

Chief Maquinna and Bodega y Quadra

by Freeman M. Tovell

Freeman M. Tovell has a long interest in maritime exploration, and since coming to British Columbia in 1978, in the Spanish exploration of and presence in the Pacific Northwest. Mr. Tovell has just completed a biography of Bodega y Quadra, the research for which was done in various archives in Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

“Maquinna is the same as Quadra and Quadra is the same as Maquinna.” So did Maquinna, the chief of the Mowachaht¹ people of the Nuu-chah-nulth confederacy, describe his unique relationship with Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, in command of the Spanish establishment at Yuquot (Friendly Cove) in Nootka Sound.

THE small establishment, which existed from 1789 to 1795, was a constant irritant in the relations between the Spanish and the Mowachaht. Its occupation by the Spanish forced Maquinna’s displacement to less desirable locations, especially Tahsis, twenty miles inland at the end of the Tahsis Inlet. At the time of contact, Yuquot was the largest Mowachaht village and there is archaeological evidence that the

site has been occupied for over 4,300 years. It was the capital of the Yuquot-Tahsis confederacy and here were held ritual feasts and festivities. As it was the best cove at the entrance to Nootka Sound, access to the ocean was easy for fishing and whaling, vital to the people’s livelihood. Although the Spanish establishment protected the Mowachaht from Maquinna’s more powerful neighbours, Wickaninnish of Clayoquot Sound and Cleaskinah (“Captain Hanna”), the chief of the Ahousaht group, it also represented a barrier to Chief Maquinna’s exercise of his authority over his villages outside the Sound.

From the beginning there were clashes and

tension. The Spanish conducted occasional raids into the Native villages to collect planks from supposedly abandoned houses, and periodically the Indians carried out nocturnal incursions to steal barrel staves and hoops. Invariably the response led to loss of life on both sides. The worst occurrence was the murder, whether deliberate or accidental, of Maquinna’s relative and a prominent sub-chief, Callicum,² when Estéban José Martínez was setting up the establishment. It was a black cloud that hung over the Spanish for the entire five years of their presence.

Not surprisingly, there were frequent inquiries when the Spanish would be leaving. As early as 1791, in his report to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo on the character and customs of the Natives, the second commandant, Francisco de Eliza, reported: “The place where we are anchored is the best there is in this grand port of Nuca. For this reason the [Natives] do not cease to come daily and ask me when we are leaving.”³

At no time did the Spanish consider the Mowachaht as subjects of the king of Spain. There was no formal treaty to bind or control them, nor was any attempt made to enlist them as allies to force out other nationalities. There was no formal cession of the land to Spain and no part of it was donated or sold. Occupancy was based solely on Chief Maquinna’s verbal consent beginning with Martínez in 1789, ratified with Francisco de Eliza in 1790 and Alejandro Malaspina during the latter’s brief visit in 1791, and confirmed to Bodega y Quadra in 1792. Tenancy was always limited in time to the Spanish occupation of the site. As continued tenancy depended on Maquinna, constant manifestations of friendship and recognition of his paramountcy in the confederacy were essential.

According to José Mariano Moziño, the multi-talented scientist who accompanied Bodega y



Museo Naval, Madrid

Above: Tomás de Suria’s pencil portrait of Chief Maquinna, executed during the visit to Yuquot of the Malaspina expedition in 1871.

Quadra to Nootka, the Maquinna known to the Spanish is believed to have inherited the chieftainship when his father was killed in a war against the Tlaumases⁴ in 1778, the same year that James Cook visited Nootka Sound. As Cook makes no mention of any chief by name, it is not known for certain whether the Maquinna with whom we are concerned was the chief at that time.⁵

Nor do we know Maquinna's age at the time of Bodega y Quadra's four months residence in 1792. The English fur trader John Meares, who visited Nootka Sound in May 1788, recorded that the chief "appeared to be about thirty years."⁶ Alejandro Malaspina, who followed three years later, estimated that "the age of this chief...is not over thirty years."⁷ If Meares' estimate is correct, Maquinna would have been in his mid-thirties when Bodega y Quadra arrived in April 1792. Meares described Maquinna as "of middle size, but extremely well made, and possessing a countenance that was formed to interest all who saw him."⁸ Malaspina portrayed him as "of short stature and ill-formed in the lower half of his body, but he makes up for these deficiencies with a spiritual air, full of majesty and nobility, with which he inspires naturally a respect for his person."⁹

But if Maquinna was strong and vigorous in his youth, two years later Malaspina found him "short and thin, although of a nervous disposition and soft musculature." He complained that he no longer enjoyed the robustness of his youth, largely because he had been compelled to move away from Yuquot, his whaling village, to Tahsis. There, food was not so plentiful and he became weak and thin. He recalled to Malaspina the "happy time when his strength allowed him to harpoon a whale single-handedly."¹⁰ Ten years later, in 1801, John Jewitt, a survivor of the *Boston* massacre, had a different impression. He described Maquinna as "a man of dignified aspect, about six feet in height, and extremely strait and well proportioned... [He] had an air of savage magnificence."¹¹

The geographic extent of Maquinna's authority and influence cannot be defined with any precision. According to Moziño, it stretched north from Nootka Sound up the western coast of Vancouver Island as far as Cape Cook. In addition to Yuquot, it included the villages of Coopti,¹² Marvinas and those in the Tahsis Inlet, the greater part of Nootka Island, the waters around Bligh

Island, Tlupana Inlet, five miles into Muchalat Inlet, and, possibly, the south coast from the entrance to Nootka Sound as far as Breakers Point.¹³ A few chiefs whose villages were outside this realm were in varying degrees subordinate to Maquinna. To the north were the Kwakwaka'wakw, called by the Spanish the *Nuchimases*, who occupied the north coast of Vancouver Island, possibly as far north as Laredo Sound, and with whom Maquinna's people traded peacefully.

Bodega y Quadra says nothing in his journal of Maquinna's character, but Malaspina does. He wrote:

The character of Maquinna is difficult to decipher. His personality seems simultaneously fierce, suspicious and intrepid. The natural tendency of his inclinations is probably much disturbed on one hand by the desire of the Europeans to cultivate his friendship, the treasure he has accumulated in a few years and the discord between the Europeans themselves, and perhaps their attempts to obtain a monopoly of the fur trade; and on the other, the weakness of his forces, the skirmishes suffered, the usefulness of the trade, and the too frequent presence of European ships in these parts.¹⁴

Visitors to Nootka Sound at this time testify to Maquinna's continuing suspicion of foreigners. From the outset of the Spanish occupation of Yuquot and the arrival of the English and American fur traders, he had been compelled to play a largely passive role, but one he performed with consummate skill to accumulate considerable wealth and prestige. With Bodega y Quadra's arrival in April 1792, Maquinna would acquire a central position in the events of the next six months.¹⁵

In Mexico City, Viceroy Revilla Gigedo had firm views on how his officers should conduct relations with the Natives. No longer were they to be treated as inferior as in Mexico and Peru. His strict instructions called upon his commanders to maintain vigilance over their men not to "insult the Indians," even over trifling matters.



Museo Naval, Madrid.

Above: *There is no likeness of Bodega. On the occasion of the launching of Canadian Coast Guard Ship Quadra in 1966, the Spanish government presented the Canadian Coast Guard with a medallion of which a detail is shown here. When the vessel was decommissioned a few years ago, the medallion was removed and it now hangs in the Coast Guard headquarters in Victoria.*

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¹ Following their recent amalgamation, they are known today as the Mowachaht/Muchalat people.

² Because of the phonetic system of spelling used by early explorers, Callicum is variously spelt Ke-le-kum, Quelequem, Calacan, etc.

³ Author's translation. Eliza to Revilla Gigedo. N/d. "Costumbres de los Naturales del Puerto de San Lorenzo de Nuca, propuestas para su Conquista y Utilidades que comprendo puede producir." Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Ramo Historia, 69, ff.10-16. Hereafter cited as AGN.

⁴ *Noticias de Nutka*, trans. and ed. Iris H. Wilson Engstrand. (Toronto: 1970, reprinted Seattle and Vancouver: 1991), 31. Hereafter cited as Moziño *Noticias*. He added that "I have not been able to determine in what area this nation resides... [Maquinna] avenged his death; going in person to the enemy villages, he took them by surprise and carried out a frightful massacre."

⁵ In their oral history, however, the Nuu-chah-nulth say that Captain Cook was welcomed by "Chief Maquinna."

⁶ John Meares, *Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the West Coast of America*, (London: Logographic Press, 1790), 113. Hereafter cited as *Meares*.

⁷ *Viaje científico y político alrededor del mundo por las corbetas DESCUBIERTA y ATREVIDA*, ed. Pedro Novo y Colson (Madrid: 1885), 354. Hereafter cited as Malaspina, Novo y Colson.

⁸ *Meares*, 113.

⁹ Quoted by Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast, 1791 & 1792*, (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991), 90. Hereafter cited as Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*.

¹⁰ Author's translation. Ricardo Cerezo Martínez, *Diario General del Viaje*, vol. II, *La Expedición Malaspina* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, Museo Naval, Lunwerg Editores, 1992), 349.

¹¹ *The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, Captive of Maquinna*, ed. Hilary Stewart, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987), 42.

¹² Also spelt Kupti and on some modern maps Coopetee.

¹³ Moziño, *Noticias*, 41.

¹⁴ Author's translation. Malaspina, Nova y Colson, 354. The remarkable charcoal portrait done by Malaspina's artist, Tomás de Suria, reflects the same sad, even wistful mood. Carmen Sotos, *Los Pintores de la Expedición Malaspina*, vol. II (Madrid:1982), fig.606.

¹⁵ For a detailed analysis of Maquinna's role during the years of the Spanish occupation of Yuquot, see Robin Inglis, "Maquinna of Nootka: Portrait of an Indian Chief on the Edge of the Empire," a paper delivered at the *Ateneo de Madrid*, 4 October 1993. Published in the series *II Jornadas sobre España y las Expediciones Científicas a América y Filipinas*, in *De la Ciencia Ilustrada del Ciencia Romántica*, ed. Díez Torre, Alejandro Mallo, Tomás y Pacheco Fernandez Daniel (Madrid: 1995).

¹⁶ Articles 15 and 23 of Revilla Gigedo's instructions to Francisco Mourelle, printed in Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations of the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (Santa Ana: 1933), 207-208.

¹⁷ Revilla Gigedo's instructions to Alcalá Galiano and Valdés, printed in John Kendrick, *The Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana: The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast of America* (Spokane: 1991), 53.

¹⁸ "Viaje a la Costa Noroeste de la America Septentrional por Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra del orden de Santiago, Capitán de Navío de la Real Armada y Comandante del Departamento de San Blas...Año de

They were to "leave behind a cemented friendship," never use their arms except in self-defence, never take from the Indians anything unless offered by hand, and so forth.¹⁶ In another instruction he wrote that "Good treatment and harmony with the Indians is of the first importance to establish in this way a solid friendship with them so that our visits should not be as distressing as those of other voyages to the detriment of humanity and the national credit. [The] use of superiority of...arms...is...directly opposed to humanity."¹⁷

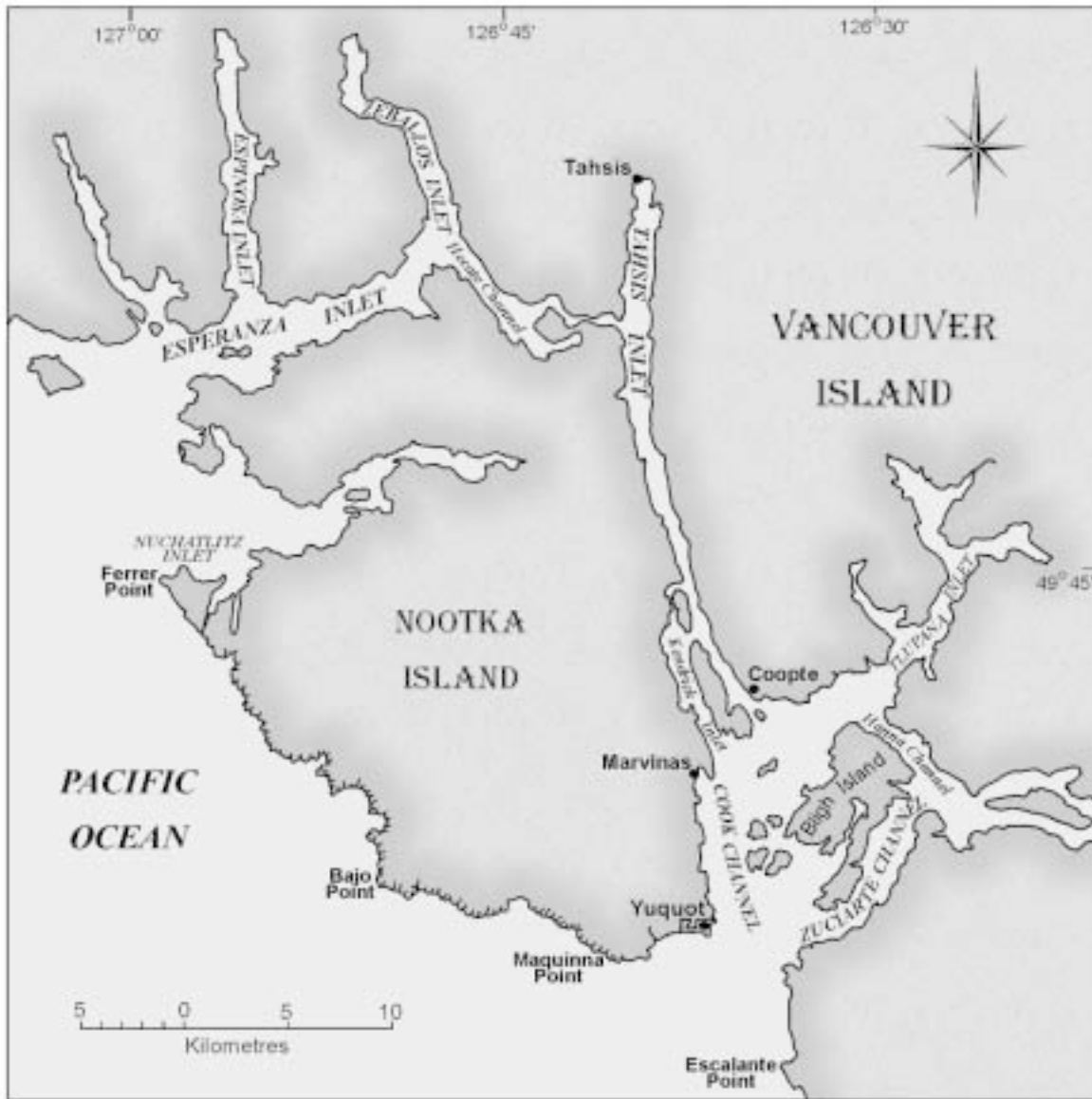
The viceroy's expansive phrases were not mere platitudes. His policy was in tune with the Age of Enlightenment and more than a superficial concern for native people as human beings. The policy was also dictated by the need to recruit native support for Spanish sovereignty. Not only was the viceroy anxious to avoid occurrences that would poison relations with the Natives, but Spain's presence in the Pacific Northwest demanded stability. Without it, exploration and any eventual settlement would be impossible. It was not always easy to follow the viceroy's policy to the letter. Francisco de Eliza, who reopened the establishment in 1790 after Martínez' recall, had some success in gaining the trust of the Indians and Maquinna in particular. There were some violent incidents in the two years he was in command, but on the whole he managed to create a modicum of trust on which Bodega y Quadra could build.

Implementation of the viceroy's policy was a top priority for Bodega y Quadra and he would prove to be the right instrument to carry it out. Bodega, who earlier had made a name for himself as a maritime explorer of the north Pacific and was now serving as commandant of the naval department of San Blas, Mexico, had been appointed Spanish commissioner by the viceroy to meet with his English counterpart, Captain George Vancouver, to arrange the handing over of the Spanish establishment under the terms of the Nootka Convention of 1790. Immediately upon his arrival, Bodega made it clear he intended to carry out the viceroy's enlightened policy. He told the captains and officers of the ships of his command and the garrison ashore that he "would view with displeasure the conduct of anyone who did not show the greatest friendship and harmony towards the natives."¹⁸

Bodega's relations with Maquinna got off to a good start. Very shortly after his arrival, Maquinna came to Yuquot to welcome him and invite him to a potlatch he wanted to hold in his honour. Bodega reciprocated with a standing invitation to Maquinna and his sub-chiefs to dine with him in the commandant's house.

Unlike his predecessors, Bodega travelled frequently outside the bounds of the Spanish establishment to make regular visits to the chiefs and sub-chiefs in their villages and present them gifts of blue cloth, abalone shells and especially much prized copper plates. They in turn responded to Bodega's openness by offering potlatches in his honour. Tlupananutl, the chief of Bligh Island and Tlupana Inlet and Maquinna's principal rival, and Quio-comasia, the chief of the Ehattesht group, were prominent in this respect.¹⁹ Tlupananutl, a frequent guest at the commandant's house, constantly sought Bodega's support for his claim to higher status and vied with Maquinna for his favours. Bodega was not swayed by such attentions and was able to discern the games they were playing, perhaps even amused by them.

Bodega y Quadra not only recognized and respected the ranking order



Left: Map showing Nootka Island and the surrounding area as well as the location of Yuquot, Marvina, Coopte, and Tahsis. Coopte (modern) is spelt in many different ways such as Copti, Kupti, and Coopetee (modern).

of the chiefs in the Sound, but he did so in such a way as to reinforce Maquinna's primacy. In his *Viaje*, he wrote that

I constantly treat Maquinna as a friend, singling him out among all with the clearest demonstrations of esteem. He always occupies the place of honour at my table and I myself take the trouble to serve him. I favour him with anything that might give him pleasure and he boasts of my friendship and very much appreciates my visits to his villages.²⁰

Bodega's desire to substantiate Maquinna's primacy was particularly manifest in the "state visit" he suggested that he and George Vancouver pay Maquinna at his residence at Tahsis. After travelling the twenty miles from Yuquot with their officers in the ships' long boats, they witnessed elaborate entertainments and dancing (includ-

ing a solo dance by the chief), and exchanged gifts. They partook in a great feast, the Natives dining on tuna and dolphin stew. As previously arranged, the European visitors would enjoy the "drinkables" brought by Vancouver and the "eatables" prepared by Bodega's cooks, and served on his silver plate. In a farewell speech, Maquinna correctly interpreted the evening as recognition of his senior status in the region. He remarked to Vancouver that "neither Wacaninish, nor any other chief, had ever received such a mark of respect and attention from any visitors."²¹

Summing up the success he had achieved in improving relations with the Natives, Bodega wrote:

I can say with assurance that it is not possible to mistake the confidence they have in me and the affection that not only the common people declare they have for me, but the chiefs as

1792." Archives of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ms. 145; photocopy in British Columbia Archives and Records Service, Victoria. Hereafter cited as Bodega, *Viaje*.

¹⁹ See Yvonne Marshall, "Dangerous Liaisons: Maquinna, Quadra and Vancouver in Nootka Sound, 1790-5," in *From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver*, ed. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston (Vancouver: 1993). Hereinafter cited as Marshall, *Dangerous Liaisons*,

²⁰ Author's translation. Bodega, *Viaje*. As Maquinna came to dinner frequently, when he was not occupying one of the bedrooms in the commandant's house, he must have occasionally taken up residence at his villages closer to Yuquot, possibly either Marvina or Coopte.

²¹ *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, 1791-1795*, ed. W.Kaye Lamb (London: Hakluyt Society, 1984), 672. Hereafter cited as Lamb,

²² Author's Translation.

Bodega, *Viaje*.

²³ Lamb, 662.

²⁴ *Joseph Ingraham's Journal of the Brigantine Hope on a voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, ed. Mark

D. Kaplanoff, (Barre, Massachusetts, 1971).

Entry for 4 August 1792.

Hereafter cited as

Ingraham, *Journal*.

²⁵ The ceremony was described in detail by Moziño, *Noticias*, 34-37 and formed the subject of a wash drawing by Bodega's artist, Atanasio Echeverría.

²⁶ Marshall, *Dangerous Liaisons*, 165.

²⁷ Moziño, *Noticias*, 84.

²⁸ Moziño, *Noticias*, 84.

²⁹ Richard Inglis, "The Spanish on the North Pacific Coast: An alternative view from Nootka Sound," in *Spain and the North Pacific Coast: Essays in Recognition of the Bicentennial of the Malaspina Expedition, 1791-1792*, ed. Robin Inglis, (Vancouver: Vancouver Maritime Museum, 1992).

well since they frequently sleep at night with the satisfaction that perhaps they would not have in the houses of their most intimate relatives. Thus I have no difficulty in establishing with them a human relationship towards which my nature inclines.²²

Bodega y Quadra's claim is substantiated by other witnesses. Thus George Vancouver wrote:

I could not help observing with a mixture of surprise and pleasure how much the Spaniards had succeeded in gaining the good opinion and confidence of the people; together with the very orderly behaviour, so conspicuously evident in their conduct toward the Spaniards on all occasions.²³

The Boston fur trader, Joseph Ingraham, and master of the *Hope*, echoed Vancouver:

"These people can never expect to have among them a better friend than Don Quadra. Nothing can exceed his attention and kindness to them, and they all seem sensible of it and are extravagantly fond of him."²⁴

Bodega y Quadra never lost an opportunity to present Maquinna with much valued gifts such as copper. One special gift, which the chief would wear on special occasions, was a beautifully embroidered coat of mail made of leaves of tin plate in the shape of scales. Maquinna reciprocated with gifts of prime-quality sea otter skins. He also paid Bodega y Quadra a very special honour by inviting him and some of his people to a celebration at Coopti to honour his daughter, Apenas, who was entering into puberty and thus acquiring a "new status in the tribe, that of entering into womanhood".²⁵ As festivities and ceremonies, exchanges of gifts and reciprocated hospitality were fundamental aspects of native culture, Bodega was demonstrating respect for their customs and cultural practices. Moreover, as Marshall has observed,

[Bodega y] Quadra's hospitality, especially the importance he attached to rituals involving the serving of food, the attention he paid to placing people at his table according to rank, and his policy of housing high-ranking guests in his own quarters, again placing them according to rank, closely paralleled local notions of appropriate chiefly behaviour.²⁶

It should not be concluded that all was sweetness and light during Bodega's four months at Nootka. Accounts of cruel incidents are still to be found in Mowachaht oral history. Though many of these are undoubtedly exaggerated, Moziño gives them some credibility:

The sailors, either as a result of their almost brutal upbringing or because they envied the humane treatment the commander and other officers always gave the natives, insulted them at various times, crippled some and wounded others, and did not fail to kill several.²⁷

Bodega y Quadra acknowledged that he was not always successful and he never hesitated to punish members of his crews who committed what he called "excesses," both "to serve as a warning and to give the Indians an idea of our justice." In his view it was important politically that visitors of other nationalities observe the extent to which the Spanish had succeeded in ingratiating themselves with the native community and the manner in which the Mowachaht demonstrated their support for Spanish sovereignty.

Moziño defended the Natives:

It causes me inexpressible wonder to hear various bitter criticisms of the reputation of the natives, when not one example can be cited which could ever serve as proof of their perversity. During the five months we were living among them, we did not experience one offence on their part. They filled the house of the commandant day and night. Maquinna slept in his bedroom; Quio-comasia and Nana-quius did the same in mine. There were many times when more than fifty remained in the living room. The occasions on which some small thefts were noticed were very few, although there were at hand several articles that would have been very convenient for them to possess. Many of our officers went alone and without arms to visit a number of villages, conducted in the savages' own canoes. They always returned impressed by the affection and gentleness they had observed in everyone.²⁸

More measured is the view of ethnologist Richard Inglis, who has noted,

...it is clear from the historical record that the officers lived up to the spirit of the Spanish policy, and when they transgressed, they were reprimanded. But it appears they were unable to control the behaviour of the sailors and the soldiers who were often brutal in their treatment of the native people. At the level of officers and chiefs the official Spanish policy was a reality, but at the level of sailors, soldiers and commoners there was a different reality. And it is this reality that has been passed down in the oral traditions of the Mowachaht people.²⁹

That Bodega meant his warning on arrival about the conduct of his people vis-à-vis the Natives is



evident from his sharp reprimand of Salvador Fidalgo at Neah Bay, who, in retaliation for the murder of one of the Spanish officers, Antonio Serantes, and fearing an attack on his ship, ordered his guns to fire at a passing canoe, killing all but two of the occupants.

This incident acquired special significance as word spread quickly and Wickaninnish, Tatoosh and Hanna met to plan a combined assault on the Spanish settlement at Friendly Cove and on English and American fur traders trading in the region.³⁰

A joint attack on the Spanish establishment at that moment would have been devastating if not catastrophic. Anticipating the turning over of the establishment to Vancouver, Bodega had considerably reduced his forces. The *Santa Gertrudis*, his most powerful ship, had been sent back to San Blas with a good part of the garrison and the *Aránzazu* under Caamaño was absent, exploring to the north. The only vessel on hand to defend the port was his flag ship, the *Activa*, and the remaining Catalonian Volunteers would have amounted to only a corporal's guard to defend against any land attack.

Maquinna went to see Wickaninnish to attempt to defuse the situation, but he, Tatoosh and Hanna in turn attempted to persuade him to join them.³¹ The Mowachaht chief defended the Spanish and persuaded Hanna to go to Yuquot to speak to Bodega y Quadra. He did so, and after being exposed for two days to Bodega's charm, the plot was called off. The tense situation, which could have had bloody consequences, had been defused by the diplomacy and joint action of Maquinna and Bodega.

A number of inferences may be drawn from this affair. In a general sense, the constant tension between the Natives and non-Natives was never far from the surface. It also confirms the high regard in which Bodega was held, not only by Maquinna, but by the other chiefs of the region. As well, the incident provides important evidence of the high extent to which Maquinna and Bodega were dependent on each other. While it would be misleading to say that the mutual respect the chief and the commandant had for each other "deepened into friendship",³² each realized that their fortunes were inextricably connected. Bodega y Quadra depended on Maquinna for the safety and security of the settlement and

Above: "Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound," Engraving of a sketch by Harry Humphreys, 1792

³⁰ Another motive was the coincidental brutal killing by the fur trader, William Brown, of a number of Natives in Clayoquot Sound.

³¹ The four chiefs were inter-related by blood and marriage.

³² Marshall, *Dangerous Liaisons*; 165.

³³ Christon I. Archer, "Seduction before Sovereignty: Spanish Efforts to manipulate the Natives in their Claims to the Northwest Coast," in *From Maps to Metaphors: the Pacific World of George Vancouver*, ed. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston (Vancouver: 1993), 157.

³⁴ Moziño, *Noticias*, 56-57.

³⁵ Possibly the Hesquiats who resided on Estevan Point at the southern entrance to Nootka Sound.

³⁶ Bodega, *Viaje*.

³⁷ Ingraham journal, entry for September 18. See also Moziño, *Noticias*, 55.

³⁸ Royal Order #162; AGN, Reales Cédulas #154, f.209.

³⁹ Bodega, *Viaje*.

⁴⁰ Viana's *Diario*, cited by Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 105.

Maquinna depended on Bodega for support of his senior rank in the hierarchy over the more powerful neighbouring chiefs. It should not be assumed, however, that Bodega's policy was not without purpose. As Christon Archer has observed,

Bodega made seduction and good treatment of the Natives...into key elements in building Spanish claims to sovereignty...If Quadra manipulated Maquinna to bolster Spanish claims to sovereignty, the Nootka chief proved himself equally adept at using the Spanish to strengthen his own diplomatic position.³³

On the eve of Bodega's departure from Nootka, there occurred a gruesome incident that illustrates how Bodega y Quadra respected Maquinna's jurisdiction over his people and refused to intervene in incidents between the Natives and his people unless Spanish guilt could be established conclusively. The body of a fourteen-year-old cabin boy on the *Activa* was found in the woods, horribly butchered. Bodega's immediate reaction was to ask Maquinna to find the guilty party. There was much speculation about who might have committed the crime. One rumour, reportedly initiated by Bodega himself, placed the blame on Maquinna who, hearing of it, sought out Bodega.

In a lengthy discourse, which he described "as exciting as it was poetic", Moziño recorded that Maquinna himself did not believe that Bodega thought him responsible, but asked that he realize that

Maquinna has a thousand obligations to be your friend. You have given me much copper; because of you I had many [abalone] shells to distribute at the celebration of the first menstruation of Apenas. Yours are the cloth, beads, coat of mail, instruments of iron, glass window panes, and many other things with which I am provided. Our mutual trust has reached the point of our both sleeping alone in the same room, a place in which you find yourself without arms or people to defend you. I could have taken your life if my friendship were capable of betrayal. One thinks very lowly of me and of my dignity if he imagines that, seeking to break a friendship, I would order the murder of a boy less able to defend himself than if he were a woman... You would be the first whose life would be in great danger if we were enemies... Have not you yourself gone accompanied by few of your men and found only that the multitude of my subjects surrounded you with the purpose of making the

liveliest demonstrations of friendship?... Make all [your men] know that Maquinna is a true friend that he is far from harming the Spanish... Maquinna is the same as Quadra and Quadra is the same as Maquinna.³⁴

As proof of his innocence and esteem for the commandant, Maquinna asked Bodega y Quadra for a launch with four or six swivel guns, manned by Spanish sailors and his own people, to punish the "treacherous ones of Itz-coac"³⁵ who lived outside the Sound and who he was certain were responsible. Though no doubt surprised at the vehemence of the chief's oration but not swayed by it, Bodega, true to his policy of refusing to give arms to the Indians and avoiding involvement in inter-tribal quarrels and jealousies, wisely declined Maquinna's request. Nevertheless, Maquinna "offered to search for the aggressors of the murder of the cabin boy."³⁶

Bodega's refusal to take action, other than to turn the matter over to Maquinna, puzzled those present. Even Joseph Ingraham, whose admiration of Bodega was boundless, doubted Bodega's decision to "choose to look over it than to risk punishing the innocent" was the right one.³⁷ Similar thoughts were expressed by Vancouver's people, one or two even advocating seizing Maquinna as a hostage until the culprit was found. But Bodega's refusal to take reprisals was supported by the viceroy who saw fit to report the affair to Madrid. In his reply, the minister of state, Aranda, reported that the king approved Bodega's judgment.³⁸

Bodega waited until the next to last day of his stay to inform Maquinna of his departure. The chief, he wrote, was so "startled by the news that I wished I had not told him, but I consoled [him] with the hope that I would return."³⁹ At the same time, Bodega told him that Salvador Fidalgo would be coming from Neah Bay to assume command of the establishment. This, too, would have shaken the chief, who would not have forgotten the officer's deplorable cannon blast. Maquinna would not yet know that Fidalgo, suspicious of Indians, would not continue Bodega's open policy but accept him only as an occasional guest at his table. Under him, the close relationship established by Bodega y Quadra underwent a radical change. All the proud chief could do was to wait until 1795, when the Spanish finally left Yuquot, and recall Malaspina's promise that the cove would then revert to his people and the commandant's house would be his.⁴⁰ ∞