
Earliest Expedition against Puget Sound Indians

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EARLIEST EXPEDITION AGAINST PUGET SOUND INDIANS.

These "Notes connected with the Clallum Expedition" by Frank Ermatinger, a well known clerk of the Hudson Bay Company, were copied from the original document for me by Mr. R. E. Gosnell, private secretary of the Premier of British Columbia, and more recently editor of the *Victoria Colonist*. For more than three quarters of a century this earliest record of Puget Sound lay unnoticed and unread, until at my repeated and urgent request Mr. Gosnell obtained a loan of this and other matter connected with old Hudson Bay days, and kindly sent me this transcript, the only copy, I believe, in the United States. You will note I have made it the basis of Chapter IV of my last book, "McDonald of Oregon." I wish here to record my very great indebtedness to Mr. Gosnell for this and many other favors connected with my historical researches.

EVA EMERY DYE.

Notes connected with the Clallum Expedition fitted out under the command of Alex. R. McLeod, Esquire, Chief Trader at Fort Vancouver on the 17th of June, 1828, by

FRANK ERMATINGER, Clerk.

Friday, 13th, 1828.—Since the unfortunate murder of Mr. Alex. McKenzie and the four men under his charge, by the tribe called the Clallums, in Puget Sound, on their way back with an express from Port Langley, in January last, it appears to have been a decided impression of all that an expedition to their quarter would be most necessary, if not as a punishment to the tribe in question, at least as an example, in order, if possible, to deter others from similar attempts in future. But since the arrival of the islanders at Vancouver 7th inst., every little arrangement has been kept so close from us, although the vessel *Gadboro*, Capt. Simpson, got under weigh yesterday, I believe for the purpose of a co-operation, we one and all began to doubt whether we were to be sent off or not, and should absolutely have despaired, had it not been, armorers were kept busily employed stocking rifles, repairing pistols, etc., etc., which we saw bore no connection with the trade. However, this morning affairs appeared more determined and a muster was made of all the effective men upon the ground, both free and hired and they were told by Chief Factor McLoughlin, of the necessity of going

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off in search of the **murderous tribe**, and if possible, to make a salutary example of them, that **the honour of the whites was at a stake**, and that if we did not **succeed in the undertaking** it would be dangerous to be seen by the natives any distance from the Fort hereafter. All the men assented, or rather none appeared unwilling, but Challifoux, who happened to make a remark **mal a propos**, and was immediately turned out of the hall and his services refused. This answered well, as it led the men to think that volunteers only were wanted and all were ashamed to keep back. Those who from ill health or other causes were omitted in the muster expressed themselves much disappointed. No gentleman was this day named, but it was evident that Messrs. McLeod and Dease were aware of their appointment having so frequently tried the effects of their rifles together.

Sunday, 15th.—This evening we were talking amongst ourselves of the appointments for the expedition, and guessing who was likely to be upon it; Mr. Dease was of the party, and told Mr. Yale and I we might, he thought, prepare to follow it.

Monday, 16th.—The most of the day Messrs. McLeod and Dease equipping the men with their arms and a little ammunition, each, to try them with. The party will, independent of the vessel which extra manned for the occasion, consist of upwards of sixty men, headed by Mr. A. R. McLeod and Mr. Dease goes, and Mr. Yale and I upon the hint we got yesterday are prepared to follow as no further notice had been given us, except indeed my being told to take my watch with me. In fact, Mr. McLoughlin appears delicate in requesting anyone to go, least an unwillingness should be shown.

In the evening the men received a **regale** and the Iroquois went through a war dance, in character, before the Hall Door.

Tuesday, 17th.—At 4 o'clock all Mr. McLeod's arrangements were completed and the Vancouver Local Militia put in motion. In passing the Fort the men discharged their pieces and a salute of Cannon was returned upon our embarking, but the Captain of the "Eagle", either taken up on short notice, or what is more probable being short of Powder, instead of a round of Guns gave us three of Cheers. At 5 o'clock P. M. we made a start in five Boats, and went off in tolerable style, but a small distance down the River we was obliged to put on shore to Gum, where we encamped for the night.

Challifoux, since his disgrace, has solicited every one of us, in our turns, to intercede with Mr. McLoughlin for him and was this day by the influence, I believe, of Mr. Connolly, added to our number.

Wednesday, 18th.—We were upon the water this morning at half past three, were more than two hours ashore for breakfast, reached the mouth of the Cowlitz River at noon and encamped for the night at 5 o'clock when we all turned out to a target and were at complete counters, it was rifles against guns

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and guns against Rifles, which afforded us argument for the night, and ended with every one being best pleased with his own shots. If we continue on at this rate, thought I, we may, or at least, like the Bow Bell Train bands may so far improve as to be enabled to discharge our pieces without blinking.

Thursday, 19th.—We commenced our march at half past four, and continued on at a brisk rate until the usual hour for breakfast, when we put ashore and remained two hours. We then resumed and reached the Cowlitz Portage at half past two. We here saw a solitary native, from whom, I believe, for I cannot speak positively, (as we are seldom advised with, altho' I was requested by Mr. McLeod to keep notes of the Voyage I am never told what is going on, but collect what little information I possess how and when I can), that a few horses can be hired a small distance from this, that the Clallums have divided, those who wish to stand neutral having separated from those who wish to resist, and that we may possibly find and punish them with much less trouble or danger than was at one time anticipated.

Our commander says little to us upon ordinary occasions. However, when we spoke relative to the news of the day, he begged us not to put implicit belief in all we heard and ventured to add: "God bless you gentlemen," the ties of consanguinity are so strongly cemented amongst the natives that our attack must be clandestinely made. We looked at each other.

Weather fine throughout the day. Deputy killed a small Deer of last spring, and several large ones were seen. In the evening we amused ourselves and the camp in sending off a few Rockets.

Friday, 20th.—At eight o'clock, this morning the interpreter Laframboise was sent off to Indian Lodges to hire what horses we could collect, and Mr. Dease, without orders accompanied him. At ten they returned with a few Natives, who had four, and after some trouble and bargaining they were hired for the Trip, and in course of the day some more were added to the number, which with two here belonging to the company made fourteen that we have to commence the march with. Two and a half skins, I am told, is the stipulated price for the voyage to and fro, and some altercation proceeded from a wish to obtain five skins for each horse, which the natives say was the price they had from Mr. McMillan for the trip merely across, and again they wished to obtain Blankets or ammunition in payment. However, Mr. McLeod would not give either, and threatens if they were not contented with Stronds, etc., he would send back his provisions to the Fort and feed his men upon horse-flesh whenever he found any.

In the evening the men were sent to make a few Pack Saddles. Some light showers through the day. Several of the men were off hunting, but only saw a red deer or two, at least they killed none. Those who remained at the Camp kept up almost a continuous firing.

Old **Towlitz**, alias Lord St. Vincent, was amongst our visitors today and is to be added to the party, as assistant Interpreter.

Saturday, 21st.—We this morning commenced operations by hauling up our Boats and putting them **en cache**. The first of the party then got under way at half past seven and stopped for breakfast at nine. The rest started as they got ready and continued to arrive at our resting place until half past eleven. We then began to make a few more saddles, as it appeared that only four new ones were got ready last night. We resumed our march in the same order again at half past one, and encamped for the night at six o'clock. Our march this day looked more like that of gipsies than a force collected for the purpose we are. A light shower or two about noon, but the weather upon the whole fine and fresh. We hired a few more horses today, of which there appears to be no want on our road, but the fault of their not having been found before appears to be rather in our own operations than otherwise, as the Indians are very anxious to lend them and that, too, at what I think a very moderate remuneration. Had a man been sent off from the Fort a day before, everything could have been ready at the Portage by our arrival, or even had Laframboise, or one of us been immediately sent off upon our landing; and the driving a hard bargain with the poor wretches not made an object, a Day at least would have been here gained. Too great a sacrifice has already been made to forward the expedition, to now stand upon such trifles.

Sunday, 22nd.—Our horses were loaded and we off at half past four, and at eight we stopped for breakfast, but like our order of yesterday it was nine before the last of our men arrived. Mr. Yale and I here hired a horse each, to pay for which we had some trouble before we could borrow thirty, etc. Dease had been more successful and was mounted yesterday. We resumed our route at twelve and encamped at five o'clock.

This night a watch was commenced to consist of four men and a gentleman for four hours each watch, and in crying "All's Well," which they were ordered to do, at intervals, a loud laugh was heard in the Camp for which the men received a good scolding. The cause was this, they had solicited and obtained permission to trade a fat young horse for their supper which they were just cooking when the sentinel cried his "All's Well," and the cook elated with his extra good cheer before him answered "in the kettle." This set the camp a laughing and called down a severe reprimand from Mr. McLeod, who after repeating the word laugh almost twenty times threatened them as many, that the next time they did so they should lose their wages. One more incorrigible than the rest sneaked behind and said in a half whisper, that the devil might take him if, when he lost his wages, he would be at the trouble to go in search of them. We now laugh in our turn but with less noise. A letter was received from Mr. Mc-

Millan addressed to Mr. McLoughlin dated the 10th of May. It had been forwarded by an Indian Chief (Schunawa), who was killed upon his road thence. But the letter had been taken the greatest care of, and was forwarded from Tribe to Tribe until this morning when it fell into the hands of Mr. Dease. Mr. McLeod opened it and merely told us the date. Mr. Dease asked him if there was any news, No, was the laconic answer. However, in the most pointed manner, he immediately turned to Laframboise and Deputy, who were by him, and detailed the contents. This is not the only instance, in which great contempt has been shown us, or our opinions slighted. It might be thought, that the danger or cause of our jaunt would be sufficiently galling to our feelings without adding any more weight by a forbidding and repulsive conduct, on the part of our leader, at least, we may think without vanity that our conversation and confidence are equal to those whom he thinks so worthy of both.

Monday, 23rd.—We were under way at half past five, were the usual time at breakfast, arrived at the end of the Portage at half past one. We here found a canoe of the Company's left by Mr. Hanson and hired two more from the natives. The men of their own accord immediately commenced making their paddles. The watch of the men altered from four to two hours but ours stands at four.

La Penzer, who has, since we left the Fort, been in a most depressed state, to-night when told it was his watch confessed himself too much afraid to stand it. Arguments or threats were of no avail. "**Je ne suis pas capable, Monsieur,**" was always the answer, and he was ultimately given up as incurable. I had taken the greater interest to persuade him to do something to divert his mind, being a Thompsons River man and the more ashamed of him upon that account, but could not succeed. Sleep alone he sought and to it I left him.

Tuesday, 24th.—At seven o'clock this morning Laframboise and a party of men were sent off in two small Canoes, to trade or borrow some of the larger kind, and Le Etang, our guide, with another party went overland, on horseback, to meet them at an appointed place, where, after giving the horses in charge to an Indian, who is to keep them until our return, they are to assist in working the Canoes here. At a small distance from the Camp Le Etang killed a Deer which he brought to us and immediately took his departure again. It was thought unnecessary that any gentleman should accompany either party, confidence being put in Laframboise for the purpose.

This afternoon two Indians arrived from Cheenook with a letter from the "Cadboro," Capt. Simpson, dated as late as the 20th, so that we have now a consolation for our lost time, for, had we got on as we ought our chance of seeing her in the Sound would have been small. All I fear is that this confounded note will be made an excuse for more tardy movements. One of the free Iroquois killed us another deer. I pass over fur-

ther notice of our practice of firing and it may be considered a regular turnout every day, however, it may not be amiss to note that the most of the shooting is rather from pride than the want of practice, for it is the good marksmen only who do it, and when their own ammunitions runs short they assist the diffidents to get through theirs, 800 shots at least, an avertge of ten per man, were fired today to the danger of those who found it necessary to go a few yards from the camp. Mr. Dease has the stores in charge, and intimated that the stock would not stand out, if we continue on at such a rate.

Wednesday, 25th.—At five o'clock p. m. Laframboise and Le Etang returned in eight canoes, including the two they took off, but four men short, whom they left as it appeared to me in rather a curious manner with the natives, looking after another canoe. They had very little trouble in obtaining six, and could possibly, so the guide says, have got a few more. Would not a great deal of time have been saved by our all going where the canoes are instead of remaining inactive here? The distance is short. The news is that the Clallums expect us and have collected at their farthest village, that they have formed many plans to ward off our balls, wetting their blankets is the most approved amongst them, and the natives of this quarter wish to accompany us in order to revenge the death of four of their Tribe, whom they have killed.

Several of our men were out at the chase, and all saw a Deer but few brought us venison. Gervaise the freeman killed four and Chalifoux one.

Thursday, 26th.—This morning the four men left behind yesterday, after some misery, returned to the Camp with a good large Canoe, and Laframboise with eight men, was sent off again: At five o'clock he returned with four more canoes. Heavy rains throughout the day.

For want of other amusement, during the rain, Mr. Work's Chart of Puget Sound was produced and something like a plan, for the first time laid open, which was merely this: When we see the murderers, said Mr. McLeod, we must endeavor to come to a parley, and obtain the woman, who, by the by, I had scarcely ever heard mentioned before today, that was taken by them when our people were killed, and after we have her in our possession—What then? said I. Why then to them **pell mell**. Messrs. Yale, Dease and I at once admitted it to be a most laudable wish to set the poor woman at liberty, which we thought could always be done at the price of a few Blankets and without so many men coming so far, but to make it the primitive object of our expedition, we never understood, nor could we, we added, ever agree to it. The business was then wound up with a short account of the influence her father had amongst his tribe to do mischief to the whites, upon whose account her liberty was at any consideration to be obtained by us.

Friday, 27th.—We made over our horses and saddles, cords, &c., &c., to an old Indian's care, at least, as many of the former

as may be found for they have not, with the exception of eighteen that LeEtang took, been seen since we arrived here, and the men having hired a few for themselves the number is greater than might be expected.

The canoes were in the course of the morning allotted, they are of a small kind for our purpose, but will, I trust, make a shift. We have made it a point to praise them, being well aware that it would not require much to induce Mr. McLeod to turn back, if a tolerable excuse could be made. Laframboise who ostensibly, is the commander, certainly merits praise in getting us thus far, and while he humors Mr. McLeod, by giving everything the most favorable construction it will bear, he endeavors to get the business on **doucement**, and was I inclined to find fault with either he or the guide it would be for not proposing our going immediately to where the Canoes were hired, but perhaps they did so, and the measure was discountenanced by Deputy and Gervaise, two leading members of the Council.

At two o'clock P. M. we got under way in eleven Canoes of different sizes, and proceeded on for three hours and a half, when we encamped. No Indians accompany us, except Lord St. Vincent. It was with great difficulty that La Ecuyer was induced to embark. He said he would have no objections to remain and take care of the Horses, if a couple of men were left to take care of him.

Deputy and Gervaise were added to the officers' watch and our time altered from four to two hours, and a resolve proclaimed that any gent. found sleeping during the day time should be Cobbed! ! ! Yes, that's the word.

Saturday, 28th.—We got under way at five o'clock, but before breakfast we were merely running about for canoes, that we hired, and left two of our small ones. At 10 we embark again, Mr. Yale and I together, and with us a native to act as a Clallum interpreter. We continued on in fine, calm weather until six o'clock when we encamped. Just below where we stopped for the night, we saw a few of the Puy-ye-lips Tribe, but they were so much frightened, by the continued firing of our men firing at the Eagles that they paddled off, and it was with great exertion that our canoe could approach them and come to a parley. Our guide told Mr. Yale and I, as a great secret, that the information obtained, was, that the Clallums had withstood some liberal offers for the woman in order to restore her and that they wish to compromise the murder of our men.

Sunday, 29th.—We were upon the water at five this morning, stopped three hours to breakfast, and encamped opposite, or rather between, two small villages of the Soquarmis. Several small canoes of these fellows came to our encampment, but did not debark, and one of them having a Powder Horn upon him, belonging to one of our deceased men, little ceremony was used by Laframboise in dispossessing him of it. We received little or no information, but they offer themselves to us as auxiliaries, and were told, I believe, that we fought our

own battles. However, the chief received a present and was told that he might embark with us, alone. They had heard the Vessel's Guns. Just before we encamped the Interpreter went off to one of the villages, and some of the men followed in order, I suppose, to trade themselves a few shellfish. Mr. Dease wished from curiosity to go too, and asked Mr. McLeod, May I go, Sir? Go if you choose, was the answer, rather sharply. I beg your pardon, Sir, said Dease, but really I did not hear you. Do as you like, was repeated. No, Sir, it is not as I like, if you want me here I will remain. I do not want you there, nor I do not want you here, was the reply of Mr. McLeod, in a most sulky manner. Dease, near choked with irritation and muttered as he turned to Mr. Yale and me. Damme, it is too bad, we begged of him to say nothing more upon the subject at present.

Monday, 30th.—We left our encampment at four o'clock this morning, crossed to the Village, when we exchange two of our small Canoes for a larger one, the chief then embarked and four canoes of his tribe followed us, at a small distance. We took breakfast at the usual time, but were much shorter about it. At one o'clock we saw two small Canoes of the same Tribe, and the one Mr. Yale and I were in gave them Chase. They debarked upon a point and hid themselves amongst the Woods, but upon the old Indian who was with us calling to them, they made their appearance. We learnt from them, that a few Clallums, are at a small distance, upon a portage over which we have to cross, we at once, upon the advice of our Indian Interpreters, &c., put ashore and were to remain all very quiet in order, if possible, to take them by surprise during the night. The Iroquois, Owhees, and Cheenook slaves painted themselves ready for battle. But all the ceremony must be rendered a burlesque by our men, at least, one or two of them discharging their pieces and behold, we to mend the matter, send off rockets! ! ! Really one would think it was purposely done to warn the natives.

We heard the Vessel's guns just about Dark.

July, Tuesday, 1st.—At one o'clock this morning we embarked, and took with us one of the natives we saw yesterday noon, for what purpose we did not know. He was in our canoe with the Clallum interpreter. Our crew consisted of one young Canadian (Canada dit Encan) one half breed (Canotte), two Iroquois (Little Michel and Louis Frize), two Owhees (Tourawhyheene and Cawinai) and two Cheenook slaves (Antoine and Nastee), Mr. Yale and I passengers. With Mr. McLeod was Laframboise and with Dease, Old Towlitz, so that from the Interpreters being thus separated, it was necessary when the most trifling question was to be asked by Laframboise, that we should get near to each other, and even then speak louder than could be wished. We continued on slowly with the greatest caution of more than two hours; occasionally, however, stopping for consultations amongst the Interpreters, (which were kept

entirely secret from us, nor repeated to Mr. McLeod, in French while we were near, lest I presume, we should understand) as we thought, to a portage, but all at once we found our canoe alone, and the Indians changed their places to immediately behind Mr. Yale and I, and appeared to solicit us to advance by signs, occasionally holding up seven of their fingers and uttering the word Clallums. I thought they wished to debark and told Michel the foreman so, who no sooner put the canoe ashore than out they got, and with them Yale and five of the crew, and were instantly making along the shore. When I saw this, I also left the canoe and ordered the Canadian to remain with it, while with the other two I ran after the rest. We overtook them just as they were in sight of two Indian Lodges, (there might be more at a distance) situated close to the woods, to one of which the Indians without pointed and said Clallums. It was the furthest off and far the smallest of the two. Mr. Yale and I got upon a large fallen tree, close alongside of it, behind which I proposed we should get and fire, if we found ourselves outnumbered or worsted. The Indians were evidently asleep when we arrived, the day was just breaking, but upon hearing the noise we made, awoke, and a man put his head out of the Lodge, and upon seeing us (however he could not, I think, distinctly distinguish who we were) hove a most piteous sigh. Tirer Dessus was called out and four or five shots were immediately off. I saw two men, I thought, fall, but whether dead I could not say. The rest took the edge of the woods, but some of our men were there before them and the firing became general. Eight or ten shots were discharged in rapid succession, I remained stationary and saw that Mr. Dease, Laframboise, Le Etang, and a few of the men had joined the party from the Canoes behind. The confusion was great and we were apprehensive that the men would kill each other by shooting in opposite directions. From the natives, there was now no danger, as those in the other Lodges remained quiet. In vain did we call out to the men to spare the women; take care of yourselves. They continued on in the same order until they thought the whole of the inmates were killed. In fact, one half could not understand us when we did call. Two families, I believe, were killed, three men, two or three women, a boy and a girl. To this point I cannot speak positively, as I saw none after they were down, but have the information from those who killed them, however, it was made a doubt whether the men were dead or not, as they were not seen after, but I am almost positive that I was not mistaken in the two I saw drop. The truth is we did not lose time to look after them, but went off to the other Lodge, and remained there a few minutes, for Mr. McLeod, who surrounded by the remains of the party, joined us.

Well, really, Gentlemen, said he, what is the meaning of all this confusion? Why, Sir, answered I, with some warmth, for I was piqued such equivocating conduct, it proceeds from you not letting us know, that we were so near the Clallums; we

were led to understand that they were upon a portage, and here we find our canoe alone and amongst them before we are aware of it. If, added I, Mr. McLeod, you will only let us know your plans, you have young men with you ready at any risk to execute them for you. My dear Sir, replied he, I do not doubt it, but how can I form plans? I know no more what is going on than yourselves! ! Mr. Dease now observed that we ought to know the arrangements, as a few of the men appeared to be aware of them, and if, added he, if we get any information it is from them. This touched Mr. McLeod, and he told Dease that it was not the first time, he had heard this same remark from him, and that he should answer for it hereafter. Really Mr. McLeod, said I, this is not a time or before these men, for altercations amongst ourselves. If we have done wrong—I do not say you have done wrong, it is all well as it has happened, and after a few more casual observations preparations were made to continue en route.

We found a fine large canoe, said by the Indians to be the one in which the murderers followed Mr. McKenzie, able to contain 20 Men; it appeared too new; This we took and embarked, without once enquiring who was in the other Lodge. I saw a good many men there and it was well for them that a council did not sit to determine their fate, for I should have voted hard against the whole as I thought it more than probable that they were Clallums also, and betrayed the other Lodge to save themselves. We could at all events have been justified in using them as such. The head of one of the families killed is said to be the brother-in-law of the principal murderer and the spot of the Camp near where Mr. McKenzie was killed.

Having given a brief account of what I was myself a witness to, I shall now note a few observations which passed at the Canoes. Mr. McLeod, I am told, reached our canoe just as the first shots were fired. There, said he, is four shots, the four Indians are dead, and one or two of the men were occasionally running off to the Lodge, but were called back, however, some would not return, observing that they did not come to look on. But when the last shots were heard, then cried Mr. McLeod is treachery. One of the men told him that if he thought so they had better go to our assistance. Oh! no, was the answer, surely eight men were enough for so few Indians. In the meantime he heard all was over and left the canoes. When along the road to us he observed, here I who ought to have been the first find myself the last.

We got to the portage just after sunrise. The Clallums we expected to find, were off, but their fires still alight. We passed on until we got off Cape Townshend, where we put ashore for Breakfast and saw the Cadboro'. All the Indians except Interpreters left us. Messrs. McLeod and Yale went on board, and we proceeded on for a mile, to a better spot for our Camp. The Gentlemen returned at 4 o'clock. Mr. McLeod in much

better spirits from the arrangements of Capt. Simpson, who he told us had nearly succeeded in getting the woman, at least he has Hostages on board for her, said he. In the evening I was sent to tell the Captain that the land Party would be ready to get under way with him tomorrow morning. The men were sent back, who accompanied me, to the camp, but I avail myself of an invitation to remain on board for the night.

Wednesday, 2nd.—This morning the Captain was prepared, but lost part of the Tide waiting for the men from shore, when they joined, the Vessel got under way and the canoes were towed for a few miles. Anchored off Protection Island and opposite a bay, where we saw a village of Clallums. The men encamped upon the island and were watered from the Vessel.

Two women came to us from a Village, but what their object was I could not learn.

I remained on board until next night and before going ashore I told the Captain that I would propose an attack upon the village off us, to which he said he could soon run us close in, but upon mentioning it to Mr. McLeod, he merely observed, without consideration, that Captain Simpson was aware his object was to proceed on.

Mr. Yale very ill.

Thursday, 3rd.—We again kept close to the vessel and followed with the Tide until we came to New Dungeness, where we cast anchor, as near to a large Village of Clallums as the Vessel could be towed. Mr. Dease was sent with the men having water from the vessel, to a sand bank some distance off, to cook and ordered to return at night. A chief came off to us and received every attention, in order that he might, I suppose, return again. He promised to use his influence in restoring the woman and to visit us to-morrow. In the evening before Mr. Dease had returned, a large body of Indians collected, armed, singing and yelping before us. The Captain put the Vessel in a posture of attack, and being apprehensive of the safety of our men ashore, he would immediately have commenced upon some large Canoes that were making off in their direction, two cannons were levelled and every preparation made, without a dissenting voice, but the seamen had no sooner got the lighted match over the touchhole ready, than Mr. McLeod run to the Captain and said, here a fellow of yours Captain wishes to send the whole to Hell, not at all, Sir, he will do nothing without orders, then turning to the man who had the match called out to him to lay it down. Here was a fine chance lost. The Indians went off in triumph, and Mr. Dease after seeing the men well surfeited with pea soup at the expense of the Captain's water returned and we all slept on board. Much talk, to procure the woman, but not a word of the ostensible cause of our Trip. This Helen of ours, said I, will cause another seige as long as that of Troy.

Friday, 4th.—Everything remained in much the unsettled state as yesterday and bore evident marks of indecision. This led to

an altercation between our commander and the Captain. The latter having alluded upon deck, to something that Mr. McLeod had previously told him with respect to his plans, I did not myself hear correctly what it was, the former denied it, but the Captain was positive and said he could appeal to any gentleman present, whether it was not so, all were silent as the appeal was not directly made, and Mr. McLeod still persisting that he had not said any such thing, ultimately irritated the Captain, who with some warmth repeated you did, Sir, upon my honour, you did and my honour I hold sacred, and then left the deck. Mr. Dease and I were ordered to escort the men to the same bank again, to cook their peas, but returned immediately they had done. They made application to go to the main shore, observing the natives would think they were afraid, however, were not allowed.

The little chief was off again, and a Sinahomis chief called the Frenchman, with a few of his followers also visited us, the bringing of the woman still evaded. Much was said about her, to which I paid no attention. Mr. Dease intimated to me that in a conversation he had with Mr. McLeod to-day, the latter had said he would presently drive him mad, and told Mr. Dease to beg of me, for God's sake to let him alone. This quite surprised me, as I am not conscious of a single observation having fallen from me that ought to have given the slightest offence. I have certainly said that I wished the business was brought to a point, as by our measures we were giving the Indians too much time to collect if they wished to resist, or to go off if they do not, and upon one occasion I remarked that it was too far to come to see the Cadboro' fire a gun. At another time I told Mr. McLeod that Mr. Connolly would be anxious to be off for the interior. Let him go was the reply, how the deuce can he go, Sir, said I, and his men here. Well then let him stop. If these casual remarks have tended to distract Mr. McLeod I am sorry that I made them, but it was with no view to do so. Mr. Dease went further, for he proposed to him, so he told Mr. Yale and I to take the command and go ashore with the men, if Mr. McLeod felt any reluctance to go himself.

This morning the little chief and another Indian of considerable importance in the village, the former primly dressed in a tinsel laced cloth coat, came off in a small canoe by themselves to the Vessel and were as usual kindly received, but after strutting the deck for some time the Frenchman's canoe was seen coming alongside, when from some cause or other they took an abrupt departure. Mr. McLeod called out to them **arreter, arreter, le donc**, and all was in an uproar, but the Indians seeing the bustle only made the more haste to get away. He then called to the men **Tirer dessus** and guns were immediately presented **Arreter** they were lowered. **Tirer donc** and six or seven shots are immediately off, one after the other. The report of the guns brought the Captain upon deck, who had only a few minutes before left it, and asked who had given orders

to fire. It was I, said Mr. McLeod. Well, Sir, you had no right so to do on board this Vessel, I am commander here. Why did not they stop when I called to them, was the reply. Sir, said the Captain, with some warmth, they were under the protection of the ships, and if you had told me that you wished to detain them I would have made the smallest boy I have do it. In the meantime a canoe of the Iroquois were off to the bodies, the Little Chief they found dead, and he was stript of his clothes and scalped in an instant, and the latter, was placed upon a pole. They were then about to commence upon the other, who we perceived was not dead, and at the request of the Captain, they were ordered to desist. He was brought on board, and it was found that the ball had only slightly grazed his skull. The wound was dressed, he received a Blanket, and a guard was placed over him. As the business has begun it is necessary now, said the Captain, to make the most of it, to which purpose the ship was a second time prepared and without further ceremony a cannonading commenced upon the Village, which appeared instantly deserted. There, said the Captain, now is your time, Mr. McLeod, to land and destroy it. Embarque or was called out in all quarters and the canoes were immediately manned. Mr. Yale (still seriously ill) and I were just getting down the side of the Vessel, when Mr. McLeod put his head over the gunwales and faltered *Oh nos gens ce ne vaut pas la peine*, and we ascended again. Well, then, said the Captain, all we have done is useless. We ought now to destroy the Village, and after some few words, that I did not distinctly hear Mr. McLeod said, well, Sir, since you insist upon it—No, No, Mr. McLeod, I do not, called out the Captain. However, we embarked and went ashore. When just landing a few hundred yards above the village three cannons were fired upon it and we destroyed the whole. There was about thirty good canoes of which we took four for our return and the rest were broke or Burnt. A large quantity of provisions, train oil, etc., etc., which after the men had helped themselves to what they chosed was with the buildings also set fire to. A musket, Mr. McKenzie's bedcloth, together with a few trifling articles belonging to his Party were found. Upon the whole the damage done to their property is great, and will, I trust, be seriously felt for some time to come, but I could wish we had been allowed to do more to the rascals themselves. In their hurry to decamp when the vessel's guns were fired, they left two small children whom we have on board, until some arrangements can be made. On our return to the Vessel we saw a body of natives a little distance from us, but when it was proposed that we should go and make them retreat Mr. McLeod said the men must have time and no further notice was taken of them during the day, yet they remained stationary, and in the evening a few of them came opposite us and fired two or three shots.

Our commander is evidently pleased with the day's success,

and is in the highest spirits. However, little credit is due us for the destruction of the property.

Sunday, 6th.—We remained on board, inactive, and the natives showed themselves upon the point. A negotiation was commenced. The Frenchman acting for us, to exchange the man taken yesterday for the woman so much has been said about. The two children were put on shore this morning, and we saw a native come and carry them off.

At dinner we had an extra glass of wine, and the consequence was an altercation between Mr. McLeod and I, with respect to our measures. He said he had acted upon his orders, and I answered he was wrong to receive such orders, as it was impossible to act upon them without appearing like cowards before our men and the Indians. The fact is, if as stated, the orders must have been given in contradiction to the opening speech made to the men.

Monday, 7th.—This day our heroine was brought on board, and the prisoner set at liberty. The news from the natives that the friends of the seven they make out to have killed upon the first instant had to revenge the cause of their deaths, killed two of the principal murderers of Mr. McKenzie, &c., and that the shot from the Vessel killed eight, that one native is missing, which will, according to their computation, make twenty-five. This, I believe, to be a made-up story amongst themselves, however, as so little has been actually done, it is as well that the report should get to Cheenook and be made the most of.

Tuesday, 8th.—Early this morning the Vessel, in consequence of Mr. McLeod's arranging of last night, got under way, and seen us back to the place. About noon we took an abrupt departure, without having come to any settlement with the natives, either for war or peace, or ever having, to my knowledge, once mentioning to them the object of our coming through the Sound, at least the murder of Mr. McKenzie and his men was never enquired into, nor their names once mentioned. However, we commenced our march, leaving the Captain to shift for himself. At the village where the natives were said to have followed them from we debarked and burnt it. But I here note my candid opinion that, if a single individual had been seen about, even this would not have been done. A promise was made to pass at the Frenchman's Camp, who had not yet been settled with for the interest he took in our **Cartel**, yet this was not observed. The watch altered from four to ten men, this time as before.

Tuesday, 15th.—We reached the Fort this morning, without having met with anything worth observation on our return.