

Sigismund Bacstrom's Northwest Coast Drawings and an Account of his Curious Career

DOUGLAS COLE

Among the valuable collections of British pictures assembled by Mr. Paul Mellon is a remarkable series of "accurate and characteristic original Drawings and sketches" which visually chronicle "a late Voyage round the World in 1791, 92, 93, 94 and 95" by one "S. Bacstrom M.D. and Surgeon." Of the five dozen or so drawings and maps, twenty-nine relate to the northwest coast of America. Six pencil sketches of northwest coast subjects, in large part preliminary versions of the Mellon pictures, are in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, while a finished watercolour of Nootka Sound is held by Parks Canada.¹

Sigismund Bacstrom was not a professional artist. He probably had some training but most likely that which compliments a surgeon and scientist rather than an artist. His drawings are meticulous and precise, with great attention to detail and individuality. He was not concerned with the representative scene or the typical specimen. In his native portraits he does not tend to draw, as Cook's John Webber had done, "A Man of Nootka Sound" who would characterize all Nootka men; Bacstrom drew Hatzia, a Queen Charlotte Islands chief, and his wife and son as they sat before him on board the *Three Brothers* in Port Rose on Friday, 1 March 1793. The strong features of the three natives are neither flattered nor romanticized, and while the picture may not be "beautiful," it possesses a documentary value far surpassing the majority of eighteenth-century drawings of these New World natives.

Almost all Bacstrom's drawings appear to have been done on board ship. The villages of Norfolk Sound and Cape Scott are therefore seen from an unfortunate distance, though the Friendly Cove sketches are an

¹ I wish to thank Dr. Rüdiger Joppien for encouragement and assistance. For their kind co-operation with photographs and the catalogue I am greatly indebted to Richard Lindo and John Dewhirst of Parks Canada, to Mrs. Ann Datta of the British Museum (Natural History), to Jerry Mossop and Kathryn Bridge of the Provincial Archives, and most especially to Mary Ann Thompson of the Collection of Mr. Paul Mellon.

exception. His portraits offer full compensation for what is lost in the views. The interest of these pictures, a few of which are discussed below, is almost matched by Bacstrom's eventful voyage round the world.

Sigismund Bacstrom

We know very little about the man responsible for these pictures. Neither the year of his birth nor that of his death are recorded. Indeed, we are uncertain even of his nationality. The name is likely Swedish, but he was born in Germany. He claimed to have been "regularly educated at the University of Strasburg as a physician, Surgeon and Chymist," though there is now no record of his matriculation from the university. From 1763 to 1770 he served as surgeon on war ships of the Dutch navy,² then settled in England. In 1772 he applied with great persuasion to Sir Joseph Banks for a position with the naturalist on his second voyage of discovery with Captain James Cook.

Bacstrom was at that time in a very "dejected State" and seeking employment. He was expert in taking birds alive and knew a process for preserving them dead in the most lively and natural manner. He sought no great monetary compensation — he would be satisfied with the allowance of a seaman and "the honour I Should acquire, if I ever return after having been so extraordinary and curious a voyage, and in Company with so celebrated and respectable personages."³ Banks engaged him at £100 as a secretary, perhaps to allay Bacstrom's "present dejected State," perhaps because of his remarkably clear handwriting.⁴ However, when Banks withdrew from Cook's voyage in a huff about the ship's arrangement, all of his retinue left with him. The naturalist satisfied himself with a scientific exploration of Iceland and Bacstrom accompanied Sir Joseph on that substitute voyage of 1772 and continued to serve him as amanuensis until 1775.

Bacstrom was then employed by Captain William Kent, R.N., a friend of Banks and a collector for him, until 1779, after which he had a chequered career as a ship's surgeon. His letter describing these years is a tale of woe. He engaged in a total of six voyages as a merchant ship's surgeon. Four of these were to Greenland, or rather Spitzbergen, on vessels pursuing the black whale fishery. His first two engagements, with

² Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, MLAB148, Bacstrom petition, 19 June 1801.

³ Cited in Beaglehole, ed., *The Endeavour Journal*, I, p. 71.

⁴ *Ibid.*

the *Sea Horse*, Charles Paterson, and with the *Rising Sun*, William Souter, were enjoyable cruises, and of the latter Bacstrom wrote an interesting account. From it we can gather that his next two Greenland voyages were not pleasurable: "masters or commanders in the Greenland trade being generally men of little or no education, and consequently void of those liberal sentiments necessary to render the situation of those who accompany them comfortable," a regularly educated surgeon was sickened of a repeat voyage.⁵ His two other engagements seem to have been even worse.

A trip to the coast of Guinea and one to Jamaica were "very little to my advantage." On the Guinea-man he suffered so much that the mere remembrance of it made him shudder. Jamaica had been a disaster. He had been blinded for three months by "an epidemical Distemper" among the ship's cargo of slaves and was forced to remain on the island for five months at his own expense. He returned to England as surgeon on the *Trelawny* but the voyage lasted almost twenty-two months and was "full of Misery, Distress and Sufferings." He brought only twenty guineas back with him to London.⁶

He was now, in 1786, in great difficulty. In peacetime he could secure no engagements as a surgeon except on ships bound for Greenland and Guinea — precisely the voyages he did not wish to repeat. He was in acute distress and totally without friends in London. He asked Banks, as his "former generous and kind Master," for protection and assistance. Perhaps Sir Joseph could recommend him to someone: he could tutor a young gentleman or travel with an infirm one; he could assist a philosophical gentleman in chemical experiments — he was quite good in that line, having learned much from his father and, indeed, he knew of a way marvellously to increase vegetable growth by means of natural magnets.⁷

Although Banks suggested some possibilities, they did not work out, and two months later Bacstrom was back pleading for alleviation of his distress: "What must a poor Man do in these hard Times, when he has no Friends?"⁸ Perhaps he could be engaged by gentlemen to go to Botany

⁵ S. Bacstrom, "Account of a Voyage to Spitzbergen in the year 1780," reprinted from *Philosophical Magazine*, July 1799, in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages . . .* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1808), I, p. 614.

⁶ Kew Gardens, Banks Papers, 1.226, Bacstrom to Banks, 28 June 1786.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.240. Bacstrom to Banks, 21 August 1786.

Bay with the convict fleet, there to collect valuable plants and minerals.⁹

Fortunately Bacstrom found a gentleman, an unnamed "Lover of Chymical Experiments," who established him in an expensive Marylebone laboratory and supported his efforts in natural philosophy. All went well for Bacstrom for a time. "But alas! as all human affairs are subject to continual Changes, So was my, then comfortable Situation suddenly altered for the Worse." His patron had died in 1789 leaving him again impoverished and struggling to make a living in the practice of physic. He had, to be sure, "performed some good Cures," but among people of no note. Now in debt and on the verge of eviction from room and laboratory, he and his wife had been forced to sell even their clothes. Could Sir Joseph, he asked, help to raise a subscription on his behalf?¹⁰

Banks agreed to subscribe five guineas and Peter Woulfe, an experimenter in gas balloons and other scientific curiosities, agreed to two.¹¹ The projected subscription, on the verge of collapse in any case, was dropped when Bacstrom's prospects suddenly brightened in August 1791.

Theophilus Pritzler, a London shipowner whom Bacstrom had served on two voyages in 1783 and 1784, and Alderman William Curtis of the City were preparing to send a ship round the world via Cape Horn, Nootka Sound, China and the East Indies. It was, according to Bacstrom, a commercial venture aimed at bringing back the Cortex peruv.¹² and other "valuable druggs or natural products" and quite "independent of the new fur trade between Nootka and China." Bacstrom was to be surgeon and assist in gathering the valuable products. He offered to enrich Banks' own natural history collection during the course of the voyage.¹³

Sir Joseph laid out £10 for Bacstrom's voluntary assistance on this peculiarly described voyage. Whatever Pritzler had told Bacstrom, there is no evidence that it was concerned with anything except the lucrative maritime fur trade and the sealery of Tierra del Fuego. The principals in the commercial expedition which Bacstrom now joined were Pritzler, Curtis and probably John Perry, a Blackwall shipbuilder. Curtis may have been the major backer — he was, like Pritzler, active in the Greenland whale fishery. Speculation in that activity had made him very rich,

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.245. Bacstrom to Banks, 26 September 1786.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.46. Bacstrom to Banks, 15 June 1791.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2.49. Bacstrom to Banks, n.d.

¹² Peruvian bark or cinchona, an effective malaria remedy.

¹³ Kew Gardens, Banks Papers, 2.50. Bacstrom to Banks, 18 August 1791.

his wealth had made him an important Tory politician, though his want of education had assured him that "no man in his time was ever the subject of so much ridicule."¹⁴

The partnership employed three ships for the voyage, which sailed late in 1791. The command ship was the *Butterworth*, a former French frigate of 392 tons, seconded by the schooner *Jackal* under Alexander Stuart, and a small sloop, the *Prince Lee Boo*, under Captain Sharp. Captain of the *Butterworth* and of the squadron was William Brown, a blackguard whose attempted manipulation of natives was to cost the squadron several lives, including his own.

The ships stopped at Staaten Island of Tierra del Fuego in early 1792. Two huts were built and a small crew left to kill seals and to boil down their oil. After passing the Marquesas Islands in June, the ships reached the northwest coast by July.

At Clayoquot Sound Brown's character was quickly demonstrated. He embroiled his crew in a vicious dispute with Wickaninish's people in which one seaman was killed and two seriously wounded. The Indians suffered considerably more: perhaps thirteen killed, including Wickaninish's brother and several chiefs. Accounts vary as to what occurred. Brown told Joseph Ingraham that the natives had, without provocation, attacked his boats with small arms. Captain James Magee of the *Margaret* had a quite different account. Magee, who had been there, told Ingraham that Brown's men had robbed the natives to the extent of actually cutting fur cloaks off their backs. When the Indians gathered in defence, Brown's men fired on them, killing four. The sailors fled in their whale boat but were about to be cut off by Wickaninish's canoes when the *Margaret* fired a cannon shot between them, halting the pursuit. Despite his culpability, Brown took revenge by capturing some Clayoquot fishing canoes at sea and whipping the nine or so men unmercifully before throwing them into the sea. The *Jenny*, under James Baker, an English vessel that was following astern, "fired at them and ended the tragedy."¹⁵ The *Butterworth* came into Nootka Sound on August 10 and here Bacstrom drew a valuable picture of the Spanish

¹⁴ Morse Stephens, "Sir William Curtis," *Dictionary of National Biography*, V, p. 350.

¹⁵ Mark D. Kaplanoff, ed., *Joseph Ingraham's Journal of the Brigantine Hope on a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of North America, 1790-1792* (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1971), pp. 224-26. Wickaninish later told an officer of the *Jefferson* that Brown had fired on his people because they had not returned presents equivalent to those given. Bernard Magee, "Transactions on board Ship *Jefferson*," 13 June 1793, photostatic copy, UBC Special Collections.

establishment, which will be discussed below. Brown, Bacstrom and the *Butterworth* then sailed to trade along the northern coast before returning to Nootka on October 15. By this time Bacstrom had had enough of the ship. "On account of the ill and mean usage I received from Capt. W. Brown and his Officers," he quit the ship and sought asylum among the Spanish officers at Nootka.¹⁶

Bacstrom was not ashore long. The *Three Brothers*, a Newcastle brig, arrived at Nootka on October 23 and her Captain, William Alder, received Bacstrom on board "as a Friend and treated me like a Brother." The *Three Brothers* (or, more often, the *3Bs*) and her consort the *Prince William Henry* were in their first season on the coast where, without licence from the South Seas or East India companies, they were trading illegally and subject to being treated as fair and lawful prizes by any authorized vessel.¹⁷ Fortunately the ship was left alone and Bacstrom did not suffer from a seizure of the *Three Brothers*.

Bacstrom, now with a captain he could wholeheartedly respect, accompanied the *3Bs* to Hawaii in December, back to Nootka in February 1793, and then on a northern trading voyage. Bacstrom gives us sketches of the Hawaiian Islands, of Nootka, now changed by Don Fidalgo's strengthened gun battery, and of Cape St. James, Rose Harbor, Haines Cove (Datzkoo Harbour), Norfolk Sound (Sitka), Cross Sound and Norfolk Sound again. The last of these is dated 16 April 1793, and for almost a year there are no dated sketches. From Bacstrom's letter to Banks, however, we know that he returned to Nootka, and there engaged himself, with Alder's consent, as surgeon on an American brig, the *Amelia* (or *Emillia*) commanded by an English captain, Mr. Trotter.¹⁸

The *Amelia* with her load of fur arrived in China waters in November. Just outside Macao she was intercepted by H.M.S. *Lion* and her papers examined. She proved, despite her American colours, to belong to two merchants of the French island of Mauritius. As a state of war existed between England and the French Republic, the *Amelia* was

¹⁶ Kew Gardens, Banks Papers, 2.153. Bacstrom to Banks, 18 November 1796. Brown cannot have been a nice man. The Clayoquot incident is damning enough. Yet later on the voyage he involved himself in the gun trade and internal wars of the Hawaiian Islands which resulted in his death, that of the *Jackal's* Captain Gordon, and the accidental and innocent death of Captain John Kendrick of the *Lady Washington* and several of his crew. See Ralph S. Kuykendall, "A Northwest Trader at the Hawaiian Islands," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 24 (June 1923): 111-31.

¹⁷ Edmond S. Meaney, ed., "A New Vancouver Journal," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 6 (January 1915): 59.

¹⁸ Kew Gardens, Banks Papers, 2.153. Bacstrom to Banks, 18 November 1796.

seized as prize. She realized 5,372 dollars for Sir Erasmus Gower and his crew,¹⁹ two hundred of which had belonged to Bacstrom. He had been ignorant of the ship's true papers and, as an Englishman (or Dutch ally or Swedish neutral), obtained almost immediate liberty. After some time in Canton, he engaged again as a surgeon, this time aboard the *Warren Hastings*, an ex-East Indiaman of 600 tons, commanded by Charles Schneider of London.

The next episode of Bacstrom's voyage is best told by himself:

Capt. Schneider had the Imprudence to engage a french Capt. for his Chief Mate, who Shipped 22 french Seamen, several Spaniards, portuguese, Italians etc. 13 different Nations. We were bound for the Cape of Good Hope and Oostende, under Genoese Colours. Coming nr the Isle of Bourbon, our Chief Mate with the french, Spanish portuguese Crew revolted and took the Ship from the Capt., confined us as prisoners and carried us to the Isle of France or Mauritius, where Ship and Cargo was condemned, being proved dutch and english property.

After six months on Mauritius, Bacstrom secured permission to sail to New York on an American ship, but had to pay 300 dollars for his passage. He got as far as the lighthouse off New York harbour when a violent three-week gale forced the ship back near the Danish island of St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands. There she was examined by H.M.S. *Inspector*, carried into Tortola and condemned as a prize of war, her cargo being French. Bacstrom, as at Macao, received his liberty. Fortunately he was befriended by the Governor of the English Virgin Islands, George Leonard, who hosted him for six weeks and even paid for his passage home. He arrived in England on 23 July 1795, some four years and eight months after leaving.²⁰ He had been on six different vessels, three of which had been seized as prize and another which could have been. He had lost all the seeds, mosses and plants which were due Banks, yet he had been able to save something from the voyage. First, he had conceived, while on board the *Amelia*, "a kind of system" meant to aid in "comprehending the curious scientific allegories in the Old Testament." He had subsequently written it up, wished to publish it and sought subscribers. More important than this "true and rational" system, which, perhaps to no one's disappointment, is now lost, Bacstrom "made

¹⁹ Public Record Office, ADM 51/1154. *Journal of HMS Lion, Sir Erasmus Gower*, 21, 27 November 1793, 15 February 1794.

²⁰ Kew Gardens, Banks Papers, 2.153. Bacstrom to Banks, 18 November 1796. Bacstrom writes "3 years and 8 months" but must mean four years.

as many Sketches and drawings as I could.”²¹ Even here, however, his attempt to sell the drawings seems to have met with little success. A handwritten catalogue²² of June 1800 (nearly five years after his return) indicates no sales of the voyage pictures — listed to a total of £102.11 — and so his “hopes of reaping Some benefit from them at my Return” seem not to have been realized.²³

In June 1801, now “advanced in Years,” but enjoying “tolerable good Health, the Consequence of a Sober and regular Life,” he petitioned without apparent success for the employment of his scientific knowledge in the discovery of the mineral resources of New South Wales.²⁴

*Bacstrom’s Drawings of Cunnyha and His People*²⁵

“Cunnyha,” here reproduced, is one of the best-known eighteenth-century Haida. He was the recognized paramount chief of the Parry Passage area between Langara and Graham islands in the Queen Charlotte group and his village of Kiusta on the Graham side was often called “Cunnyha’s Village.” It was here that Bacstrom appears to have drawn him. Kiusta was not, however, his only residence. The people of Parry Passage were at this time commuting back and forth to the Alaskan side of Dixon Entrance as a part of the migration which produced the Alaskan offshoot of the Haida.²⁶ Bacstrom also saw Cunnyha’s people at what Bacstrom termed Meares Bay, Haines Cove, “called by the Indians ‘Tattesko’.” This is the present Datzkoo Harbour, about six miles from the site of Kaigani village, on the southeast side of Dall Island. It was a snug harbour, almost entirely surrounded by mountains. With wood and water available, it was a favourite refuge for ships and convenient to Kaigani trade.²⁷ It was not normally inhabited; the *Eliza* journalist found some forts there, but an encampment was made by the Kaigani

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² In the Mellon Collection. Other entries have been struck off with a pencil, perhaps indicating later sales.

²³ Kew Gardens, Banks Papers, 2.153. Bacstrom to Banks, 18 November 1796.

²⁴ Mitchell Library, MI Ab 148, Bacstrom petition, 19 June 1801.

²⁵ In choosing the following pictures for illustration and discussion, I have been guided by two partially overlapping principles: the visual documentation they present of the effect of trade upon Haida dress and ornament and their visual representation of individuals known from the literature.

²⁶ Wilson Duff, “Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology,” *Anthropologica* 6 (1964): 90.

²⁷ Bacstrom has a sketch map, Mellon Collection.

only after the ship was anchored for trade. Cunnyha probably wintered in Kaigani in 1792-93 and 1793-94.²⁸ According to one report, he was for a time driven out of Kiusta by Chief Cumshewa, who seems a bitter enemy, but was certainly back in Kiusta in 1799.²⁹ At that time it consisted of eight houses, of which Cunnyha's was the largest. Before it a large pole, with a carved animal on top, was raised by Cunnyha and a kinsman in 1794 with the assistance of Captain Josiah and men of the *Jefferson*. A sketch of both house and pole as they stood in 1799 is in the *Eliza* journal. Kaigani, to which the Kiusta people moved entirely early in the nineteenth century, was in 1799 slightly larger than Kiusta.³⁰

Cunnyha's name first occurs in the narrative of the *Iphegenia*, a consort of John Meares' *Feliz Aventureira*. Captain William Douglas of the *Iphegenia* had met Cunnyha (here called Blankow-Coneehaw) in late 1788. Upon the *Iphegenia*'s return to Cloak Bay in June 1789, Cunnyha came on board and welcomed the ship with a song to which two hundred of his people joined in, forming "a chorus of the most pleasing melody." To conclude the welcome ceremony, Cunnyha and Captain Douglas exchanged names.³¹ As a result, the chief in subsequent journals is often referred to as some variant of Douglas-Cunnyha, such as Caamaño's "Taglas Cania." Ten years later the chief said that, when asked his name by whites, he told them "Douglas Cunnyhaw."³² Captain Douglas seems never to have used his acquired name.

In 1789 Cunnyha was already an elderly man and remarkable for his friendly attitudes toward the white visitors. He is "the old chief," "a very good old fellow."³³ Jacinto Caamaño estimated his age at 70 years in 1792 and described him as "of very big frame, and stout in proportion,

²⁸ Bernard Magee, "Journal of a Voyage on board the 'Jefferson,' 1792-94," (photostatic copy of original, UBC Special Collections) 31 May 1794. Both Magee and Bacstrom refer to "Tattesco on the main," though the usage is probably compatible with Dall Island.

²⁹ "Journal of the Eliza," 25 February, 20 March 1799, photostatic copy, UBC Special Collections.

³⁰ "Journal of the Eliza," photostatic copy of original, Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library, 23, 24 March 1799; Bernard Magee, "Journal of a Voyage on the 'Jefferson,' 1792-94," original in Massachusetts Historical Society, photostatic copy in Special Collections, UBC Library.

³¹ John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789...* (London: Logographic Press, 1790), pp. 365-67.

³² "Journal of the Eliza," p. 24.

³³ Meares, p. 366; Frederic W. Howay, ed., *Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790 and 1790-1793* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941), p. 96.

with a handsome face.”³⁴ Bacstrom’s drawing gives indications of an aged face, though stoutness is not readily apparent. Caamaño dined with Cunnyha and was highly impressed with the chief’s “graceful and easy manners.” “The bearing, simplicity, and dignity of this fine Indian would bear comparison with the character and qualities of a respectable inhabitant of ‘Old Castile.’” Etienne Marchand’s officers were similarly impressed with their host’s affability, his readiness to oblige, and the ease of his manners “which seemed not to belong to a class of men whom the Europeans still consider as savages.”³⁵

Cunnyha, though noted for his agreeableness to traders, nevertheless suffered from at least one of them. He, the almost as well-known Cow of Dadans and Kaigani, and the younger Alatsee of Dadans were all seized by a trader and put in irons, forcing them to deliver up their skins.³⁶ Cunnyha became somewhat more timid thereafter and refused to board the *Eliza* unless a hostage was exchanged.³⁷ Despite these observed traits, he seems to have been a vigorous warrior. “We never visited a place on the Coast,” wrote an *Eliza* officer in 1799, “but what we found they knew him, or his tribe by woeful experience; having often made expeditions to the northward when at war, as far as Sheetkah [Sitka or Norfolk Sound], plundered their Villages and brought . . . numbers of prisoners.”³⁸

Bacstrom’s drawing shows Cunnyha clothed in skin robe, blue trade trousers, orange shirt, and a hat that is most likely trade. Undated, it almost certainly is either September 1792 or spring 1793. In August 1791 Marchand’s crew had noted a substitution by the Parry Sound natives of jackets, greatcoats and other garments for their simple but valuable fur cloaks. Some, they noted, even wore hats, stockings and shoes.³⁹ In July 1792, some months before Bacstrom’s first visit, Caamaño found the greater part of his Parry Passage hosts to be dressed in frocks, coats, jumpers, trousers, breeches and cloth capes. The skin cloak remained the distinguishing mark of a chief, but European clothes were in widespread use. Cunnyha, however, had on this occasion cast off the

³⁴ Henry R. Wagner and W. A. Newcombe, eds., “The Journal of Jacinto Caamaño,” *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 2 (July 1938), p. 219.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-18; C. P. Claret Fleurieu, *A Voyage Round the World . . . by Etienne Marchand* (London: Longman and Rees and Cadell and Davies, 1801), I, p. 278. The chief is unnamed but must be Cunnyha.

³⁶ “Journal of the *Eliza*,” 17 March 1799. The reference seems to be to Captain William Wake of the *Prince William Henry*, once of Alder’s squadron, in 1795.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 19 March 1799.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 March 1799.

³⁹ Fleurieu, *Voyage by Marchand*, I, p. 295.

skin cloak for an altogether more elaborate costume. Caamaño was condescendingly amused at the chief's two frock coats, one worn over the other, ornamented with beads and Chinese coins. His breeches were also trimmed with cash "so that he sounded like a carriage mule, as he walked." Under his coats he wore a frilled shirt and possessed, moreover, "a pair of unlike silver buckles; not, however, in his shoes, but at the feet of his trousers." Nevertheless, the Spaniard continued, Cunnyha looked, at a little distance, "very fine in his extravagant costume."⁴⁰ Bacstrom's Cunnyha is probably more typical, though when an *Eliza* officer visited the old chief in 1799, he found him sitting by his fire quite naked of any vestments.⁴¹

Bacstrom also gives us a pencil portrait of Cunnyha's eldest daughter, whom he calls Koota-Hilslinga. Caamaño mentions a daughter, presumably the same girl. "She wore no wooden toggle (labret) in her lower lip," he wrote, "and was indeed, a very good looking girl." According to Caamaño, Cunnyha "made me a gift of her, with a view to the girl being for my pleasure" — certainly a means of sustaining his reputation for friendly service. Caamaño accompanied her to his cabin. She left the ship in the evening. What occurred in between is unrecorded. We know only that "she, apparently, was not too well satisfied with the attentions I had paid her, or the various trifles that I had given her."⁴²

Bacstrom's drawing, done at "Tattesko," is some eight months after Caamaño's flirtation. Koota Hilslinga is shown seated, clothed only in a draped cedar-bark cloak tied at the neck. Again, despite his facetiousness, Caamaño remains the best verbal witness: the dress of the women was immodest, he wrote, "for their cloak alone serves to cover their breasts, and they seem quite careless whether it does so or not."⁴³ Koota-Hilslinga wears no labret — many did not — but she now bears a wire or string hanging from an incision in her lower lip, the first stage of the labret process. About her wrist she wears a bracelet. While the Haida of Parry Passage readily substituted trade clothing for their cloaks of skin and cedar bark, they did not, as Fleurieu notes, so easily lay aside their customary ornaments and jewelry.⁴⁴ Here adaptation of trade items to native patterns was more the rule than was wholesale substitution.

⁴⁰ Wagner and Newcombe, eds., *B.C. Historical Quarterly* 2 (1938): 216, 219.

⁴¹ "Journal of the Eliza," p. 24.

⁴² Wagner and Newcombe, eds., *B.C. Historical Quarterly* 2 (1938): 216-17.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁴⁴ Fleurieu, *Voyage by Marchand*, I, p. 295.

Koota-Hilslinga's bracelet is of beige colour and probably cedar bark. It could be oxidized iron and of European manufacture. In either case the design is Haida. Joseph Ingraham got the idea of creating iron ornaments from a copper one worn round the neck of a woman alongside the *Hope* in Parry Passage in July 1791. He had the forge set up and put the smith to work making collars of three iron rods twisted together. He found that collars of this type were preferred to any other trade good aboard his ship and would purchase three of the best skins.⁴⁵ His iron rings and bracelets, similarly made, were favoured over polished copper ones which had traded well at Nootka Sound. The demand for such collars, rings and bracelets was probably related to symbolism of rank and wealth. Other maritime fur traders, such as Josia Roberts on the *Jefferson* and John Bartlett on the *Gustavius III*, took up the practice and Bacstrom found iron collars at Bucareli and Norfolk Sounds as well as among Cunnyha's people. Bacstrom drew one such neck ring, of slightly elliptical shape, about 14½ inches across by about 12½ inches back to front, and weighing 12 to 14 pounds. It is made of four strings twisted round one in the centre, different from Ingraham's twisted three and the usual native manufacture of two copper strings.⁴⁶

Bacstrom's third portrait from "Tattesko" is of Hangi, a chief's daughter. We have no further knowledge of her either from Bacstrom or the eighteenth-century journalists. Yet her portrait is extremely interesting for it, more than any of Bacstrom's pictures, demonstrates adaptation and adoption of European trade goods by the Haida. She wears a labret and copper bracelets and anklets; these latter could be European. About her neck hangs, on a string of blue and white beads, a large silver dining fork (which must be drawn on an exaggerated scale). She wears a beige trade dress, loose at the sleeves but rather tight above her waist — so much so that her breasts are displayed with frankness, though here, too, the artist may be taking liberties. The dress is decorated at the bottom with blue buttons. Hung round her shoulders and tied at the neck is a blue cloak.

*Bacstrom Drawings at Nootka Sound, 1792 and 1793*⁴⁷

Ten Bacstrom drawings are from Nootka Sound. Five are shipboard views of Friendly Cove, three are of canoes, and two portray Nootka chiefs.

⁴⁵ Kaplanoff, ed., *Ingraham's Journal*, p. 105.

⁴⁶ See George T. Emmons, "Copper Neck-Rings of Southern Alaska," *American Anthropologist* 10 (1908): 644-49.

⁴⁷ In this section my principle of selection is somewhat different. I have chosen a



Cunnyha an Indian Chief . . .
31.4 x 22.6 cm, watercolour
From the Collection of Mr. Paul Mellon



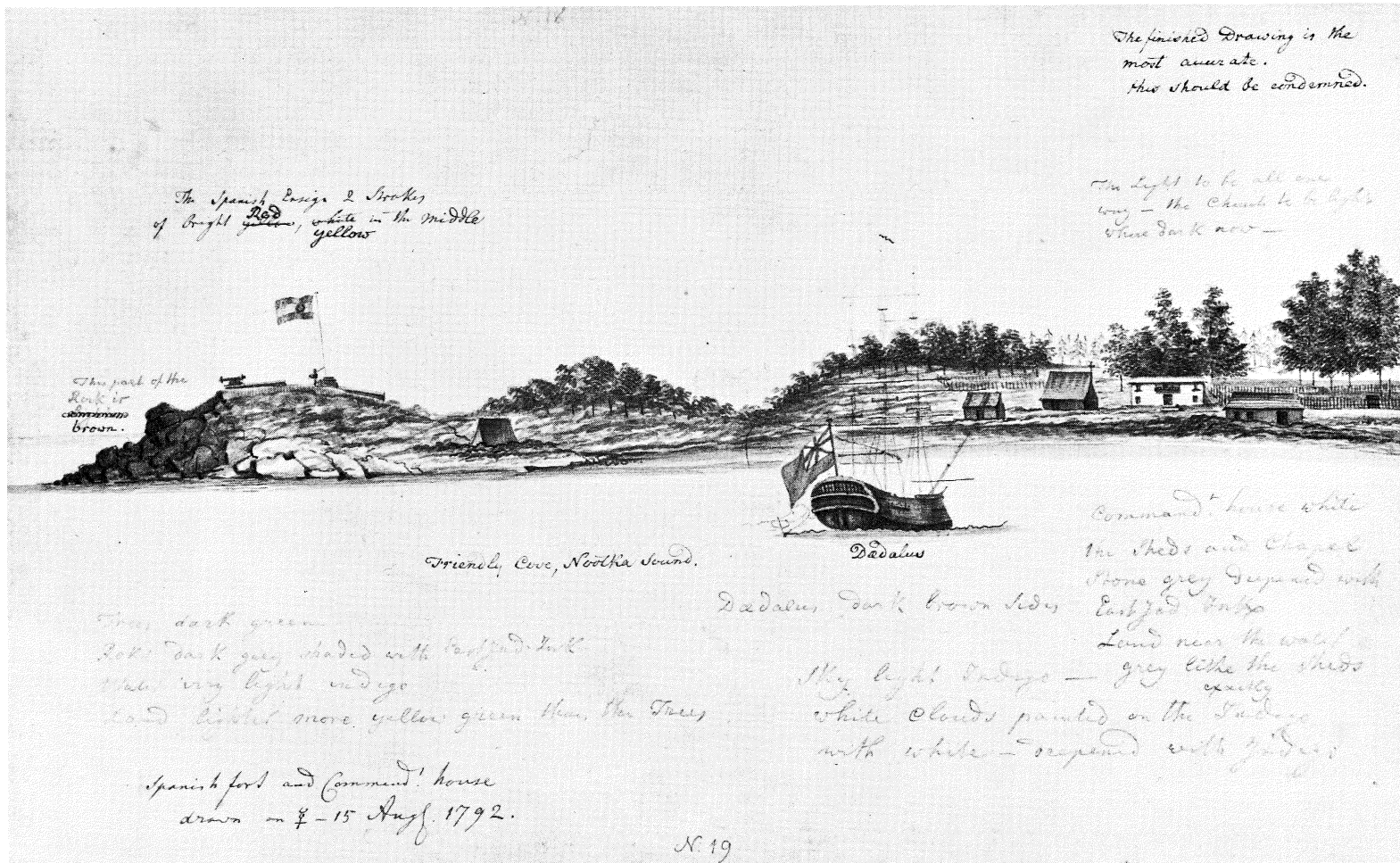
Hangi a Chief's Daughter . . .
27 x 21.4 cm, watercolour
From the Collection of Mr. Paul Mellon



Cunnya's Eldest Daughter . . .
 20.4 x 31.3 cm, watercolour
 From the Collection of Mr. Paul Mellon

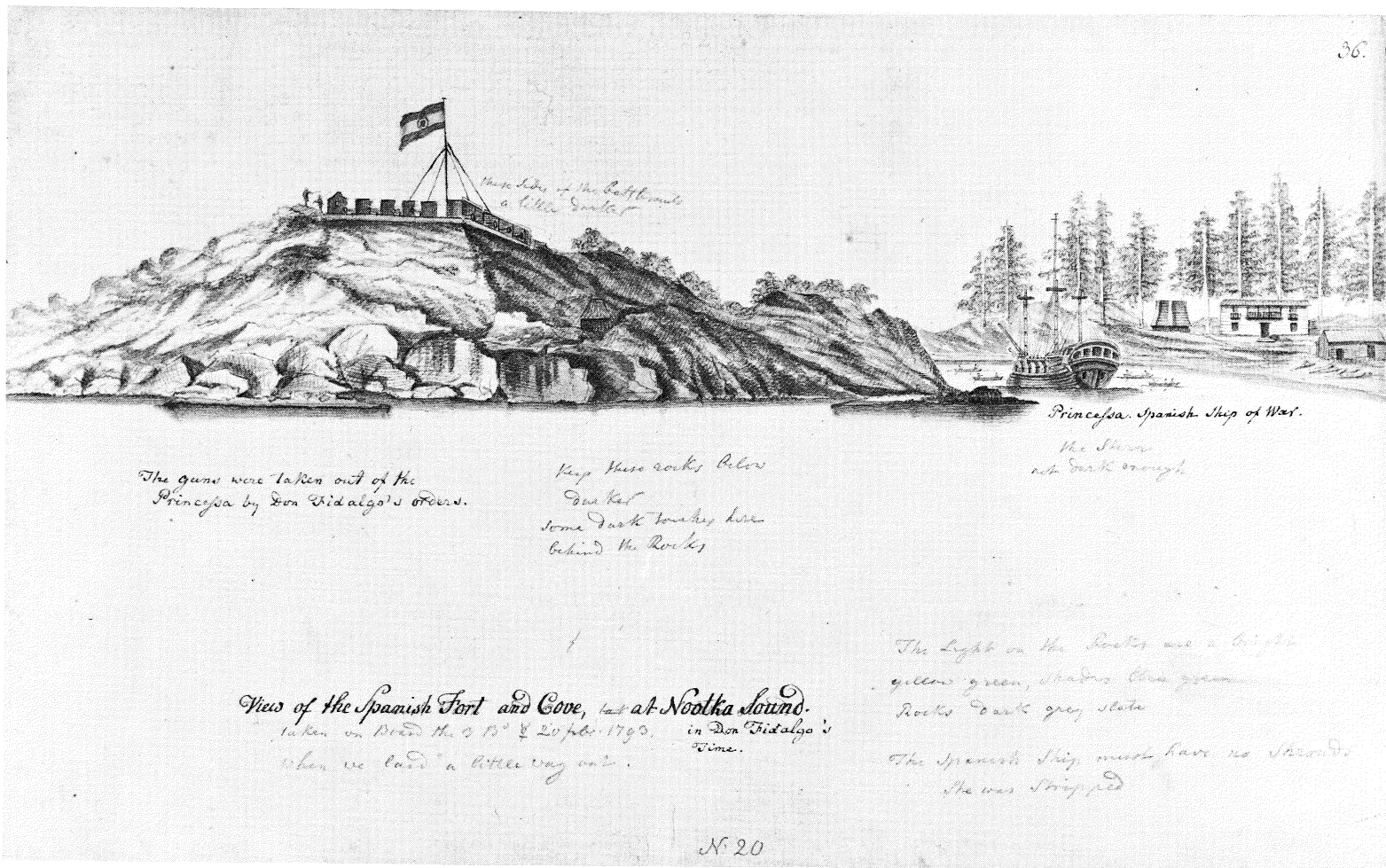


Clopa Nanulth a Chief at Nootka Sound
 28.9 x 20.4 cm, watercolour
 From the Collection of Mr. Paul Mellon



Friendly Cove . . . 15 April 1792 20.6 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

From the Collection of Mr. Paul Mellon



View of the Spanish Fort . . . 20.4 x 33.3 cm, watercolour

From the Collection of Mr. Paul Mellon

The subject of one of these two portraits is unnamed — a departure from Bacstrom's usual practice. He is shown squatting on the ground and wears the traditional native hat and cape, the latter with a coloured geometric design at its bottom. The second portrait, here illustrated, is more interesting because it shows us "Clopa Nanulth" squatting on a chair in apparently animated discussion. Like the anonymous chief, Clopa Nanulth wears traditional clothing, including a similarly decorated cape.

Bacstrom's Clopa Nanulth⁴⁸ was a rival of Maquinna and lived on a northwest branch of the sound. He was an old man in 1793, though his father, estimated by José Mariano Moziño to be age 90, still enjoyed robust health in 1792.⁴⁹ Clopa Nanulth sought very hard, though unsuccessfully, to replace Maquinna in Spanish favour, especially courting Alejandro Malaspina. He welcomed the Spanish commander from a large canoe and delivered a strong speech aimed at discrediting Maquinna, accusing his rival of perfidy and offering his own protection to the Spanish. He camped on the beach near Malaspina's establishment and sang "about the glories of his nation and his ancestors and . . . about his own feats and military exploits." Despite his age, he acted out the latter with vigour and enthusiasm. To further ingratiate himself with the Spanish, he put on displays of canoe prowess, offered his own large one for Francisco de Eliza's use, and brought fresh food to the officers' table.⁵⁰ He is described by Archibald Menzies, George Vancouver's surgeon-naturalist, as an aged chief "who Joind to a Countenance truly Savage, a most amiable & friendly disposition, as we heard from every account of his conduct."⁵¹ Cardero gives a differing description: "he spoke little,

portrait on the previous principle of the individual being known from the literature, but the views of Friendly Cove are used simply because of its historical importance.

⁴⁸ He is Haswell's Cloopanish, Menzies' Floopannano, the Spaniard's Tlupanamibo, and more correctly transcribed as Tlu-pa-na-nootl or Tlu-pana-nutl.

⁴⁹ Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792*, trans. and ed. by Iris Higbie Wilson (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1970), p. 79.

⁵⁰ Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 273-76, 310-11, 335; Henry R. Wagner, ed. & trans., "Journal of Tomas de Suria of His Voyage with Malaspina to the Northwest Coast of America in 1791," *Pacific Historical Review* 5 (1936): 273-76; Moziño, *Noticias*, p. 80.

⁵¹ C. F. Newcombe, ed., *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792* (Victoria: Archives of British Columbia, Memoir V, 1923), p. 115.

his manner was dull, but good-natured.”⁵² Suría drew a portrait of him, “much praised for its likeness,” which is now in the Museo Naval, Madrid.⁵³

Clopa Nanulth’s position in Nootka Sound is difficult to establish and was probably affected by Spanish and British preference for Maquinna. He certainly resented being treated as secondary and sought at least equal recognition. “Putting two fingers together, [he] always told us that there was as little difference between him and Maquinna as between those two fingers.” Neither observed any special respect toward the other.⁵⁴

In contrast to Cunnyha and his people and to many of the Moachat at Nootka, Clopa Nanulth was resistant to European trade goods. He quite clearly told Malaspina that “I do not admire your manufactures and productions,”⁵⁵ and indeed he wanted nothing from the Spanish except gunpowder, sails and hemp rope for his canoes.⁵⁶ Bacstrom’s portrait shows him quite devoid of trade apparel, though quite accidentally using a European chair.

Bacstrom’s Friendly Cove views are of significant historical interest. The first reproduced shows the south and eastern sector of Friendly Cove or Santa Cruz de Nuca as it appeared to Bacstrom from the deck of the *Butterworth* on 15 August 1792. The San Miguel Island fortification is shown with the Spanish ensign flying but only a single gun apparent. Menzies’ verbal description of the same time is similar: “this Fort, if it might be called such, was no other than two Guns mounted on a small Platform on the outer Point of the Cove, with a Flag Staff on which the Spanish colours were hoisted & a small guard mounted to give it the appearance

⁵² Cecil Jane, trans., *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and The North-West Coast of America* (London: Argonaut Press, 1930), p. 18.

⁵³ Wagner, ed., and trans., *Pacific Historical Review* 5 (1936): 276. Suría’s sketch is no. 233 of the *Catálogo de Grabados de la Expedición de Malaspina*, Museo Naval, described as “Tlupanambo cacique de Nutka.” I owe this reference to Dr. Christon Archer of the University of Calgary. The Suría sketch is reproduced in Erna Gunther, *Indian Life of the Northwest Coast of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 49, fig. 24, though mistakenly labelled “regarded as Maquinna.”

⁵⁴ Jane, trans., *A Spanish Voyage*, p. 18. Maquinna and Callicum had used a similar gesture in 1786: the former held one finger far above another, saying that the uppermost was Maquinna, the other Callicum. Callicum responded by “placing two of his fingers parallel, intimating that they were equal.” Alexander Walker, “An Account of a Voyage to the N.W. Coast of America . . . 1785 and 1786.” I am indebted to Professors Robin Fisher and J. M. Bumsted for this reference. The manuscript, from the National Library of Scotland, is being edited by them for publication.

⁵⁵ Wagner, ed. and trans., *Pacific Historical Review* 5 (1936): 276.

⁵⁶ Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 312.

of a place of defence."⁵⁷ To the right of the fortification Bacstrom shows four buildings: the bakery, the infirmary (called a chapel by Bacstrom), the large commandant's residence, and the carpenter's shop. In the background are fences surrounding the gardens established by Alberni. Lying offshore is the frigate H.M.S. *Daedalus*, Vancouver's supply ship which had arrived on July 4, well in advance of the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, which were still exploring the Inside Passage between Vancouver Island and the mainland. This is a preliminary drawing, covered with colour notations. The location of the finished drawing is unknown; there was one, for Bacstrom notes in a corner that it is the most (*sic?*) accurate and that this one should be condemned.⁵⁸

The remaining four views date from February 1793, when Bacstrom had returned from Hawaii with the *Three Brothers*. The first (not reproduced) was done on shipboard on February 16 and is a rare view of the northwest sector of the Cove. Some Spanish gardens and huts are included, but the dominant subjects are the two small vessels being built by the *Three Brothers* squadron. Like the more famous *Northwest America*, these small tenders had been brought in frame to be constructed on the coast to assist in the trade.⁵⁹ On February 20 Bacstrom drew a view of the eastern sector of Friendly Cove from an offshore position similar to his previous August's drawing. There are three progressive versions of this (pencil, pencil and wash, and a finished ink and water-colour); the pencil and wash version from the Mellon Collection is reproduced.

Here one sees the San Miguel fortification as it had been strengthened over the winter by Salvador Fidalgo, Bodega's successor as commandant. The *Princesa*, a Spanish frigate of 189 tons, lies stripped of her rigging and most of her guns,⁶⁰ the latter having been installed as part of the

⁵⁷ Newcombe, ed., *Menzies' Journal*, 28 August 1792, p. 107. John Boit, seeing it three weeks previous to Bacstrom's drawing, is similarly deprecatory, though he gives it more guns. It was, he wrote, "no great thing, mounted with 6 Twenty four and Thirty six pounders, the platforms could not bear the weight of metal." Howay, ed., *Voyages of the "Columbia"*, p. 411.

⁵⁸ It may have been the "First View in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, with a Canoe of Indians, men and women; highly finished" listed in his catalogue, Mellon Collection.

⁵⁹ From several sources it is clear that Captain Alder was building a tender in September 1792. Probably it was left at Friendly Cove until his return in February, at which time Captain Ewen of the *Prince William Henry* constructed another. Bacstrom describes Ewen's as thirty-six tons, Alder's as thirty tons.

⁶⁰ Bacstrom credits her with only twenty-four guns; she is thought to have had thirty-six by Thomas Vaughan, E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan and Mercedes Palace de Aglesias in *Voyages of Enlightenment: Malaspina on the Northwest Coast, 1791-1792* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1977), p. 42.

battery. The embattlement in which the guns were placed is considerably more impressive than the previous August. A log foundation supports the guns and six-foot walls. According to Fidalgo's chart, it contained a barracks for up to forty men, though this was purposely invisible from the water. To the right are the infirmary, commandant's house and carpenter's hut; the bakery seems hidden behind the *Princesa*. In the shadow of the fort is another hut, presumably an observatory, that has replaced the tent of the previous August.

A List of the Known Drawings of Sigismund Bacstrom

The list below is as complete as possible. Black and white photographs of the Mellon pictures have been deposited by the author, with the permission of Mr. Mellon, in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. The day of the week when inserted in brackets denotes Bacstrom's use of an astronomical symbol, not easily reproduced in type.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, VICTORIA

- 1329 The Spanish Fort and Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound at the time of the Second Spanish Governor Don Fidalgo.
14.6 x 30.8 cm, pencil
- 1330 Boccarelli Sound on the N.W. Coast of America, in Lat. 55.14 N. where we laid at anchor with the Butterworth on the 11 September, 1792.
12.1 x 32.4 cm, pencil
- 1331 View of an Indian Village built on a Rock, in Norfolk Sound, on the N.W. Coast of America . . .
13.4 x 32.8 cm, pencil
- 1332 Canoe with Indians at Port Rose, Queen Charlotte's Islands.
13 x 32.8 cm, pencil
- 1333 Hatzia's Wife; Hatzia, a Chief in Port Rose South-end of Queen Charl. Islands on the N.W. Coast of America.
15 x 22 cm, pencil
- 1334 Hatzia's Wife
13.3 x 21.6 cm, pencil
- 1335 View of the Island Onrust, which forms the arsenal of Batavia drawn after nature on board the City of Genoa on Wednesday, 26 March, 1794.
12.9 x 24.7 cm, pencil

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS AND SITES BRANCH, PARKS CANADA, OTTAWA

X.76.671.2 View of Staaten Island near Cape Hoorn in Lat: 54,,48, South; the Largest Isle in Front is called New Years Island, behind that is New Years Cove, where we anchored in the Year 1792 [signed, L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom ad viv: del: t 1792
33.3 x 22.8 cm, ink and watercolour, highly finished

X.76.671.1 Second View of the Spanish Fort at Nootka Sound, as it appears out of the Harbour; the White House is the Residence of the Governor and His Officers; the old Ship is the *Princessa* a Spanish Ship of War of 24 Guns, at that time untackled. [signed, L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom del: 1793
34 x 21.5 cm, ink and watercolour, highly finished

ZOOLOGY LIBRARY, BRITISH MUSEUM (NATURAL HISTORY), LONDON

[a Greenland right whale shown in five different positions with body labels]
[signed] Sigismund Bacstrom delint. 1786
33 x 24.5 cm

COLLECTION OF MR. PAUL MELLON, OAK SPRING, UPPERSVILLE, VIRGINIA

Greenland or Spitzbergen

The Greenland Whale Fishery
18.3 x 22.5 cm, watercolour, highly finished

Cape Horn

View of New Years Cove in Staaten Land near Cape Hoorn in Lat: 54,,48, South; where we anchored in the Year 1792. We built a Large Hut and left an Officer with a few Men there to kill Seals and boil Oil. The Vessel near the Shore is the Jack Hall, the other is the Prince Le Boo. The Small Hut was built by Capt: Etches.
[signed L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom ad Viv: del: 1792
21.4 x 27.9 cm, watercolour, highly finished

a View of Staaten Island with a Herd of Seals [various inscriptions] Drawn on Friday 22 March 1792
20.1 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

The needles in Staaten Island bearing N.E.E.
Dist. 1 League laying off York Cape
18.3 x 30.1 cm, watercolour

Needles on Staaten Island bearing W.S.W. distant 3 miles
20.6 x 33.1 watercolour

[Cape Hoorn and Terra del Fuego with inscriptions]
20.5 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

Marquesas Islands Area

Warr Club of the Marquesas Islands, Viewed Sideways
18.8 x 30.4 cm, pencil

Canoe's of the Marquesas Islands
20.3 x 33.2 cm, watercolour

Magdalena of the Marquesas the Southermost Island [with inscriptions]
20.8 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

Magdalena Island, The Southermost of the Marquesas [with inscriptions]
20.2 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

one of the Last new discovered Islands to the Northw: of the Marquesas
... drawn on Monday afternoon June 4, 1792 [with inscriptions]
20 x 32.8 cm, watercolour

New discovered Island to the Northw: of the Marquesas ... drawn on
Monday morning June 4th 1792 [with inscriptions]
20.3 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

unknown Island, the Smallest to the Northward of the Marquesas [with
inscriptions]
20.4 x 33 cm, watercolour

Northwest Coast of North America

Clopa Nanulth a Chief at Nootka Sound
[signed, L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom ad Viv: del: 1793 fecit. 1796
28.9 x 20.4 cm, watercolour

Cunnyha an Indian Chief on the North-Side of Queen Charlotte's Island,
NW Coast of America
[signed, L.R.] S. Bacstrom del^t. ad Viv.
31.4 x 22.6 cm, watercolour

Hangi a Chief's Daughter at Tattesko near Bocarelli Sound, N:W: Coast of
America
[signed, L.R.] S: Bacstrom ad viv: del:
27 x 21.4 cm, watercolour

Cunnyha's Eldest Daughter named Koota-Hilslinga
a young woman at {Hain's Cove } belonging to Cunnih's Family
 {Tattesko }
who was along Side the Vessel on Mond: 18 March 1793
drawn on [Friday] 22 March 1793
20.4 x 31.3 cm, watercolour

The Wife and Child of Hatzia, a Chief in Port Rose South End of Queen Charlotte's Island, Lat: 52.20 N.

[signed, L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom ad Viv: del 1793. fec^t. 1797
22.3 x 32.5 cm, watercolour

a Chief at Nootka sitting on the ground
16.7 x 20.2 cm, watercolour

The Wife of Hatzia Chief in Port Rose Queen Charlotte's Island in Lat:
52,,20 N

[signed L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom ad Viv: del: 1793. fec^t. 1797
24.4 x 21.6 cm, watercolour

Tchua a Chief of Queen Charlotte's Island in Lat: 52,,12 N

[signed L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom ad Viv: del: 1793
27.1 x 18.8 cm, watercolour

Tzachey a chief in Norfolk Sound in Lat: 57.N

[signed L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom ad Viv: del: 1793 fecit 1797
27.3 x 19 cm, watercolour

Keets Rist a well known Indian Woman belonging to *Hatzia's* Family,
Queen Charlotte's Island N:W:Coast of America.

[signed L.R.] S. Bacstrom ad viv: del.^t
28.3 x 21.3 cm, watercolour

Nootka Canoe

20.5 x 33.3 cm, watercolour

Canoe at Nootka [two]

16.7 x 20.1 cm, watercolour

Canoe's at the N: Entrance of Juan de Fuca Streights in Lat: nearly 51.N.

20.3 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

Canoe with Indians at Rose Harbour, Queen Charlotte Islands, Sunday 3
March 1793

20.4 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

Bow and Arrow from Norfolk Sound; drawn on board the 3B on [Tues-
day] 16 April 1793

18.5 x 32 cm, watercolour

Combs made out of Whale Bone by the Indians at Norfolk Sound [Friday]
29 March 1793

20.6 x 33 cm, gray wash and pen

Iron Collar wore by the Indians at Hains's Cove by Cunniha's Tribe and in
Buccarelli, and Norfolk Sound, as an ornament round the Neck. 4 Strings
twisted round 1 in the Centre made of nail Rods

16 x 19.4 cm, pen and gray wash

The Kurilian Tea- [Wednesday] 3 April 1793 Cross Sound; in Lat: 58.N.
[inscribed "American Tea"]
16.5 x 20.8 cm, watercolour

Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound . . . Spanish fort and Comand^t. house drawn
on [Wednesday] 15 Augst. 1792 [many inscriptions]
20.6 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

View at Nootka taken on [Thursday] 16 Febr. 1793 on board the 3 B^s
[showing Spanish gardens and huts, and the vessels being built by Captains
Evans and Alder]
20.1 x 33.1 cm, pencil

View of the Spanish Fort and Cove at Nootka Sound taken on Board the
3B^s [Wednesday] 20 febr. 1793 [with inscriptions]
20.4 x 33.3 cm, watercolour

a View of two Indian Villages round Cape Scott in Lat: nearly 51. Degs. N.
at the Entrance of Fitz Hues Sound
20.3 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

a View out of the Harbour, taken from the Ships Bow — on a beautiful
forenoon: [Friday] -14 Sept. 1792. Hains's Harbour in Lat: 54.42. called by
the Indians *Tattesko*. [with inscriptions]
20.3 x 33.1 cm, pencil

View in *Bocarelli Sound* in Lat: 55.14 N: were we laid at anchor on Tues-
day 11 Sept: 1792 [with inscriptions]
20.2 x 33.1 cm, pencil

View of an Indian Village in Norfolk Sound. [Friday] -29 March 1793
19.6 x 32.1 cm, watercolour

View of Cape St James's in Lat: 51.58.N., the Southermost part of Q:
Charlotte's Islands . . . on board of the 3 B^s on Tuesd: 26 febr. 1793
20.5 x 33.2 cm, watercolour

Maps, Northwest Coast of North America

[Map of Queen Charlotte Islands. Among features marked are: North
Island, Beals Harbour, Cloak Bay, Cunniha's Village, Maggie's Sound,
Lambs Sound, Port Rose, Port Comshawa, Skittigats Sound, Point Rose
and Hancock River] [inscribed:] "Surveyed by Mr. Stephan Hill Second
Officer of Capt: Maggie From Boston." [signed L.R.] S. Bacstrom fecit.
20.6 x 13.6 cm, watercolour

Accurate Survey of part of the East-Coast of Queen Charlotte's Islands on
the N.W. Coast of America, by Mr. Hill, Capt. Maggie's Second Officer,
with the Track of his Long-Boat. [Among features are Komshawa's Village,
Clue's Village, Komshawa's Sound, Tarto's Village, Fearful Yoogans Vil-

lage, Shulkanans or Skulkanamishs Village and Sound with Port Rose, Goyers Inlet, Cape St. James]

[Signed L.R.] Sigismund Bacstrom 1796

33.5 x 25 cm, pen and ink, borders in colour

[A Map]

Mears's Bay, Hains's Cove, or Tattesko in Lat: 54.46.N on the main coast of N:W: America [with inscriptions]

16.1 x 26.4 cm, pen and pencil on tracing paper

[A Map]

Poverty Cove. S.W. Side of Queen Charlotte's Island N.W. american Coast

16.3 x 26.1 cm, pencil on tracing paper

Sandwich Islands

View of *Oahoo* on 4-27 Dec: 1792

Taken on board the 3 Bees [with inscriptions]

20.1 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

Wittity-Bay in *Oahoo* taken on Saturd: Decemb: 1792 on board of the 3 Bees [with inscriptions]

20.6 x 33.1 cm, watercolour

Onehow. [Saturday] 31 of December 1792 on board the 3B^s [with inscriptions]

19.4 x 32 cm, watercolour

Second View of Onehow going to Yam Bay taken on [Saturday] -31 December 1792 on board the 3b^s.

19.2 x 32.1 cm, watercolour

Yam Bay in the Isl. of Onehow

19.6 x 32.1 cm

Tahoorā. Rinai. Mowee taken on [Tuesday] 25 of Dec: 1792 on board the 3B^s. [with inscriptions]

20.6 x 33.2 cm, watercolour

a double Canoe from the Sandwich Islands

20.3 x 33.2 cm, watercolour

China

Chinese Seen at Macao

16 x 20 cm, watercolour

Tartar Soldiers

10.7 x 16.5 cm, watercolour

Canton Lady, Canton Lady
10.8 x 16.5 cm, watercolour

Blind Beggar at Canton, 1794, Spouting Beggar
10.8 x 16.6 cm, watercolour

Fisher Man, Fisher Man
10.7 x 16.5 cm, watercolour

Mandarins
10.7 x 16.6 cm, watercolour

Corporal Tartar, Drummer
10.7 x 16.6 cm, watercolour

a Merchant of Canton, a Working Man
10.8 x 16.4 cm, watercolour

Mandarin Lady, Mandarin Lady
10.8 x 16.5 cm, watercolour

Mandarin, a Merchant
10.7 x 16.6 cm, watercolour

a Chinese jonk of 500 Tun
21-19 December 1793
25.1 x 19.7 cm, pencil

Batavia

Sketch of the Island onrust near Batavia
18.8 x 23.4 cm, pen and ink

a Sketch of the Island Onrust taken on Wedn: 26 March 1794
16.6 x 22.9 cm, pencil