" in the Far East originally meant a stamp or seal; from this came its secondary meaning: a clearance or passport, which of course bore the seal of the officer. Every voyager to China at this time loudly complains of the injustice and oppression of the Chinese government, or rather of its officials. Ingraham's journal, for example is a perfect book of Lamentations on this subject; and all readers of Marchand are familiar with his wailings thereanent. Explaining the simple process of raising revenue

adopted by this ingenious people, Marchand says: "The Mandarin collector, being obliged to pour, annually, into the treasury of the empire, an equal sum, whatever may have been the produce of the customs, finds a very simple method of bringing this produce to a par with his obligation, and even, it may be supposed of rendering it much greater; he doubles or triples, at his pleasure, and according to circumstances, the duties to be levied on ships that touch at Canton".¹⁹

Another document amongst the Barrell letters contains an account dated 7th February 1790 with Shaw & Randall showing exactly how much the *Columbia's* cargo realized. It was sold to the Pinqua Security Merchants on 7th January for 21,400 hard dollars; the disbursements and factory expenses were \$8,558, leaving after payment of the agent's commission, \$11,241.50 which was invested in the purchase of the return cargo of Bohea tea.

In anticipation of Captain Kendrick's arrival, Captain Gray had, immediately upon reaching Canton, written the following letter. Into whose hands it was put for delivery, or how it was forwarded to him it is impossible to say.

Novr 21st 1789

Captn Jno Kendrick
Sir

Immediately upon our arrival at Macao we made application for Letters lodged for you agreeably to instructions relative to Ship Columbia which you will receive, the purport of which we have attended to and have consigned the business to Messrs Shaw & Randall, who's advice it is, that you by no means attempt to bring your Sloop to Canton, but that you at all events dispose of vessel and Cargo at Macao, for Cash and come up to Canton to invest it in such articles as you woud wish and return to America, this is the only practicable method you can adopt which may be accomplished by the assistance of Mr. McIntyre to whom Messrs Shaw & Randall has wrote on the subject—Should you bring your vessel here the Expense will amot to at least 4,500 Dollrs and would involve you in the greatest difficulty—

We are, Sir

Yrs &c

[Not signed, Endorsed, from Capt. Gray, Canton]

¹⁹ *Voyage round the world performed during the years 1790, 1791, and 1792*, by Etienne Marchand, . . . (London, Longman, 1801), vol. ii, p. 96.

The figure mentioned—\$4,500—may seem an exaggeration, but Marchand tells us that if he had taken the *Solide* to Whampoa, a port up the river and near Canton, “the ship, although not of a considerable burden, would be taxed by duties, the sum of which would amount to no less than six thousand dollars”.

It would seem likely that Kendrick did not receive this letter, for upon his arrival he wrote as follows to Gray and Howe:

Macao Jan'y 27th 1790

Gentlemen:

I yesterday anchored in this Road & have since made application for liberty to enter the *Typha*,²⁰ but cannot obtain it, therefore request your advice and assistance together with the owners instructions how to proceed. being entirely destitute of every necessary or Cash to purchase unless I dispose of my Furr's which I wish to avoid till you can inform me what the Current Price is—Make mine and the Gentlemen's Compliments to those of the *Columbia*—and believe me with respect and Esteem

Your Humble Servt
John Kendrick

To this letter Gray replied:

Canton January 29th 1790

John Kendrick Esqr
Sir

We sincerely Congratulate you on your safe arrival at Macoa, and are very sorry to inform, that our business is attended with the greatest trouble and difficulty, Mr. Randall to whom we consign'd the Ship, (Mr. Shaw being absent) positively declines transacting the business of your Sloop as he has a large Ship now loaded and nothing prevents his sailing but the difficulty that arises from our skin Cargo which cannot as yet be disposed off, we have six hundred Chests of Tea on board²¹ and as soon as the *Noppo* will give a Chop for the sale of the skins we shall be ready to sail for America.

Mr. McIntyre to whom you are recommended, wishes you to transmit to us a list of the Quantity and Quality of skins on board, and advises, that you wou'd remain in Macoa road, untill you can again write us, and receive further advice, Shou'd the weather be unfavorable that you would run into dirty butter bay, for which purpose you will apply to Mr. Bruce's boatman, by the name of

²⁰ The outer harbour or bay at Macao; it is formed by four islands, and lies four or five miles south of Macao.

²¹ See "The Ship *Columbia* and the Discovery of Oregon," by Edward G. Porter, in *New England Magazine*, (June, 1892), p. 479.

Appo, who will be found at the Chop house fry grands²² to pilot you—Should you go there be very cautious as several vessells have been boarded by the Ladroons.²³

We also wish you Sir to inform us wether you intend loading for America, selling your vessell or returning on the Coast; that we may more perticularly advise you, in our next untill which, it is by no means advisable for you to attempt coming here—was it possible one of us would immediately come down to you, but such is the difficulty and trouble with which business is transacted in this Country that we should involve our Ship was we to attempt it—but hope in our next to be able to inform the time we shall sail and have the pleasure of seeing—

We have reccomended to you a Compradore who will supply you with necessarys for two or three weeks upon Credit—which is all that is at present in our power to do—the price of skins is from fifty to seventy dollrs provided you *smuggle* which in this port is impossible, without great danger.—

A Gentleman has it in agitation to send a man down to look at the muster of your Skins, Should he like them he to pay you cash there for the whole—provided he comes he will receive a Letter from us for the purpose enclose to you two letters from the owners—and beg leave to assure you nothing shall be wanting on our part to render you assistance. Compts to the Gentlemen of the Washington and b'lieve us to be truly

Yr devot

huml Servt

[Not signed, Endorsed Robert Gray to J Kendrick.]

The "Hoppo" referred to was a Chinese custom-house officer, who, Marchand discovered, "exercises a short of despotic sovereignty". The "Comprador" was a Chinese broker for the purchase of provisions, to whom foreigners were compelled to apply for that purpose, with, of course, the inevitable result that every article cost double its real value. Ingraham and Marchand had both met these gentlemen, and both bear eloquent testimony regarding their ability as plunderers. From several remarks in this letter it may be inferred that when Gray took over the command of the *Columbia* in Clayoquot Sound it was understood that he was to retain that position for the return journey to America; moreover the general tone of the whole document would lead the reader to believe that the two officers had changed their relative original positions. Dirty

²² A Chinese custom house.

²³ Ladrones, i. e. robbers—pirates.

Butter Bay is Lark's Bay, to which Kendrick had removed before this letter reached him, and where he was met by Delano in March 1791. The smuggling which Gray speaks of was likely employed to avoid the excessive duties, levied at the will of the mandarin; the prohibition against any importation of furs which faced both Ingraham and Marchand had not then come into being, for the latter, in November 1791, speaks of it as "just" introduced. How did Kendrick dispose of his furs? Ingraham admits that he smuggled his ashore. Hoskins was told by Kendrick that "he had his house at Macao broken open provisions denied him himself arrested in the streets by a guard of soldiers and ordered immediately to depart and not to return again on pain of imprisonment". No explanation or reason for this strange conduct was offered by Kendrick.

The following day Gray wrote again:

Canton Jany 30th 1790

John Kendrick Esqr
Sir

The Bearer's of this accompanied by the Linguister are the persons alluded to in our last to examine the Skins of different Qualitys you have and make you an offer—Shou'd you agree with them, the money will be paid here previous to your delivering them and they receive an order for the same from us provided it meets your approbation, and in all probability you can rec. it by our Ship in the course of 18 days—however Sir we provided you chuse to receive the money there it is at your option, but this we wish to communicate that the risk of transporting the money in boats will be attended with great risk by reason of Roberies which are frequently committed—

We would wish you to consider maturely upon the business and write us as perticularly as possible—

We remain Sir
with respect—

[Not signed, Endorsed Robert Gray to J. Kendrick]

Here again the tone is that of a superior to an inferior. It is of course possible that some letter may have been received in China from the owners which had effected a transposition of the two captains.

The next letter in the collection from Kendrick speaks of one of the first February from Gray which can not be found; but the contents will be seen to relate to matters mentioned in the two letters above set out; the date may be an error.

Macao February 6th 1790

Messrs Gray & Howes
Gentlemen,

Your favour of the first instant I answered this morning but least it should miscarry think proper to send a duplicate to inform you whether I shall dispose of my vessel, load her for America, or return again to the Coast is not at present in my power to say not knowing whether the Teas you have shipped are on the Owners Account or on Freight which I desire you to mention in your next, together with the Quantities and Price and what Quantity will be sufficient to Compleat your Lading.

There are proposals made to purchase the Sloop but should I think proper to accept them it will not be till I have disposed of my Furrs, and received your answer, with account of Sales, and opinion what she would sell for at Canton, Considering she is now entirely distitute of sails and rigging.

Our Cargo consists of Three hundred and Twenty Skins, Sixty Garments, and One Hundred and Fifty Pieces—Their Quality is perhaps not inferior to any lot that has been brought from the Coast—which you will make known to Mr. McIntyre—and inform me whether he intends Coming to this place within a few days—for in case he does not I shall then dispose of my Skins as there is daily several Chinese merchants making application to purchase the whole.

I desire you to inform me whether Sail Cloth and Rigging is to be procured at Canton—together with such articles as are suitable for the North West Trade and at what price likewise the Duties skins pay at Canton, and the proportion pieces are worth to whole Skins.

On the Third day after our arrival we removed to Dirty Butter Bay which if possible is a more lonely Situation than upon the N. W. Coast.

I am Gentlemen with Esteem
Your most obedt Servt
John Kendrick

Messrs

Gray & Howes

Endorsed: Messrs Gray & Howe Ship Columbia Canton

With John McIntyre's best wishes

on board the Grace 12 Feby '90

The sixty garments mentioned in this letter had been obtained like the greater part of his cargo, at Queen Charlotte Islands, which Kendrick visited immediately after the *Columbia* had sailed from Clayoquot. These garments were called in the trade "cutsarks" and were made of three sea otter skins: the sides of two of the skins were sewn together and the side of the third sewn to the ends of these two. Such garments, after the first years of the trade, were very rare, except in the, then, unfrequented villages of Queen Charlotte Islands.

The Mr. McIntyre mentioned is the person spoken of by Ingraham in his Journal under date 3rd. December 1792: "I remain'd severall days agreeable to the advice of my friend Mr. McIntyre before mentioned as he promised to procure me a merchant for my Cargo but I soon found his view was only to amuse me while he disposed of the Grace's Cargo as he was agent and administrator of the estate of the late Cap Willm Douglas to whom the Grace and her cargo belonged".

From the enquiries that Kendrick makes in this letter it is evident that he entertains the thought of taking the sloop up the river to Canton. This appears also from the next letter which is the end of the China correspondence between the captains as it now exists.

Dear Sir:

The report at Canton is that you are coming up believe me Dear Sir you will have immeasurable difficulty to struggle against at this late period of the Seson not only that but you will not receive one third of the value for your Skins and once they have you here they will oblige you to give the Skins at their own price there is no such thing as reshipping if it is not too late by all means remain below you will find Merchants in abundance to take your Cargo off your hands and supply you with whatever articles you are in want of. This Dr Sir is the opinion of Captain Douglas and every one that wishes you well.

We are etc.

This letter is not dated, but is endorsed: "Canton 4th Feby 1790". It would appear to have crossed the preceding letter. Hoskins is our authority for the statement that at this time Kendrick "was seized with a violent fever which caused his life for some time to be despaired of, & which prevented his going to Canton in person as he had previously intended; he therefore sent orders to Captain Gray to stop at the bay [Lark's Bay] previous to his going to Ameri-

ca and receive his final orders, but for some reasons Captain Gray thought not to stop". The *Columbia*, as it appears from the sub-joined letter, passed down the river on 12th February 1790 on her homeward voyage. From St. Helena Captain Gray wrote the final letter in connection with this expedition.

✓ St Helena June 16th 1790

Joseph Barrell Esq

Sir:

We have the pleasure to inform you that we have this moment arrived at the above dated port and in good order—the Vessel by which we write this is now getting under way, which prevents our being particular as we could wish; our passage from Macoa has been four months and three days. We left Capt. Kendrick in a harbour below Macoa, but a gale of wind prevented our seeing him, by what we could collect he intends returning on the Coast.

We are Sir with every

Sentiment of Respect

Your devoted humble servants

Robt Howe for himself and

Capt. Robt Gray

Leaving the ship to pursue her way to Boston, where she arrived on 10th August a few words may be said in conclusion concerning Captain Kendrick and his subsequent movements.

None of the skins brought by him went home in tea on the *Columbia*. We do not know when, where, or at what price they were sold. It does appear, as the subsequent quotations will show, that he made no returns to his owners—for some years, at all events. Hoskins who was, as has been said, his friend nevertheless writes in his narrative: "When Captain Kendrick's conduct was much blamed by the officers of the *Columbia* who say he had it in contemplation to cheat the Owners out of what property he has in his hands and would have done out of all, had they not rescued it and brought it off with the Ship—that he never cruised the Coast; and appear'd not to have the owners interest at heart, but only to gratify his own pleasures". The property he has in mind is likely the furs collected by Kendrick in 1788-9 while lying inactive in Nootka Sound. Boit in his journal²⁴ under date August 29 1791, writes: "I was sorry to find that Kendrick had made no remittances to the owners since he had parted with the *Columbia* the first voyage, although since that period he had made two successful trips from this Coast to Canton. As

²⁴ See this *Quarterly*, vol. xii, no. 1 (January, 1921), p. 17.

the Vessells still belong'd to the same owners he was under some mistrust that Capt. Gray was empower'd to seize the Brig, and kept himself always ready against attack". Boit is in error when he states that Kendrick had made two trips to the coast since parting with the *Columbia*; he had made none but that then in progress. Hoskins in his Narrative has nothing to say on this point, but in a letter to Barrell, dated Nootka Sound, August 21 1792, he unburdens himself thus: "Capt. Kendrick when I saw him the last season offer'd to give up to me (if I would pay his men's wages & a debt he had contracted in Macao of about 4,000 dollars) his vessel and cargo which was a thousand sea otter skins. I told him I had no authority to accept his offer or to demand any payment from him nor did I think any person in the ship had. Capt. Ingraham informs me he left him at the point of death in Macao about two months since".

The subsequent letters in the collection relate to the second voyage of the *Columbia*; and it is intended to deal with them as well as the later events in Captain Kendrick's life at some future date. In the meantime however it would scarcely be fair to close even this part, in which so much has been quoted from his detractors without adding the following appreciation of Kendrick by Delano: "Captain Kendrick was the first American that burst forth into the world and traversed those distant regions which were before but little known to the inhabitants of this part of the globe. He taught many of his countrymen the way to wealth, and the method of navigating distant seas with ease and safety. I was intimately acquainted with him in Canton bay, in the year 1791, as has been before stated, and I also knew his character afterwards as long as he lived. He was a man of extraordinary good natural abilities, and was noted for his enterprising spirit, his good judgment, and superior courage. As a seaman and a navigator, he had but few equals. He was very benevolent, and possessed a heart filled with as tender feelings as any man I ever was acquainted with. He was esteemed and beloved by all who knew him in his last absence from the United States. I wish to impress it strongly on the minds of every American, not to let his rare merits be forgotten, and to cast a veil over his faults, they being but few compared with his amiable qualities".

F. W. Howay F. R. S. C.